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SIGLENVERZEICHNIS

ACO	Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum
ADSV	Antičnaja drevnost' i srednie veka
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
AHC	Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum
APF	Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete
BBA	Berliner Byzantinistische Arbeiten
BCH	Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique
BF	Byzantinische Forschungen
BHG	Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca
BIFAO	Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale (Cairo)
BKV	Bibliothek der Kirchenväter
BMGS	Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies
BNJ	Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher
BollGrott	Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata
BSFN	Bulletin de la Sociéte française de numismatique
BV	Byzantina Vindobonensia
Byz	Byzantion
BZ	Byzantinische Zeitschrift
CCSG	Corpus Christianorum Series Graeca
CFHB	Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae
CIC	Corpus Iuris Civilis
CIG	Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum
CIL	Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
CSHB	Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae
DA	Deutsches Archiv für die Erforschung des Mittelalters
DACL	Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie
DHGE	Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastique
DOP	Dumbarton Oaks Papers
DOS	Dumbarton Oaks Studies
DOT	Dumbarton Oaks Texts
EB	Études Balkaniques
EEBΣ	Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν
EO	Échos d'Orient
FGH	Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker
FIFAO	Fouilles de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale (Cairo)
GCS	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller
GRBS	Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies
HZ	Historische Zeitschrift
IG	Inscriptiones Graecae
JARCE	Journal of the American Research Center Egypt
JbAC	Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum
JECS	Journal of Early Christian Studies
JHS	Journal of Hellenic Studies
JJurP	Journal of Juristic Papyrology
JÖB	Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik
JÖBG	Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft
JRA	Journal of Roman Archaeology
JRS	Journal of Roman Studies

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LMA	Lexikon des Mittelalters
LThK	Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche
MDAIK	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Institutes Kairo
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
MIÖG	Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung
MMB	Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae
OC	Orientalia Christiana
OCA	Orientalia Christiana Analecta
OCP	Orientalia Christiana Periodica
OrChrist	Oriens Christianus
PG	Patrologia Graeca
PL	Patrologia Latina
PLP	Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit
PmbZ	Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit
PO	Patrologia Orientalis
PTS	Patristische Texte und Studien
RAC	Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum
RbK	Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst
RE	Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft
RÉArm	Revue des Études Arméniennes
RÉB	Revue des Études Byzantines
RÉG	Revue des Études Grecques
RÉSEE	Revue des Études Sud-Est-Européennes
RHT	Revue d'histoire des textes
RIDA	Revue internationale des droits de l'antiquité
ROC	Revue de l'Orient Chrétien
RömQ	Römische Quartalsschrift
RSBN	Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici
SBN	Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici
SBS	Studies in Byzantine Sigillography
SC	Sources Chrétiennes
Script	Scriptorium
TIB	Tabula Imperii Byzantini
TM	Travaux et Mémoires
TRE	Theologische Realenzyklopädie
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen
VigChr	Vigiliae Christianae
VV	Vizantijskij Vremennik
WBS	Wiener Byzantinistische Studien
WSt	Wiener Studien
ZAC	Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum
ZKG	Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte
ZPE	Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik
ZRVI	Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta

I. ABTEILUNG

PUBLIC AND PRIVATE DEATH IN PSELLOS: MARIA SKLERAINA AND STYLIANE PSELLAINA*

PANAGIOTIS A. AGAPITOS / NICOSIA

Πολλοὺς μὲν ἔγωγε τεθνηκότας ἐθρήνησα
συνήθεις καὶ ἥλικας, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ καθ' αἷμα
προσήκοντας, ἀνέτλην καὶ τοῦ τεκόντος τὴν στέρησιν.
Michael Psellos

In his brief manual *On Epideictic Speeches*, Pseudo-Dionysius (early 4th century) offered the following concise definition of the funeral oration: "Two speeches have been devised that relate to burial. One is common to the whole city and the citizens and is spoken over the wardead. The other is private and individual, relating to events that frequently happen in peace, when people die at various ages. Both, however, have the same name, *epitaphios*".[1] The author clearly distinguished between a public and a private funeral oration. Public defined what is "common" (κοινός) to the whole city, while private referred to what is "individual" (ἰδίᾳ καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον) within the city.[2]

The rhetoricians also made another distinction; it concerned the social relation of the deceased to the speaker within a public or private funerary discourse. Pseudo-Menander (late 3rd century), in explaining the purpose of the prose lament (*monodia*), wrote that "if the deceased is not a relative then

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* The present paper is a substantially revised and expanded version of a talk given at the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales (Paris) and at the Dumbarton Oaks Center (Washington, D.C.) in the Spring of 1999. The paper could not have been written without the financial support of the Research Committee of the University of Cyprus and the A. G. Leventis Foundation; I am profoundly grateful to both institutions. My particular thanks go to Diether Roderich Reinsch for his corrections and suggestions. I would also like to thank Stratis Papaioannou for making available to me his unpublished or forthcoming work. If not otherwise indicated, all translations are my own.

1 DionHal. *De arte rhet.* 259 (H. Usener/L. Radermacher, Dionysii Halicarnasei quae extant. Volumen VI: Opusculorum volumen secundum. Leipzig 1929 (repr. Stuttgart 1985), 277.14–278.2); translated in D. A. Russell/N. G. Wilson, Menander Rhetor. Edited with Translation and Commentary. Oxford 1981, 373.

2 See J. Soffel, Die Regeln Menanders für die Leichenrede in ihrer Tradition dargestellt, herausgegeben und kommentiert. *Beiträge zur Klassischen Philologie*, 57. Meisenheim am Glan 1974, 56–60.

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the speaker should simply lament the departed person. (…) If, however, the deceased is a relative, the speaker should lament no less about himself".[3] The *epitaphios* of Gregory of Nazianzus on his sister Gorgonia is just such a private funeral oration where the speaker is a very close relative of the deceased, and where he very much laments about himself. Gregory, however, in describing his sister's last moments,[4] used the stereotypical hagiographic scene of a good death.[5] In this sense, he gave to his sister's private death a public form.[6] An examination of surviving early Byzantine private funeral orations shows that, irrespective of the emotional intensity of the text or the speaker's relation to the deceased, the death scene itself adheres to the conventional pattern of a good death, just as all public funeral orations adhere to the same formal characteristics for the death scene. As far as the imagery of death was concerned, public and private funeral orations for individuals in the early Byzantine period used a public discourse.

Whenever Gregory of Nazianzus decided to use a private discourse for funerary matters, he expressed himself through the funerary epigram. The dense and elevated style, the structural and metrical characteristics, and the introspective character of the epigram give to Gregory's poems a texture very different from the epideictic style of the funeral oration. This private discourse, compressed in the epigram's minuscule form, excludes typological categories of a narrative character and includes only fleeting images of death. Thus, it can be broadly said that in early Byzantium poetry was used for the private style of funerary discourse, while prose reflected its public style.[7]

The aim of the present paper is to examine more closely the rhetoric of public and private death in medieval Byzantium. I have elsewhere touched upon this issue while looking at the semantics and the mechanics of mortuary

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3 MenRhet. 434.19–20, 23–24 (202 Russell/Wilson).

4 *Orat.* 8.21; M.-A. Calvet-Sebasti, Grégoire de Naziance: Discours 6–12. Introduction, texte critique, traduction, et notes. *Sources Chrétiennes*, 405. Paris 1995, 290–292.

5 On this convention in early hagiography see P. Boglioni, La scène de la mort dans les premières hagiographies latines, in: Essais sur la mort. Travaux d'un seminaire de recherche sur la mort. Montreal 1985, 269–297 and B. Flusin, Miracle et histoire dans l'œuvre de Cyrille de Scythopolis. Paris 1983, 131–137.

6 For Gregory's private funeral orations see now T. Hägg, Playing with Expectations: Gregory's Funeral Orations on his Brother, Sister and Father, in: J. Børtnes/T. Hägg (eds.), Gregory of Nazianzus: Images and Reflections. Copenhagen 2006, 133–151 and V. Burrus, Life after Death: The Martyrdom of Gorgonia and the Birth of Female Hagiography, in: *ibidem* 153–170.

7 For a more detailed discussion of what has been summarily presented here, with references to texts and bibliography, see P. A. Agapitos, Ancient Models and Novel Mixtures: The Concept of Genre in Byzantine Funerary Literature from Patriarch Photios to Eustathios of Thessalonike, in: G. Nagy/A. Stavrakopoulou (eds.), Modern Greek Literature: Critical Essays. New York/London 2003, 5–24, esp. 5–7.

typology in ninth-century hagiography, and establishing what I have termed the *topos* and the *typos* of textualized representations of death.[8] May I briefly say at this point that from the seventh century to the twelfth century a change concerning mortuary typology and funerary genres took place. When comparing, on the one hand, the death scenes of Theodoros of Sykeon († 613)[9] and Eustathios of Thessalonike († 1195/96),[10] it will be noticed that, while the *topos* of "good death in sleep" is used in both cases, by the twelfth century its *typos* has been transferred from the public to the private domain through the use of a private discourse, even though the deceased archbishop was an important public figure. When examining, on the other hand, the generic affiliations of Theodoros Stoudites' *Funerary Catechism on his Mother* (c. 797–802)[11] and Eustathios' *Funeral Oration on Nikolaos Hagiotheodorites* (summer 1175),[12] it will be noticed that the whole concept of the *epitaphios* as a funerary genre has changed.[13] Of cardinal importance in this process of literary and socio-cultural change is Michael Psellos (1018 – c. 1079),[14] whose funerary

8 P. A. Agapitos, Mortuary Typology in the Lives of Saints: Michael the Synkellos and Stephen the Younger, in: P. Odorico/P. A. Agapitos (eds.), La vie des saints à Byzance: genre littéraire ou biographie historique? Actes du deuxième colloque international sur la littérature byzantine (Paris, juin 2002). *Dossiers Byzantins*, 4. Paris 2004, 103–135, esp. 105–110.

9 *VTheodSyc.* § 168.32–58; A.-J. Festugière, Vie de Théodore de Sykéôn. *Subsidia Hagiographica*, 48. Brussels 1970, vol. I, 158–159.

10 Michael Choniates, *Monody on the Archbishop of Thessalonike Eustathios* § 49–50bis; S. P. Lampros, Μιχαὴλ Ἀκομινάτου τοῦ Χωνιάτου τὰ σωζόμενα. Τόμος Α´, περιέχων τὰς ὁμιλίας, τοὺς λόγους καὶ τὰ προσφωνήματα. Athens 1879 (repr. Groningen 1968), 302.27–304.12.

11 See now the edition with introduction and annotated translation by S. Efthymiadis/J. M. Featherstone, Establishing a Holy Lineage: Theodore the Stoudite's Funerary Catechism for his Mother (BHG 2422), in: M. Grünbart (ed.), Theatron. Rhetorische Kultur in Spätantike und Mittelalter. *Millenium-Studien*, 13. Berlin/New York 2007, 14–51.

12 First edited by A. Sideras, 25 unedierte byzantinische Grabreden. *Κλασικα Γράμματα*, 5. Thessaloniki 1991, 31–50; new edition by P. Wirth, Eustathii Thessalonicensis Opera minora magnam partem inedita. *CFHB*, 32. Berlin/New York 2000, 3–16. For a literary analysis of the oration see P. A. Agapitos, Mischung der Gattungen und Überschreitung der Gesetze: Die Grabrede des Eustathios von Thessalonike auf Nikolaos Hagiotheodorites. *JÖB* 48 (1998) 119–146.

13 The whole process of this change will be dealt with in detail in a book I am currently writing on the rhetoric of death in Byzantine literature.

14 On his life see the concise presentation by R. Volk, Der medizinische Inhalt der Schriften des Michael Psellos. *Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia*, 32. Munich 1990, 1–48. For a broader appreciation of Psellos as an author see the pioneering study of Ja. N. Ljubarskij, Ἡ προσωπικότητα καὶ τὸ ἔργο τοῦ Μιχαὴλ Ψελλοῦ: Συνεισφορὰ στὴν ἱστορία τοῦ βυζαντινοῦ ο2ὐμανισμοῦ. Ἔκδοση δεύτερη, διορθωμένη καὶ συμπληρωμένη. Μετάφραση A. Tzelesi. Athens 2004 (revised and updated translation of idem, Michail Psell. Ličnost' i tvorčestvo: K istorii vizantijskogo predgumanisma. Moscow 1978). A

output forms the largest corpus of such texts in the whole of Byzantine literature. For my analysis I have chosen the *Iambic Verses on the Death of Skleraina* and the *Funeral Oration on his Daughter Styliane.* The former concerns the death of a middle-aged woman, the latter the death of a young girl. Thus, it will be possible to converse with the texts in a methodologically satisfactory manner about issues of genre, funerary discourse, narrative structure and the image of women's death at a specific historical moment in medieval Byzantium. The first and second part of the paper offer close readings of the two texts, while the third part attempts a brief comparative examination.

1. An Orpheus and a Siren

The *sebaste* Maria Skleraina[15] was a member of the powerful aristocratic family of the Skleroi who originally came from μικρὰ Ἀρμενία, a territory between the themes of Chaldia and Koloneia.[16] Maria,[17] whose date of birth is not known, was the daughter of <Bardas> Skleros;[18] she had a younger brother Romanos.[19] <Bardas> and his brother Basileios Skleros were children of Romanos, the son of the famous general Bardas Skleros who in 976 lead a revolt against the young Emperor Basileios II (976–1025). Maria's uncle Basileios Skleros was married to Pulcheria, sister of Emperor Romanos III

complete *bibliographie raisonnée* of Psellos' works has now been published by P. Moore, Iter Psellianum. A Detailed Listing of Manuscript Sources for all Works Attributed to Michael Psellos, Including a Comprehensive Bibliography. *Subsidia Medievalia*, 26. Toronto 2005.

15 W. Seibt, Die Skleroi. Eine prosopographisch-sigillographische Studie. *BV*, 9. Vienna 1976, 71–76; M. D. Spadaro, Note su Sclerena. *Siculorum Gymnasium* N. S. 28 (1975) 351–372; eadem, Michaelis Pselli in Mariam Sclerenam. Testo critico, introduzione e commentario. *Università di Catania. Pubblicazioni della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia*, 37. Catania 1984, 17–47, where the whole political and social context of her life is broadly drawn.

16 Seibt 20; on this region see V. Vlyssidou et alii, Asia Minor and its Themes. *Institute for Byzantine Research. Research Series*, 1. Athens 1998, 293.

17 Her Christian name is securely attested by a funerary epigram of Christophoros Mytilenaios (*Epigr.* 70 Kurtz) and a reference in The *Life of Saint Lazaros of Mount Galesion* § 245 (*AASS Novembris* 3, 584); see now R. P. H. Greenfield, The Life of Lazaros of Mt. Galesion: An Eleventh-Century Pillar Saint. Introduction, Translation, and Notes. *Byzantine Saints' Lives in Translation*, 3. Washington, D.C. 2000, 346–347 and note 996.

18 The Christian name of her father is not attested. It could be Bardas since it was the Orthodox tradition to name children after their grandparents, a practice that can be seen in other members of the Skleros family. Seibt 69–70 does not commit himself.

19 Seibt 76–85.

Argyros (1028–1032); Romanos and Pulcheria belonged to another prominent aristocratic family.[20] Basileios and Pulcheria had one daughter, whose Christian name is unknown; she married Konstantinos Monomachos in c. 1025.[21] This was already Konstantinos' second marriage. When his wife died in c. 1035/36, Konstantinos fell in love with her "cousin" Maria,[22] who had moved into the Monomachos household after the death of her husband. Konstantinos and Maria embarked on an open (i.e. public) relationship.[23] Maria followed her lover into seven years of exile on the island of Mytilene, from where Konstantinos was recalled to marry the sixtyfour-year old Empress Zoe, and to ascend the throne in June 1042. Yet Konstantinos did not desist from his passion for Maria. He succeeded in convincing Zoe to bring her back and to bestow upon her the title of *sebaste*, which was specifically created for her.[24] With Konstantinos' careful planning and Maria's prudent manœuvering, her political star rose at the imperial court. In March 1044, during a procession through the capital, a revolt of the citizens broke out against the emperor's *maîtresse attitrée*, but it was warded off by the personal intervention of Empress Zoe.[25] Maria died unexpectedly of a bronchial disease in c. 1045.[26] Konstanti-

20 J.-F. Vannier, Familles byzantines. Les Argyroi (IXe–XIIe siècles). *Byzantina*, 1. Paris 1975, 35–39.

21 For a detailled family tree of the Skleroi see Seibt 124; for their interconnections with the Argyroi see Vannier 64.

22 Psellos (*Chronographia* 6.50.6; I, 296 Impellizzeri) uses the word ἀνεψιά. The standard meaning of the word in the *Chronographia* is "niece" (e.g. 5.22.25; I,210 Impellizzeri). It has been interpreted by most scholars as "niece", while Maria has been also thought of as an aunt of Monomachos' second wife. Seibt 69–70 has decisively refuted these suggestions on historical grounds; he proposed to understand the word in the attested sense of "cousin" (see also Vannier 35 note 4). Spadaro, Note (as footnote 15 above) 354 and eadem, In Mariam Sclerenam (as footnote 15 above) 20 avoids the problem by characterizing Maria as a "relative" of the deceased anonymous Skleraina. In legal terms, however, the daughters of two brothers are cousins. Is it possible that Psellos erred because Maria was younger than the daughter of Basileios Skleros?

23 The whole affair is described in *Chron.* 6.50–61 (I, 296–306 Impellizzeri); see the detailed analysis by Spadaro, In Mariam Sclerenam (as footnote 15 above) 28–39.

24 On the title see Spadaro, Note (as footnote 15 above) 358 note 22 and eadem, In Mariam Sclerenam (as footnote 15 above) 39 note 66. On the political functions connected with the title see N. Oikonomides, St George of Mangana, Maria Skleraina and the "Malyj Sion" of Novgorod. *DOP* 34–35 (1980–81) 239–246.

25 The episode is attested in the *Chronography* of Skylitzes (434.51–64 Thurn).

26 *Chron.* 6.69 (I, 314 Impellizzeri). If Maria was the cousin of Monomachos' second wife and was herself married before entering the Monomachos household, she must have been between 25 and 30 when she died. Volk (as footnote 14 above) 336–339 has suggested that Skleraina might have been poisoned by Zoe. It is a most attractive hypothesis, especially in connection with Konstantinos' aspirations to have Maria crowned empress after Zoe's death and the popular revolt against Maria; however, nothing in the sources allows for such a conclusion.

nos had a beautiful tomb built for her in the monastery of St George at the capital's Mangana quarters.[27] The monastery was his foundation[28] but he granted its revenues to Maria, thus giving her financial independence.[29] He was buried there himself in January 1055.

The poem consists of 448 iambic verses.[30] Because of its length it will be useful to summarize briefly its content and delineate its structure:

I Introduction and presentation of the deceased (1–139).
  1 First address of the speaker to nature; Maria's death (1–21).
  2 Charon's misjudgement; first exposition of Maria's virtues (22–49).
  3 Authorial interjection; the vanity of life (50–60).
  4 Konstantinos and Maria; second exposition of Maria's virtues (61–119).
  5 Authorial interjection; second address to nature; Maria's death (120–139).
II The lamentations (140–325).
  1 Preparation for the laments (140–144).
  2 The mother's lament (145–200).
  3 The brother's lament (201–263).

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27 It is with substantial irony and negative colouring that Psellos presents us the emperor's thoughts, feelings and actions after Maria's death (*Chron.* 6.70–71; I, 314–316 Impellizzeri). Later in his story, Psellos, in criticizing the emperor for his promiscuous character, reports that after Skleraina's death he was haunted by erotic fantasies (*Chron.* 6.151.3–5; II, 98 Impellizzeri).

28 R. Janin, La géographie ecclesiastique de l'empire byzantin. Prémière partie: La siège de Constantinople et le patriarchat œcumenique. Tome 3: Les églises et les monastères. Paris ²1969, 70–76.

29 Oikonomides (as footnote 24 above) 241–243.

30 The text is preserved in four manuscripts: Par. Suppl. Gr. 690, 12th cent. (**P**); Laur. Conv. Soppr. 627, 13th cent. (**L**); Vat. gr. 1276, 14th cent. (**V**); Hieros. gr. 111, 16th cent. (**H**). The four manuscripts more or less fall into two groups: **P H**, and **L**; **V** oscillates between the two. It is not possible to establish clear stemmatic relations and, thus, the editor (and the reader) is left in many cases to his or her own judgement. The poem was edited for the first time from **P** by L. Sternbach, Appendix ad p. 340, Pselli carmen in Sclerinam. *Rozprawi i Sprawozdania z Posiedzen Wydzialou Filolog. Academi Umiejetnosci* 15 (1891) 374–392. It was then edited on the basis of **P V** by E. Kurtz /F. Drexl, Michaelis Pselli Scripta minora magnam partem adhuc inedita. *Orbis Romanus*, 5,1–2. Milan 1936–1941, vol. I, 190–205. An examination of all textual witnesses of the poem was conducted by M. D. Spadaro, Per una nuova edizione dell'elogio funebre per Sclerena di Michele Psello. *Siculorum Gymnasium* N.S. 27 (1974) 134–151, who then published the first fully critical edition (see note 15 above). Finally, a new edition was published by L. G. Westerink, Michaelis Pselli Poemata. Stuttgart/Leipzig 1992, 239–252. Westerink's edition has been criticized by M. D. Spadaro, Note filologiche a poesie del secolo XI, in: U. Criscuolo/R. Maisano (eds.), La poesia bizantina. Atti della terza Giornata di studi bizantini sotto il patrocinio della Associazione Italiana di Studi Bizantini (Macerata, maggio 1993). *ΙΤΑΛΟΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΑ. Quaderni*, 8. Naples 1995, 209–234; see also the review of Westerink's edition by I. Vassis, *Hellenika* 44 (1994) 191–196. Spadaro in her edition follows in many points **L**, while Westerink mostly follows **P V H.** For the present analysis the text will be quoted from Westerink's edition; a number of departures from his text, as well as discussion of problematic passages, will be signalled in the notes.

4 The lover's lament (264–325).
III Consolation and advice (326–448).
1 Restraint and acceptance of life's sufferings (326–369).
2 Maria's presence and address of admonition to Konstantinos (370–422).
3 Return to Zoe and Theodora; conclusion (423–448).

The poem neatly falls into three larger parts. The first and second part concentrate almost exclusively on lamenting the deceased, while the third part has a consolatory character. The first and third part are of almost equal length (139 and 123 verses respectively), while the second part has a length of 186 verses.

The *Iambic Verses on the Death of Skleraina* is obviously a commisioned work, though it is unclear exactly who commissioned the poem and on what occasion it was delivered, if it was delivered at all.[31] I shall start by looking at the presence of the public domain in the poem. The speaker, once at the very beginning of the poem (1–9) and once towards the end of the first part (122–128) addresses nature. Her various elements (the sun and the stars, the sea, the earth, the air) have been disturbed in their proper functions on account of "a universal storm, a general turmoil" (1 νῦν κοσμικὴ θύελλα, νῦν κοινὴ ζάλη).[32] He asks of the elements to mourn for the *sebaste* who has just died. Such an extensive address to the natural elements is unique in Psellos' remaining funerary production.

Beyond the placement of Maria's death in this "universal" context, the public domain is represented in the poem through the social ambience of the court.[33] First, Maria is publicly honoured by the emperor through the conferment of the *sebaste* title (80–84)[34] so that at her death she is "grasped

[31] Spadaro, In Mariam Sclerenam (as footnote 15 above) 49–54 briefly discusses the poem's genre and literary character. She considers it to be a typical Menandrian monody and one of Psellos' less successful literary efforts. Furthermore, she suggests that (a) the poem's beneficiary is the emperor, (b) the poem's chief function is to reconfirm the position of Maria's brother at court, (c) Psellos includes the conclusion in order to keep himself afloat within the changing political climate. She does not discuss the possible oral delivery of the poem nor it's potential commissioner; in fact, she seems to imply that Psellos came up himself with the idea of writing the poem.

[32] It should be noted that the adjective κοινή ("common to all, general"), attributed either to "turmoil" (ζάλη) or to Maria herself, occurs several times in the poem (1, 52, 79, 215, 222, 355). It is the same word that defines the funeral oration's public form in Pseudo-Dionysius (see passage quoted above).

[33] The use of the term "court" is to be understood more broadly than in the case of Western Medieval royal and feudal courts; see A. P. Kazhdan/M. McCormick, The Social World of the Byzantine Court, in: H. Maguire (ed.), Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204. Washington, D.C. 1997, 167–197.

[34] See also *Chron.* 6.58–59 (I, 302–304 Impellizzeri). Psellos describes how the court grudgingly accepted Maria after the empress surprisingly treated her with the greatest affection and agreed to the conferment of the new title.

away from the very center of the palace" (270). Second, an extensive reference (88–117) to the impact of Maria's charming personality on "everyone" who enjoyed her company (90 πᾶς, 111 πάντες),[35] presupposes a social context for witty conversation as it was conducted at court.[36] Finally, in a third passage Psellos presents those who have come to bewail Maria. He not only includes the deceased's mother and brother, but also the broader circle of relatives and further social acquaintances, the latter representing, partially at least, the court (140–144):

> Laments had started in a circle, mournings and dirges,
> lacerations of the cheeks and tearings of the hair,
> by her very mother, her beloved sibling,
> by her acquaintances, friends, relatives, and companions;
> but all this was mute for the one layed out.[37]

These verses give a first hint about the possible occasion of delivery.[38] The passage opens the second part of the poem that leads to a climax of three laments. The poem's first part had ended with Maria expiring on her deathbed (129–139). Then, everybody gathers around her to start lamenting (140–144). Psellos makes it clear that Maria is "layed out" before the mourners (144 τῇ προκειμένῃ). The image of Skleraina's physical presence is sustained in a number of further passages. For example, her mother is presented as drenching with her tears the deathbead and the deceased (204 καὶ τὴν κλίνην βρέχουσα καὶ τὴν φιλτάτην). Later, Maria is described as "layed out" (206 τῆς κειμένης, 213 τῇ κειμένῃ[39]), while the emperor, "seeing her layed out flat before him" (278 ὁρῶν δὲ ταύτην ὑπτίαν προκειμένην), begins to lament.[40] It is attested that other poems of a similar funerary character were delivered at the burial

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[35] Note also the earlier massive appearance of πάντα (seven times) in 37–49 referring to the effect of her death on "every" aspect of "all creation" (42 τὴν πᾶσαν κτίσιν).

[36] In fact, Psellos furnishes us with two such scenes in *Chron.* 6.60–61 (I, 304–306 Impellizzeri), where he himself and Skleraina are the main characters.

[37] In other words, the deceased could not hear the laments.

[38] It is, obviously, part of literary convention to have the relatives or friends gathered around the dying person, lamenting his/her imminent death, as the typology of a "good and companioned" death demands (Agapitos, Mortuary typology (as footnote 8 above) 113–114). At the same time, this convention reflects the social context for the initial stages in the rites of mourning and burial.

[39] The reading of **L** κειμένῃ is to be preferred over **P** συγγόνῳ; see Spadaro, Note filologiche (as footnote 30 above) 223–225.

[40] Vv. 258–260 could imply that her brother embraces or touches the corpse. The Greek runs as follows: ζώνην τε τὴν σφίγγουσαν αὐτὴν κυκλόθεν | ταῖς χερσὶν ὡς σκίασμα τῆς σαρκὸς φέρων | ἔλουε τοῖς δάκρυσιν ὑετοῦ δίκην. A more or less literal translation runs like this: "and, while bearing with his hands as a cover/protection of his body the belt which was tighly pressing her all around, he washed her with his tears just like a shower of rain". In my opinion, the belt is actually around Maria's corpse (the use of the present tense σφίγγουσαν suggests this) and Romanos is washing the corpse with his tears (αὐτήν, rather than ζώνην, as the implied object of ἔλουε).

ceremony, usually after the coffin had been placed in the grave.[41] One may very well imagine a similar situation for this poem, if not at the burial itself, then at one of the immediately following memorial services. If this suggestion is correct, the poem must have been composed immediately after Skleraina's death in c. 1045. It would, thus, be one of Psellos' earliest datable works, when he was twentyseven years of age.

Two further elements that point to the poem's public character are its metre and style. The Byzantine form of the iambic trimeter was to a substantial degree developed for public recitation[42] and was based on "acoustic" metrics.[43] Though the iambic metre could more or less follow the basic rules of ancient prosody, it primarily functioned as an accentuating verse. Its general characteristics include a verse length of twelve syllables, a relatively strong pause after the fifth or the seventh syllable, overwhelmingly paroxytone endings, a congruence of verse length and syntactic unit, a systematic avoidance of enjambement between verses.[44] The following passage gives a very clear idea of the acoustic metrics of Psellos' iambic verse. It is the opening of the third part; the speaker addresses the emperor (326–334):[45]

Ἐπίσχες, ὦ κράτιστε γῆς ὅλης ἄναξ,
στῆσον τὸ ῥεῦμα τῶν ἀμέτρων δακρύων,
παύου στενάζων, στῆθι συγκεχυμένος,
καὶ βλέψον, ὡς χρή. γνῶθι τὴν ἡμῶν φύσιν,
ὡς οὐδέν ἐσμεν πλὴν κόνις κεχρωσμένη·
ζωὴ δὲ καὶ θάνατος ὡς πύλαι δύο,
μέσον δὲ τούτων ὁ βραχὺς οὗτος βίος.
οὐδεὶς διῆλθε τὴν πύλην τῆς εἰσόδου,
ὃς οὐ παρῆλθε τὴν πύλην τῆς ἐξόδου.

One may note, for example, in 328–329 the strong pauses after the fifth syllable and the syntactic division of the two verses into four half-verses, even though at στῆθι συγκεχυμένος | καὶ βλέψον there is a faint sense of an

41 M. LAUXTERMANN, Byzantine Poetry from Pisides to Geometres: Texts and Contexts. Volume One. *WBS*, 24/1. Vienna 2003, 213–240; see also AGAPITOS, Ancient Models (as footnote 7 above) 12–14. A splendid contemporary example is Christophoros Mytilenaios' funerary triptych for his younger sister Anastaso (*Epigr.* 75–77 KURTZ).

42 W. HÖRANDNER, Zur kommunikativen Funktion byzantinischer Gedichte, in: XVIII[e] Congrès International des études Byzantines (Moscou 1991): Major Papers. Moscow 1991, 415–432.

43 O. LAMPSIDIS, Ἡ "ἀκουστικὴ" μετρικὴ εἰς τοὺς στίχους τοῦ Νικολάου Μουζάλωνος. *Byzantina* 4 (1972) 357–372 and R. ROMANO, Teoria e prassi della versificazione: Il dodecasillabo nei *Panegirici epici* di Giorgio di Pisidia. *BZ* 78 (1985) 1–22.

44 For a full description see P. MAAS, Der byzantinische Zwölfsilbler, in: IDEM, Kleine Schriften. Munich 1973, 242–288, esp. 243–252 (originally published in 1903). For the Byzantine perspective on the iambic verse see M. LAUXTERMANN, The velocity of pure iambs: Byzantine observations on the metre and rhythm of the dodecasyllable. *JÖB* 48 (1998) 9–33.

45 For a translation of this passage see below, p. 578.

enjambement. One may also note the strong acoustic effect at 333–334. The stress falls on exactly the same syllables (2nd/4th + 7th/11th), creating paroxytone endings at the pause and at the end of the two verses. Moreover, the four endings are accentuated by double *homoioteleuta* (διῆλθε … παρῆλθε + εἰσόδου … ἐξόδου).

The language of this passage is fairly indicative for the whole poem. The level of style is not particularly high.[46] Vocabulary, grammar and syntax conform to a discourse that Pseudo-Menander had defined as "relaxed" (ἄνετος) and that he prescribed for a *monodia.*[47] The relaxed style obviously enabled a larger audience coming from all strata of the imperial administrative apparatus and the court in general to follow the images unfolding throughout the text and to understand their meaning.[48] This audience was surely "educated" but not necessarily "learned".[49] At the same time, the quantative presence of rhetorical figures in the poem is overwhelming. This presence dimly reflects the poetic tradition of the prose monody, which Pseudo-Menander traced back to the laments in the *Iliad*,[50] and which Hermogenes defined as "swiftness/vigour" (γοργότης), the rhythmically dense style.[51] There is one aspect of this system that has caused substantial aesthetic annoyance among modern critics: repetition.[52] However, repetition in the form of

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46 On the concept of levels of style in Byzantine literature and their use for various purposes and effects see H. Hunger, Stilstufen in der Geschichtsschreibung des 12. Jahrhunderts: Anna Komnene und Michael Glykas. *Byzantine Studies/Études Byzantines* 5 (1978) 139–170 and I. Ševčenko, Levels of Style in Byzantine Prose. *JÖB* 31 (1981) 289–312.

47 MenRhet. 437.4 (206 Russell/Wilson): ἡ μονῳδία δὲ ἀεὶ ἄνετος. On the relaxed style see Soffel (as footnote 2 above) 192–195.

48 For a different evaluation of the poem's "rhetoricity" see Spadaro, In Mariam Sclerenam (as footnote 15 above) 52–54.

49 On education and language in Byzantium see R. Browning, The Language of Byzantine Literature, in: S. Vryonis (ed.), The "Past" in Medieval and Modern Greek Culture. *Βυζαντινὰ καὶ Μεταβυζαντινά*, 1. Malibu 1978, 103–133; see also P. A. Agapitos, Teachers, Pupils and Imperial Power in Eleventh-Century Byzantium, in: Y. L. Too/N. Livingstone (eds.), Pedagogy and Power: Rhetorics of Classical Learning. *Ideas in Context*, 50. Cambridge 1998, 170–191 with further bibliography.

50 MenRhet. 434.11–15 (200–202 Russell/Wilson); see Soffel (as footnote 2 above) 158–160.

51 *De ideis* 2.1 (312–320 Rabe); see also Lauxtermann, Velocity (as footnote 44 above) 25–28.

52 See, indicatively, K. Krumbacher, Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur. Munich ²1897, 639–640 and R. Jenkins, The Hellenistic Origins of Byzantine Literature. *DOP* 17 (1963) 37–52, esp. 46, but also Spadaro, In Mariam Sclerenam (as footnote 15 above) 51. This tradition of aesthetic indignation even has some late adherents of a fervent disposition; see, for example, the autobiographical *excursus* of P. Speck, Byzantium: Cultural Suicide? In: L. Brubaker (ed.), Byzantium in the Ninth Century: Dead or Alive? Papers from the Thirtieth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies (Birmingham,

recurring metrical and verbal formulas, imagery and figures of speech is a most vital part of the discourse of ritual,[53] to which the funerary style of the *Iambic Verses* manifestly belongs. Here follows an indicative list of the poem's figures of speech.[54]

Figures of word-order

Hyperbaton: 2 (νῦν συμφορᾶς ἄπαυστος ἠγέρθη κλύδων), 17 (ἡ πᾶν τὸ κάλλος τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις μόνον), 94 (ταύτην ἔχαιρε γῆς ὁρῶν ὁ δεσπότης), 156 (τίς ἥρπασέν σε τῆς ἐμῆς νῦν ἀγκάλης), 174 (πνοὴν ἀφεῖναι τοῦ βίου τὴν ἐσχάτην), 427 (στρέψον δὲ τὸν νοῦν τοῦ πάθους ὡς ἐκ ζάλης).

Chiasmus: 12 (ἡ βαθμὶς ἡ πρόκριτος, ἡ πρώτη βάσις), 32 (τὸ σῶμα λαμπρά, παμφαὴς τὴν καρδίαν), 92 (καὶ χεῖρα κινῶν, ἀλλ' ὁμοῦ καὶ τὴν κάραν).

Parallelismus membrorum: 13 (ἠθῶν ὁ κόσμος, τῶν τρόπων ἡ λαμπρότης), 18–19 (ἔχουσα καὶ φέρουσα … | δείξασα καὶ τέρψασα …), 33–34 (ταῖς ἀρεταῖς στίλβουσα μαργάρου πλέον, | ταῖς καλλοναῖς[55] λάμπουσα μᾶλλον χρυσίου), 35–36 (τὸ θῆλυ σαρκὸς ἀρρενοῦσα τοῖς τρόποις, | τὸ κόσμιον φέρουσα μέχρι καὶ θέας), 37–40 (ὢ πάντα νικήσασα τῇ σαυτῆς φύσει | καὶ πάντα κινήσασα πρὸς θρηνῳδίαν, | ὢ πάντα μὲν θέλξασα κάλλει καὶ φύσει | καὶ πάντα πληρώσασα νῦν πικροῦ ζόφου),[56] 122–123 (πέτραι, διαρράγητε πενθικῷ κρότῳ· | ὄρη, διαθρύβητε θρηνῴδει μέλει), 292–293 (αἰαῖ τὰ δεινὰ τῆς ἀειστρόφου τύχης, | αἰαῖ τὰ ῥευστὰ τοῦ πολυπλάνου βίου), 333–334 (οὐδεὶς διῆλθε τὴν πύλην τῆς εἰσόδου, | ὃς οὐ

March 1996). *Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies*, 5. Aldershot 1998, 73–84, esp. 73–74.

53 For example, the structure of the Orthodox office for the dead displays various patterns of repetition that help support the bereft mourners through the painful ritual; for the modern Greek tradition see L. Danforth, The Death Rituals of Rural Greece. Photography by A. Tsiaras. Princeton, NJ 1982, 38–55. Another case of ritual repetition is erotic discourse; see P. A. Agapitos, Ἡ ἀφηγηματικὴ σημασία τῆς ἀνταλλαγῆς ἐπιστολῶν καὶ τραγουδιῶν στὸ μυθιστόρημα *Λίβιστρος καὶ Ροδάμνη*. *Thesaurismata* 26 (1996) 25–42, esp. 38–40.

54 For a comprehensive catalogue of the *figurae elocutionis* based on the works of Philostratus the Younger see W. Schmid, Der Atticismus in seinen Hauptvertretern von Dionysius von Halikarnass bis auf den zweiten Philostratus. Vierter Band. Stuttgart 1896 (repr. Hildesheim 1964), 498–526. For a full theoretical treatment with many examples from Greek and Roman literature see H. Lausberg, Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik. Munich ^{2}1973. For applications in the case of Byzantine poetry see K. Mitsakis, The Language of Romanos the Melodist. *Byzantinisches Archiv*, 11. Munich 1967, 163–169 and W. Hörandner, Theodoros Prodromos: Historische Gedichte. *WBS*, 11. Vienna 1974, 111–118.

55 The reading καλλοναῖς **L** is to be preferred over ἡδοναῖς **P V H**; see 39, 59 and 88, where κάλλος and καλλονή are chief attributes of Maria.

56 We have here an exceptional case of parallelism extending over two verses (1–2 = 3–4); for such examples see *The Akathistos Hymn* 5.6–11, 9.8–15, 13.6–13 (C. Trypanis, Fourteen Early Byzantine Kontakia. *WBS*, 5. Vienna 1968, 29–39).

παρῆλθε τὴν πύλην τῆς ἐξόδου), 367–368 (εἰ σὺν σελήνῃ, σὺν φυτοῖς, σὺν ἡλίῳ | ἡ σὴ σελήνη καὶ φυτὸν καὶ φωσφόρος), 418–419 (τήρησον αὐτῷ τοῦ γένους τὴν ἀξίαν, | φύλαξον αὐτῷ τὰς ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐλπίδας).

Figures of repetition

Anaphora: 1–7 (νῦν repeated six times), 28–29 (exclamation),[57] 37–40 (ὢ πάντα … | καὶ πάντα … | ὢ πάντα … | καὶ πάντα …), 55–58 (ὢ καὶ μάτην repeated three times), 97 + 99 (κἂν … κἂν), 118–119 (ἀλλ' ἦν … ἀλλ' ἦν), 219–220 (ἔσβης … ἔσβης), 224–225 (ἅπαντα … ἅπαντα), 272 (πῶς … πῶς), 285–286 (ὢ ποίαν … ὢ ποῖος), 316 (ἕν … ἕν), 342–343 (οὕτω πέφυκε … οὕτω πέφυκεν), 372–373 (ἄγει πρός … ἄγει πρός), 383–384 (οὐχ ὡς … οὐχ ὡς), 413–414 (οὕτως ὄναιο … οὕτως ὄναιο).

Polyptoton: 72–73 (χάριν … χαρίτων), 193–194 (λευκάς … λευκόν), 215 (κοινόν … κοινή), 234–235 (σκιᾷ … σκιά), 285–286 (ποίαν … ποῖος).

Figura etymologica: 190 (ἁμαρτίαν ἥμαρτες), 205 (λούουσα λουτροῖς), 256 (ῥοῦν καταρρέων), 342 (πέφυκε φύσις), 364 (πάσχουσα πάθη).

Figures of vivacity

Asyndeton: 11–16,[58] 86 (ζωή, πνοή, τὰ πάντα), 130 (λεπτῶς, ἀμυδρῶς, ἐσχάτως), 186–189,[59] 279 (ἄπνουν, ἄφωνον, μηδαμῶς κινουμένην), 295 (ἄψυχος, ἄπνους, παντελῶς παρειμένος), 367 (σὺν σελήνῃ, σὺν φυτοῖς, σὺν ἡλίῳ), 428–432.[60]

Polysyndeton: 18–19 (ἔχουσα καὶ φέρουσα καὶ τῷ δεσπότῃ | δείξασα καὶ τέρψασα λαμπρύνασά τε), 121 (πῶς καὶ κινοῦμαι καὶ λαλῶ καὶ συγγράφω), 151–152 (τρύζουσα καὶ βοῶσα καὶ μυκωμένη | καὶ τὴν κόμην), 162–163 (χείρ, ὄμμα καὶ ποῦς καὶ καλὴ βακτηρία, | ψυχή, πνοὴ ζωή τε, νοῦς καὶ καρδία), 325 (χοῦς καὶ κόνις καὶ σαπρία), 368 (σελήνη καὶ φυτὸν καὶ φωσφόρος), 385 (ἔστι καὶ ζῇ καὶ βλέπει), 433 (τὸν πύργον ἢ τὸ τεῖχος ἢ καὶ τὴν βάσιν).

Figures of assonance

Alliteration: 1 (kappa), 12 (beta and pi) 40 (pi), 46 (pi), 54 (delta), 76 (pi), 136–137 (phi), 152 (κόμην πάττουσα παντόθεν κόνει),[61] 170 (alpha), 179 (delta), 211 (beta), 218 (pi), 221 (alpha and rho), 226 (pi), 234–235 (kappa), 236–237

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57 I omit listing further exclamations because of their vast number in the poem.

58 Ten metaphors describing the physical, mental, moral and social characteristics of Maria are listed in a huge *asyndeton* construction.

59 In six questions the speaker lists which of the deceased's virtues he could possibly omit. One should note the structural symmetry of the four verses: 186 (one question) / 187 + 188 (two questions per verse) / 189 (one question).

60 Five metaphors describing the moral and social (*qua* imperial) characteristics of Zoe are listed in a long *asyndeton* that reflects vv. 11–16 on Maria.

61 A case of double alliteration in chiastic form (kappa-pi /pi-kappa).

(pi eight times), 249 (kappa), 260 (delta), 291 (pi), 295 (ἄψυχος, ἄπνους, παντελῶς παρειμένος), 321 (ὁ χρυσὸς ὡς χοῦς), 324 (ὁ συγκαλύπτων σόν, σεβαστή, σαρκίον), 359–360 (kappa seven times), 377 (pi), 399 (delta), 420 (πάντα μοι πρὶν καὶ πάλιν).

Paronomasia: 5 (φωτός … φωσφόρε), 124–125 (στέναξον … στενάζειν), 175–177 (τέθνηκας … τεθνάναι … τέθνηκα), 192–194 (θερίζειν … θεριστοῦ … ἐκθέριζε), 201 (μήτηρ … μητρικῶς), 236 (πρόπαππε, πάππε καὶ πάτερ), 241 (πνοῆς[62] ψυχεμπνόου), 267 (συμφορᾶς … φέρων), 274–275 (φρόνημα … φέρων … συμφοράν), 298–299 (καλύψῃς … συγκαλύψῃς), 333–334 (διῆλθε … εἰσόδου … παρῆλθε … ἐξόδου), 337 (θνητή … τέθνηκε[63]), 344 (τέθνηκεν … θνητή), 356 (φαεινὸν φωσφόρον), 390 (εἰμὶ καὶ πάρειμι), 417 (φύντα … πεφυκότας).

Parechesis: 37–38 (νικήσασα … κινήσασα), 70 (τρυφῆς … τροφῆς), 118–119 (ἄθελκτος … ἄτεγκτος), 140–141 (θρῆνοι … θρύψεις), 148–149 (ἀψύχῳ … ψυχορραγοῦσαν), 152 (κόμην … κόνει), 160 (φῶς, φεῦ), 179 (δυστυχὴς δύσμητερ), 199–200 (βροτοκτόνου … ἄβρωτος), 207 (συγκλήτου κλέος), 233 (προλάμπῃ τῶν προλοίπων), 268–269 (στέρησιν … στρέφων … στροβούμενος), 352–353 (τεθηλότα … τεθνηκότα), 383–384 (ἀχλύς … ὀμίχλη), 386 (συλλαλεῖ καὶ συμμένει), 416 (τὸ πάππου παιδίον).

Homoioteleuton or *homoioptoton:* 13–14 (λαμπρότης … σεμνότης), 30–31 (μέσον … γέμον), 61–62 (κεκαυμένος … μεμνημένος), 64–65 (εὐφυΐαν … τιμωρίαν), 162–163 (βακτηρία … καρδία), 210–211 (πλέον … λέων), 278–279 (προκειμένην … κινουμένην), 289–290 (φροντίδας … καταιγίδας), 436–437 (… ἀκροφεγγίαν | … καρδίαν), 18–19 (φέρουσα … | δείξασα … τέρψασα λαμπρύνασά τε), 33–36 (στίλβουσα … λάμπουσα … ἀρρενοῦσα … φέρουσα),[64] 37–40 (νικήσασα … κινήσασα … θέλξασα … πληρώσασα), 47–49 (… γέμοντα … ἔχοντα … φέροντα),[65] 333–334 (διῆλθε … παρῆλθε + εἰσόδου … ἐξόδου).

Homonymia: 80–81 (μείζους … μεῖζον), 83–84 (σεβαστήν … σεβαστήν), 154 (ἡδύ … ἡδονῆς), 229–230 (ποθουμένη … ποθῶ), 243–244 (εἴ τις τομὴν ἤνεγκε … | τὴν συμφορὰν ἤνεγκα), 264–265 (ἀντεθρήνουν … ἀντεπήχουν), 327–

62 Spadaro prefers here the reading ψυχῆς **L V** against πνοῆς **P H.** See, however, the connection of ζωή and πνοή at 86 and 163; at 167 Maria is characterized as her mother's πνοή.

63 The verse is transmitted as θνητὴ δὲ πάντως καὶ τέθνηκε τῷ βίῳ in **L**, whereas **P H** transmits it as ἀλλ' οὐχὶ θνητή; καὶ τέθνηκε τῇ φύσει. Spadaro, In Mariam Sclerenam (as footnote 15 above) 98–99 argued in favour of **L.** I think that the **P H** version is rhetorically more powerful because of the strong pause after the question. In any case, both versions retain the *paronomasia.*

64 Except for ἀρρενοῦσα, which follows the fifth-syllable pause, the other three participles are placed at the seventh-syllable pause.

65 The three participles are placed at the seventh-syllable pause of the three verses respectively.

328 (στῆσον … στῆθι), 366 (οὐδὲν οὐδέ), 367–368 (εἰ σὺν σελήνῃ, σὺν φυτοῖς, σὺν ἡλίῳ | ἡ σὴ σελήνη καὶ φυτὸν καὶ φωσφόρος).[66]

It is quite evident from the foregoing analysis that the figures aiming at sound effects are overwhelmingly predominant. Even the figures of word-order, which are the least employed, are mostly striking cases of syntactical parallelism, also aiming at a sound effect.[67] It is, then, obvious that Psellos intended through his discourse to impose upon his audience a powerful acoustic impact. An elaborate syntax would have obstructed the immediate understanding of the text and lessened the acoustic impact. In my opinion, the rhetorical figures of the poem – almost exclusively acoustic – are a strong indication that the text was intended for public recitation infront of a larger audience.[68]

An examination of the *Iambic Verses* from the point of view of genre shows that (a) the poem does not display the structure nor does it develop the themes of the Menandrian prose monody,[69] and (b) it is a case of generic mixture by inclusion.[70] Psellos introduces into the poem four speeches by four persons. The first three are the laments of Maria's mother, brother and lover. The three speeches are actual dirges bewailing the loss of a deceased at the moment of burial.[71] Psellos has taken particular care to signal precisely the beginning and the end of each dirge through the use of extended speech-frame formulas (151–153 + 201–203, 211–213 + 255–257, 278–280 + 326–328).[72] In this

66 A very elaborate case of *homonymia* based on the metaphorical use of the words in the second verse. Moreover, the two verses form an *asyndeton* and a *polysyndeton* respectively, while being, at the same time, parallel cola.

67 Figures of identical word repetition within the same colon, what rhetoricians call *geminatio* (e.g. *anadiplosis, cyclos, epanalepsis*) are avoided, except for *anaphora* when combined with exclamation.

68 For a similar, rhythmically dense, discourse in prose, see Psellos' brief farewell address to Emperor Romanos Diogenes (*OratPan.* 19 Dennis, delivered in the winter of 1069 or 1071); it differs substantially in style from the panegyrical orations addressed to Konstantinos Monomachos (e.g. *OratPan.* 1 Dennis, delivered towards the end of his reign).

69 Compare the outline of the poem presented above with the outline of the Menandrian monody in Russell/Wilson (as footnote 1 above) 346–347.

70 On generic *mixis* see Agapitos, Mischung (as footnote 12 above) 119–121; idem, Ancient Models (as footnote 7 above) 10–12 with the theoretical bibliography; M. Mullett, Literary Biography and Historical Genre in the Life of Cyril Phileotes by Nicholas Kataskepenos, in: Odorico/Agapitos (as footnote 8 above) 387–409. For hybridization as generic mixture see S. Constantinou, Generic Hybrids: The "Life" of Synkletike and the "Life" of Theodora of Arta. *JÖB* 56 (2006) 113–133.

71 No examples of "included" laments are to be found in poetic monodies before Psellos.

72 The speech frame is an initially epic device which, within an oral narrative, served to introduce and to conclude discoursive sections through the use of various formulas. On

sense, the three speeches are clearly defined *threnoi* encased within the speaker's larger *threnos.* Thus, the *topos* and the *typos* of the encased and the encasing texts coincide and reinforce to a maximun degree the threnodic aspect of the poem.

The fourth speech is a monologue that the deceased herself addresses to her lover. The speech is also fully signalled by the appropriate speech frame (385–387 + 423–425) and forms part of the speaker's consolatory address to the emperor.[73] From the perspective of rhetorical structure, the *typos* of Maria's speech is what Hermogenes defined as an ἠθοποιΐα ὡρισμένου προσώπου,[74] that is, a "character monologue by a specific person".[75] The "specific" (i. e. real) person Maria Skleraina delivers a fictive monologue that reflects her "character". However, this monologue is not a lament but a series of requests presented as admonitory reminders.[76] Maria, as repayment (397 ἀμοιβάς) for her cares (392 φροντίδων), asks the emperor (a) to care for her soul by performing acts of charity on her behalf,[77] (b) to take care of her old mother, and (c) to support her younger brother Romanos in his social standing and carreer.[78] From the perspective of rhetorical meaning, the *topos* of this speech is what Aristotle in his *Rhetoric* (1.3.3; 1358b.6–10) had classified under the *genos symbouleutikon*, that is, political speeches of an advisory or counselling character.[79] We are, therefore, confronted here with a different kind of generic mixture. The admonitory and deliberative subject matter of a *symbouleutikos logos* has been combined with the dramatic structure of the *ethopoiia* in order

its uses in Byzantine literature see P. A. Agapitos, Narrative Structure in the Byzantine Vernacular Romances. A Textual and Literary Study of *Kallimachos*, *Belthandros* and *Libistros. Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia*, 34. Munich 1991, 64–73 with the relevant bibliography for ancient Greek and Latin poetry.

73 One much smaller example is to be found in Christ. Mityl. *Epigr.* 77.39–47 Kurtz, where Anastaso, the deceased sister of the poet, addresses Zoe, her dead mother, whom she meets in heaven.

74 *Prog.* 9; 20.19 Rabe.

75 See H.-M. Hagen, Ἠθοποιΐα. Zur Geschichte eines rhetorischen Begriffs. Erlangen/Nürnberg 1966, 55–64.

76 Note in particular the phrase "and take care of my orders" (422 καὶ φρόντιζε τῶν ἐνταλμάτων), with which the speech ends. *Entalma*, originally "commandment" in the Bible, takes a legal connotation in Byzantine usage (LBG s. v. ἐνταλματικῶς); it certainly is quite strong in this context.

77 These are, in fact, attested in the sources; see footnote 17 above.

78 This is how I understand the meaning of 418–419: τήρησον αὐτῷ τοῦ γένους τὴν ἀξίαν, | φύλαξον αὐτῷ τὰς ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἐλπίδας. The social standing is reflected in the preservation of the worthiness of Romanos' family, while the carreer is metaphorically described as the safeguarding of Maria's hopes.

79 On Aristotle's three kinds of oratory see the concise discussion by M. Fuhrmann, Die antike Rhetorik: Eine Einführung. Munich/Zurich 1990, 81–98 with good bibliography.

to produce a new type of speech which is, then, "included" in a larger poem of a primarily lamentative character.

This leads me to the role of the poet in his own text. In the poem's opening section, a speaker, confronted with an "universal storm" and a "general turmoil", addresses the elements of nature and demands of them to lament for her who "like a blossoming tree from spiritual valleys – alas, alas! – has been untimely harvested from its roots" (20–21). After having presented the deceased's virtues, the impact of her presence and of her loss, the speaker turns to his audience (50–54):

> Who will provide me with a blood-streaming fountain,
> who will provide me with an inexhaustible abyss of tears,
> so that I might bewail this general turmoil
> and show the wound of my heart's suffering
> through my blood-filled tears?

Through this address the speaker finally identifies himself as the author who is responsible for the composition recited to the audience and who, in all probability, recites the poem himself. The use of the phrase "general turmoil" (52 κοινὴ ζάλη) is an immediate reference to the poem's opening line (1 κοινὴ ζάλη). In this way, the speaker also identifies the tragic event as the death of Maria Skleraina. Such authorial interjections in the form of a question are a typical device of funerary discourse.[80] The interrogative interjection emphatically expresses here the rhetorical motif "greatness of the subject", since the speaker declares that he cannot find the proper material in order to lament Maria's loss.[81] Towards the end of the poem's first part and after having stated that Charon was not charmed by Maria's melodious song, the authorial *persona* steps a second time into his text (120–126):

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[80] On the mechanics of authorial intervention and interjection see Agapitos, Narrative Structure (as footnote 72 above) 74–90. On the presence of the author in his/her text see D. R. Reinsch, Autor und Leser in frühbyzantinischen hagiographischen und historiographischen Werken, in: XVIII[e] Congrès International des études Byzantines (Moscou 1991): Major Papers, Moscow 1991, 400–414; Ja. N. Ljubarskij, "Writers' Intrusion" in Early Byzantine Literature. *Ibidem* 433–456 (reprinted in idem, Vizantiiskie istoriki i pisateli. Sbornik statei. *Vizantiiskaja Biblioteka*, 1. Saint-Petersburg 1999, 338–354); R. Macrides, The Historian in the History, in: C. N. Constantinides et alii (eds.), ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝ. Studies in Honour of Robert Browning. *Istituto Ellenico di Studi Bizantini e Postbizantini di Venezia. Bibliotheke*, 17. Venice 1996, 205–224.

[81] For this motif in funerary literature see P. A. Agapitos, Ἡ εἰκόνα τοῦ αὐτοκράτορα Βασιλείου Α΄ στὴ φιλομακεδονικὴ γραμματεία 867–959. *Hellenika* 40 (1989) 285–322, esp. 300–302.

> Alas, alas! What discourse am I about to introduce now?
> How can I even move, much less speak and compose?
> Stones, break asunder with doleful sound!
> Mountains, crumble with mournful song!
> Moan, you earth, and groan from your depths;
> and should you not be able to moan in a human voice,
> send up from the depths below some sort of sound.

Here the speaker points out to his audience that he is about to embark on an emotionally charged section. This type of authorial comment often signals the beginning of a death scene.[82] Psellos indeed proceeds to describe in the next eleven verses Skleraina's death (129–139). The narration, however, is couched in a metaphorical language and deviates from the structural typology of a good death, possibly because the poem "represents" Maria's funeral and does not include any narrative death scene, as a prose funeral oration would have done. The description of her death is followed by the poem's second part where the laments around Maria's deathbed are introduced. In spatial terms, the poem moves from the universal frame of nature to the private space where Maria dies and where her relatives and friends have gathered to mourn her. At the same time, the presence of the speaker and his control over the narrative developement through his authorial comments give the impression to the audience that this private space is right there infront of them and that the lamentations are virtually performed before their eyes. The audience is thus incorporated in the poem, while the speaker becomes a "lament coordinator" who leads the "dirge" (38 θρηνῳδία) in various directions according to his plan.

The poem's second part with its three encased laments directed by the lament coordinator is quite extraordinary in Byzantine funerary literature and singular among similar poems of the tenth to the twelfth centuries.[83] Obviously, the passage does not convey reality. It constructs a textual reality through the *typoi* of literary convention. The structural and formal constituents of the poem's first and second parts reflect, in my opinion, a specific scene from an "archetypal" text, namely, the lamentations over Hector's corpse, that bring the *Iliad* to its conclusion (24.719–776). It should be pointed out that Pseudo-Menander refers to this very scene in his discussion of the origins of monody.[84]

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82 For example, see Gregory's intervention in *Orat.* 43.78.12–16 (298 Bernardi), introducing Basil's death scene. For examples from hagiography see Agapitos, Mortuary Typology (as footnote 8 above) 115–117 and 131–133.

83 Later, Psellos employed this device in some of his prose monodies though on a much smaller scale. See, for example, the encased laments of the deceased's mother and brother in the *Monody on the proedros Michael Radenos* (P. Gautier, Monodies inédites de Michel Psellos. *REB* 36 (1978) 83–151, 121.206–217 and 122.256–123.267 respectively), or the dirge of the deceased's husband in the *Epitaphios on the kaisarissa Eirene* (Kurtz/Drexl (as footnote 30 above) I, 177.28–179.16), both of them orations on deceased public persons intimately related with Psellos.

84 For the reference see note 50 above.

The structure of the Iliadic scene is as follows: the corpse of Hector is laid out in the palace (719–720); lamentation begins with a group of "lament leaders" (720–722 παρὰ δ' εἷσαν *ἀοιδοὺς* | *θρήνων ἐξάρχους*, οἵ τε στονόεσσαν ἀοιδὴν | οἱ μὲν ἄρ' ἐθρήνεον); relatives, friends and members of the household mourn continuously (722 and 746 ἐπὶ δὲ στενάχοντο γυναῖκες, 776 ἐπὶ δ' ἔστενε δῆμος ἀπείρων); three persons are singled out to deliver actual laments (723–746 Andromache, 747–760 Hecuba, 761–776 Helen).[85] Psellos' text displays the following structure: the "lament coordinator" starts his elaborate dirge (1–139), the corpse is laid out and people gather around to mourn (140–144); friends, relatives and acquaintances mourn continuously (141–143, 264–265); three persons are singled out to deliver actual laments (145–325).

If, however, the structural aspects of the scene reflect the famous passage from the *Iliad*, its stylistic aspects evoke the genre of "tragic drama" (τραγικὸν δρᾶμα).[86] The reminiscences from tragedy in Psellos' text are substantial[87] but they are not quotations from individual plays.[88] They, rather, constitute a case of a genre's overall stylistic *mimesis* as it was defined by Dionysius of Halicarnassus.[89] I have argued elsewhere[90] that Psellos viewed Euripidean

85 The three laments are fully signalled by the appropriate speech-frame formulas.

86 Anon. *De trag.* § 2 (R. Browning, A Byzantine Treatise on Tragedy, in: Γέρας. Studies presented to George Thomson. *Acta Universitatis Carolinae philosophica et historica. Graecolatina Pragensia*, 1. Prague 1963, 67–81 [reprinted in idem, Studies on Byzantine History, Literature and Education. London 1972, no. VII], esp. 68.9). On this text see also F. Perusino, Anonimo (Michele Psello?): La tragedia greca. Edizione critica, traduzione e commento. *Il delfino*, 2. Urbino 1993.

87 See, for example, vv. 1–9, 50–60, 154–170, 224–242.

88 Spadaro has gone into the trouble to incorporate in the *apparatus fontium* of her edition substantial references to phrases from the three tragedians. These references are indeed higher in number in the "tragic" passages I pointed out to in the previous note. However, a closer examination of each individual reference shows that (a) Psellos has not quoted any play directly, and (b) the editor's choice of echoed phrases is quite arbitrary (for an equally arbitrary approach to the constitution of the *apparatus fontium* in a recent edition see my remarks in *Hellenika* 43 (1993) 229–236). In fact, Psellos has created the cumulative effect of tragic discourse in a kind of stylistic *pastiche* highly reminiscent of the strophic monodies and iambic laments found in the Byzantine triad of Euripidean plays: *Hecuba* 59–97 (Hecuba), 154–215 (Hecuba and Polyxena), 409–443 (Hecuba and Polyxena), 684–708 (Hecuba and Servant Maid), 1056–1106 (Polymestor); *Orestes* 960–1011 (Electra); *Phoenissae* 1–87 (Jocasta), 301–354 (Jocasta), 784–832 (Chorus), 1284–1306 (Chorus), 1485–1538 (Antigona). For the often pointless and methodologically wrong approach to supposed quotations from ancient Greek literature by Byzantine authors see P. A. Agapitos, Der Roman der Komnenenzeit: Stand der Forschung und weitere Perspektiven, in: P. A. Agapitos/D. R. Reinsch (eds.), Der Roman im Byzanz der Komnenenzeit. Referate eines Internationalen Symposiums an der Freien Universität Berlin, April 1998. *Meletemata*, 8. Frankfurt a.M. 2000, 1–18, esp. 7–9 with an example from Psellos and his "use" of a Euripidean verse.

tragedy as primarily concerned with *pathos* and that he perceived *drama* as a genre declaimed in rhetorical (*qua* Dionysian) *mimesis*, rather than as something performed in theatrical (*qua* Aristotelian) *mimesis.* Furthermore, Psellos as a reader of Heliodorus singled out "laments" (θρῆνοι) as the chief characteristic of Charikleia's "learned" discourse.[91] Therefore, it can be no coincidence that, within the generic frame of verse lament, Psellos invested his Homeric model with a "tragic" discourse whose chief stylistic characteristics, as he saw them, were *pathos* and *threnos.* At exactly such a heightened moment of "suffering" and "lamentation", when the desperate lover bewails the loss of his beloved, he refers to this disaster as a "tragedy" (285 ὢ ποίαν εἶδες, ἥλιε, τραγῳδίαν). Furthermore, the use of iambic, rather than hexametric, verse in this new type of public funerary poetry gives to the grand scene of lamentation in the *Iambic Verses* the final touch of tragic style.

When looking now at the poem's iconography of death, one image is quite dominant, and that is the figure of Charon. He is referred to three times in the first half of the poem. After having described Maria as an untimely harvested tree (20–21),[92] the speaker turns to Charon (22–25):

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89 *De imit.* frg. III and VI.1 (Opuscula II, 200.21–25 and 203.6–18 Usener/Radermacher) = frg. 2 and *Epitome* § 1.3–4 (G. Aujac, Denys d'Halicarnasse: Opuscules rhétoriques. Tome V. *Collection de l'Association Guillaume Budé.* Paris 1992, 27 and 31.12–32.55). Of major importance are the remarks on *mimesis* in the 3rd-century treatise *On Mistakes in Judiciary Declamations* (Ps.-Dion. *De arte rhetorica* X.19; Opuscula II, 373.14–21 Usener/Radermacher), where the anonymous author obviously uses Dionysian material. On this neglected text see D. A. Russell, Classicizing Rhetoric and Criticism: The Pseudo-Dionysian *Exetasis* and *Mistakes in Declamation*, in: K. Maurer (ed.), Le classicisme à Rome aux I[ers] siècles avant et apres J.–C. *Entretiens Fondation Hardt*, 21. Geneva 1979, 113–154. On Dionysius see briefly D. C. Innes, Augustan Critics, in: G. A. Kennedy (ed.), The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism. Volume 1: Classical Criticism. Cambridge 1989, 245–273, esp. 267–272. On the theory of *mimesis* in Psellos see S. N. Papaioannou, Ἡ μίμηση στὴ ρητορικὴ θεωρία τοῦ Ψελλοῦ, in: C. Angelidi (ed.), Byzantium Matures: Choices, Sensitivities and Modes of Expression (Eleventh to Fifteenth Centuries). *Institute for Byzantine Research. International Symposium*, 13. Athens 2004, 87–98 and, more broadly, idem, Performance as Mimesis: From Political to Fictional Discourse in Medieval Byzantium, in: M. Mullett (ed.), Performing Byzantium. Papers from the Thirty-Ninth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies (Belfast, April 2005). *Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies. Publications*, 00. Aldershot (forthcoming).

90 P. A. Agapitos, Narrative, Rhetoric, and "Drama" Rediscovered: Scholars and Poets in Byzantium Interpret Heliodorus, in: R. Hunter (ed.), Studies in Heliodorus. *Cambridge Philological Society. Supplementary Volume*, 21. Cambridge 1998, 125–156, esp. 137–139.

91 See her description in Psell. *HelTat.* 39–42 Dyck, and Agapitos, ibid. 136–137.

92 On vegetal imagery in lamentation see M. Alexiou, Ὁ τελετουργικὸς θρῆνος στὴν ἑλληνικὴ παράδοση. Ἐπιμέλεια ἀναθεώρησης – μετάφραση D. N. Yiatromanolakis/P. A. Roilos. Athens 2002, 313–322 (revised and bibliographically updated translation of

Oh what tree did you cut down, Charon,
whose root deep down was animate,
ts fruit was such that truly sweetened the heart,
its folliage such that it could not wither with time.

Here Charon appears as a gardener who has inflicted damage on the beautiful tree, a fairly conventional image for Thanatos in ancient literature.[93] However, Thanatos is a totally different figure from Charon, the aged ferryman transporting the souls of the dead over Lake Acherousia to Hades.[94] In Psellos' poem we observe a gradual fusion of these two different images.

Towards the end of the first part, the speaker describes the charms of Maria's conversation. She "was truly an Orpheus and a Siren in words, sending unto all her beautiful song" (103–104),[95] charming everyone and especially the emperor (105–113). Psellos goes on to suggest that, should Maria not have had an inner sense of shame, her wondrous image would have made everyone stand still and turn into stone (114–117). "Only Charon could not be charmed by your song, only the hour of death could not be moved", adds the speaker (118–119 ἀλλ' ἦν ἄθελκτος πρὸς τὸ σὸν μέλος Χάρων, | ἀλλ' ἦν ἄτεγκτος ἡ τελευτὴ καὶ μόνη). Here Charon implicitly assumes the role of Thanatos in Homeric tradition, because Psellos insinuates that he has come to take Maria away and her song cannot stop him. Charon stands at the beginning and at the end of the speaker's *threnos*, marking with his presence the stern irrevocability of mortal fate.

Charon is addressed for the third and last time in the lament of Maria's aged mother (154–200). The two previous references directed the audience in an allusive manner towards the image evoked in this final appearance of Charon. At the beginning of her dirge, the old woman addresses her daughter: "Who has cut you like unripe crop, who has harvested you like immature vine?" (157–158). She, thus, reintroduces the images presented to the audience by the

EADEM, The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition. Cambridge 1974) and P. ROILOS, Ὁ νεκρὸς ὡς δέντρο στὰ ἑλληνικὰ μοιρολόγια: Ἡ μεταφορὰ στὴν παραδοσιακὴ προφορικὴ ποίηση τελετουργικοῦ χαρακτήρα. *Hellenika* 48 (1998) 61–85.

93 E. VERMEULE, Aspects of Death in Early Greek Art and Poetry. *Sather Classical Lectures*, 46. Berkeley/Los Angeles 1979, 37–39 and M. ALEXIOU, Modern Greek Folklore and its Relation to the Past: The Evolution of Charos in Greek Tradition, in: VRYONIS (as footnote 49 above) 221–236.

94 VERMEULE 211–212.

95 The two verses present two textual difficulties: (a) in 103 **P H** transmit ἀλλὰ Σειρὴν ἐν λόγοις, **L** reads ἀλλὰ Σειρὴν τὸ πλέον; WESTERINK chose the reading of **P H**, while SPADARO, Note filologiche (as footnote 30 above) 218–219 argued for the reading of **L**; (b) in 104 **P L** transmitt εἰσπέμπουσα, while **H** reads ἐκπέμπουσα, also independantly conjectured by STERNBACH; WESTERINK chose **P L**, while SPADARO, Note filologiche (as footnote 30 above) 218 note 13 argued for **H**. I have followed in both cases WESTERINK, because (a) in 103 the amplification is from an "Orpheus (in music)" to a "Siren in words", and (b) in 104 the reading of **P L** is undoubtedly the *lectio difficilior.*

speaker at Charon's first entrance (20–25). During her lament, the desperate mother reiterates the disasters of her life. Her cries culminate in a second series of questions about which of Maria's virtues she should omit from her lament (183–189). She then makes a pause and addresses Charon directly (190–200):

ἁμαρτίαν ἥμαρτες, ὦ Χάρων, ξένην
ἐμοῦ προπέμψας εἰς ᾅδην τὴν φιλτάτην·
εἰ γὰρ θερίζειν τοὺς βροτοὺς ἐπετράπης,
ἔργον θεριστοῦ πρᾶττε τὰς λευκὰς τρίχας·
ὡς λευκὸν ἐκθέριζε τοῦ βίου στάχυν.[96]
τί καὶ πρὸ καιροῦ τοὺς ἀώρους ἐκτέμνεις;
εἰ δ' ἐκθερίζεις ἀλληνάλλως, ὡς θέλεις,
κἂν ἄρτι με πρόρριζον ἐκκόψας λάβε
καὶ συγκόμιζε τῇ θυγατρὶ πρὸς τάφον·
καὶ σωρὸς ἔστω σοῦ βροτοκτόνου θέρους
μήτηρ ὁμοῦ καὶ τέκνον, ἄβρωτος στάχυς.[97]
You have erred, Charon, a strange error
by sending my dearest before me to Hades.
If you have been allowed to reap mortals,
then perform your reaper's duty on white hair;
as if it were blond corn harvest it from life.
Why do you cut down those who are as yet unripe?
If you harvest indiscriminately and as you please,
then mow me down straight from the roots
and carry me together with my daughter to the grave.
Let us be a bundle of your mortiferous summer,
mother and child together – untouched corn!

These are the final lines of the mother's lament. Psellos leaves no doubt that his Charon is not the ancient ferryman, but the Angel of Death who holds sway

[96] Kurtz/Drexl (following Sternbach) printed 193–194 as follows: ἔργον θεριστοῦ πρᾶττε τὰς λευκὰς τρίχας· | τὸν λευκὸν ἐκθέριζε τοῦ βίου στάχυν. Spadaro, In Mariam Sclerenam (as footnote 15 above) 95 argued that in 193 a semicolon should be placed after πρᾶττε (as is the punctuation in **L**), while the second half-verse should be understood as one sentence with the next verse; she also objected to Sternbach's emmendation τὸν in 194 from the unanimously transmitted ὡς in the manuscripts. Westerink in his edition retained the ὡς in 194 and the punctuation after τρίχας. In my opinion, his choice is correct because a strong syntactical break in the verse's inner pause combined with an enjambement is not found anywhere else in the poem. Furthermore, there is indirect evidence that the two verses should be read as two sentences. In a prose monody on the death of a son, transmitted anonymously but probably written by Niketas Eugeneianos in the middle of the twelfth century (A. Sideras, Eine neue Monodie – von Niketas Eugeneianos? *JÖB* 37 (1987) 181–200), the author laments the death of his child in the following manner: Ἰού, ἰού, ἰού! ἁμαρτίαν, ὦ Χάρων, ἐφήμαρτες οὐ μικράν, ἐμοῦ προπέμψας εἰς Ἄιδου τὸν φίλτατον. εἰ γὰρ ἐπέδοτό σοι τὰ γένη τῶν βροτῶν ἐκθερίζειν, θεριστοῦ ἔργον αἱ λευκαὶ τρίχες γενέσθαι σοι ὤφελον· καὶ δέον πάντως ἦν, καθάπερ στάχυν λευκόν, τοῦ τῆδε βίου ἐμὲ ἐκθερίσασθαι (Sideras, Unedierte Grabreden (as footnote 12 above) 208.9–13). The passage has been manifestly taken from Psellos. The twelfth-

over the living and harvests the crop according to his whim. The fusion of Thanatos and Charon has been fully accomplished. It probably reflects a similar fusion which must have taken place in popular beliefs, and out of which the figure of early modern Greek Charos arose. As far as can be judged from surviving texts, this fusion is attested in Psellos' poem for the first time.[98]

It is patently apparent to any reader that the *Iambic Verses on the Death of Skleraina* are imbued with a complex set of "pagan" imagery presented through rhetorically reshaped techniques of epic and tragic lamentation, intertextual dialogues with Attic drama, and elements of ancient Greek folklore in their Byzantine transformations. However, any potential clash between the poem's pagan imagery and the poet's Christian religion has been completely removed.[99] This has been achieved through the text's structure

century author, as is obvious from his rearrangement, understood the two verses as distinct sentences with τρίχας as direct object to πρᾶττε, while his καθάπερ also shows that ὡς was the original reading in 194.

97 L's ἄβρωτος ("uneaten", i.e. untouched) chosen by Westerink seems preferable to **P H** ἄμβρωτος, corrected by Sternbach to ἄμβροτος ("immortal") and accepted by Spadaro.

98 See Alexiou, Charos (as footnote 93 above) 224–225 for various texts from the tenth to the thirteenth centuries but without reference to the *Iambic Verses.* One such text is an anonymous poem surviving in a thirteenth-century manucript (Vat. gr. 207, f. 372r) and edited by Gy. Moravcsik, Il Caronte bizantino, in: idem, Studia Byzantina. Curavit J. Harmata. Budapest 1967, 386–407, esp. 399 (originally published in 1931). Though the poem has a lemma "Verses on Charon", it is a description of a figure called Thanatos which has been painted on a panel attached to a funerary monument (Moravcsik 389–392). The dark-coloured, fierce-looking man holding a cup (full of poison?) and a sword is a medieval version of the sword-bearing Thanatos in Euripides' *Alcestis* 74–76. It is interesting to note that in Demetrios Triklinios' edition of the Euripidean tragedies (the famous **P**, Vat. Pal. gr. 287 of the early 14th cent.) Thanatos has been substituted in the list of the play's characters by Charon (J. Diggle, Euripidis fabulae. Tomus I. Oxford 1984, 35 app. crit. ad vv. 29–31), obviously, the intervention of the scribe (or even of Triklinios himself) who projected his own beliefs on the ancient text; see Alexiou, Charos (as footnote 93 above) 232 note 38.

99 That such a clash between "pagan beliefs" and "Christian religion" could have serious effects on a person's position in society was to become painful reality in the late eleventh century; see Agapitos, Teachers (as footnote 49 above) 184–187. How far Psellos actually espoused Hellenic philosophy as a system of beliefs or how far he had rejected Christianity as religion is an issue that is being strongly discussed in the last ten years. For a decidedly "pagan" interpretation see A. Kaldellis, The Argument of Psellos' *Chronographia. Studien und Texte zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters*, 68. Leiden/Boston/Cologne 1999 and idem, Hellenism in Byzantium: The Transformations of Greek Identity and the Reception of the Classical Tradition. *Greek Culture in the Roman World*, 4. Cambridge 2007, 191–204; for a "Christian-humanist-philosophical" interpretation see M. Angold, The Autobiographical Impulse in Byzantium. *DOP* 52 (1998) 225–257, esp. 232–238 and E. Pietsch, Die *Chronographia* des Michael Psellos: Kaisergeschichte, Autobiographie und Apologie. *Serta Graeca*, 20. Wiesbaden 2005, 68–75.

since the world of tragic lamentation, of the dead, and of Charon has been exclusively reserved for the first two parts of the poem. The second part ends with the emperor's lament. There Konstantinos rejects the palace's luxurious decoration, that appears to him as a "crude stone" (322 λίθος τραχύς), and wishes to live by Maria's tomb, "a most beautiful stone, splendid indeed" (323 λίθος κάλλιστος, ὡραῖος πάνυ). The audience would have expected some formula of the speech frame to signal the end of this discoursive section, as it had happened at 201–205 and 255–258. Instead, the speaker abruptly enters his text (326–334):

> Restrain yourself, mightiest ruler of all the earth!
> Stop the flow of your immoderate tears,
> cease wailing, rise from this dejection
> and look up, as you must. Understand our nature:
> for we are nothing but coloured dust.
> Life and death are like two gates;
> between them lies our own short life-span.
> No one passed through the gate of entrance
> who did not leave through the gate of exit.

In his third authorial intervention the speaker addresses the emperor directly. This unexpected device must have surprised the listeners and made them aware that something new was being introduced. Indeed, through a series of six exhortations (326–329 ἐπίσχες … στῆσον … παύου … στῆθι … βλέψον … γνῶθι) the speaker puts aside the role of "lament coordinator" and takes up the role of "consoler", in other words, he shifts the focus from lamentation and emotional outburst to consolation and rational restraint. It is in this consolatory section that the audience gets for the first time a glimpse of the Christian belief in an afterlife and in the possibility of salvation. Psellos' intervention and his change of performative roles[100] mark the passage from the "pagan" world of death in the poem's first and second parts to the "Christian" world of life after death in its third and last part.

The middle section of part III consists of Maria's *ethopoiia* discussed above. Psellos signals the end of this discoursive section with an appropriate speech-frame formula (423–425). He then reverts to his exhortatory style and ends his poem with a final address to the emperor (426–448). In this last address, Psellos offers concrete political advice couched in a consolatory discourse (426–434):

[100] On Psellos' conception of rhetorical *metabole* see S. N. Papaioannou, Ἀπὸ τὴ ρητορικὴ στὴ λογοτεχνία: ἡ ἔννοια τῆς μεταβολῆς στὸν Μιχαὴλ Ψελλὸ καὶ ἡ ἀναβίωση τῆς μυθοπλασίας, in: V. Vlyssidou (ed.), The Empire in Crisis (?): Byzantium in the Eleventh Century (1025–1081). *Institute for Byzantine Research. International Symposium*, 11. Athens 2003, 473–482.

ἔπειτα ῥῖψον τὰς βολὰς τῶν ὀμμάτων,
στρέψον δὲ τὸν νοῦν τοῦ πάθους ὡς ἐκ ζάλης
εἰς τὸν φαεινὸν τῶν ἀνακτόρων λύχνον,
τὸ κοινὸν ἐντρύφημα τῆς οἰκουμένης,
τὸ λαμπρὸν ἀγλάϊσμα τῆς ἁλουργίδος,
τὸ τοῦ κράτους στήριγμα τῆς σκηπτουχίας,
τὸ τοῦ στέφους ἔρεισμα τῶν ἀνακτόρων,
τὸν πύργον ἢ τὸ τεῖχος ἢ καὶ τὴν βάσιν,
Ζωήν, τὸ καλλώπισμα γῆς τε καὶ πόλου.
Cast then around the glances of your eyes
and turn your mind away from the turmoil of suffering
towards the bright luminary of the palace,
the common delight of the terrestrial world,
the shining splendour of the royal robe,
the support of the scepter's power,
the strength of the palace's crown,
its tower or its wall or even its foundation,
Zoe, the beauty of the earth and of the sky.

The opening of the passage is marked by three important words. Two of them appear in the phrase τοῦ πάθους ὡς ἐκ ζάλης (427); they allude to the poem's opening verses where a "general turmoil" (1 κοινὴ ζάλη) had brought about a "terrible suffering" (4 δεινὸν πάθος). On the basis of the poem's funerary discourse the phrase in 427 can be translated as "from the turmoil of suffering", referring to the impact of Maria's death on Konstantinos. The third word is the adjective κοινός ("common") in 429. The adjective was previously used only in connection with Maria,[101] but it is now applied to the person to whom the emperor should turn to. The κοινὸν ἐντρύφημα τῆς οἰκουμένης, as the list of parallel *asyndeta* makes clear, is Empress Zoe whose very name means "Life". The transfer of the attribute κοινός from Maria to Zoe and the literal meaning of the noun ζωή are indications that we should look for a similarly transferred meaning in the phrase τοῦ πάθους ὡς ἐκ ζάλης. If removed from its funerary context, the phrase can be translated as "from the dizziness of passion" and, consequently, viewed as criticism of Konstantinos. The emperor should cease being a lover; he should become a husband and (re)turn to his lawful wife. The series of parallel *asyndeta* leaves no doubt that Konstantinos' wife was the only guarantor of his throne.[102] Both the emperor and the audience knew very well from most recent history (the insurrections of the city's populace against Michael IV in 1042 and against Skleraina herself in

[101] See note 32 above.

[102] The definite articles preceding the three imperial characteristics (430 τῆς ἁλουργίδος, 431 τῆς σκηπτουχίας, 432 τοῦ στέφους) can be understood as possessive genetives of an implied subject, in this case, the emperor to whom the imperial characteristics belong ("of your royal robe" etc.), but whose claim to the throne depends on the dynastic link provided by the purpleborn empress (433 "or even the foundation").

1044)[103] that he who attempted to remove this dynastic guarantor could find himself in serious trouble.[104] Thus, Psellos' intervention as the speaker at the end of his poem is primarily an admonition to Konstantinos to pass from the illusory world of emotional (*qua* erotic) fantasy[105] to the real world of rational (*qua* political) common-sense, in other words, from Maria as "Death" to Zoe as "Life".

2. A young, soft and so tiny bird

The other text of Psellos to be examined here belongs to his prose funerary works, of which nineteen have survived.[106] It is introduced by the following lemma: Τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν θυγατέρα Στυλιανὴν πρὸ ὥρας γάμου τελευτήσασαν ("Of the same on his daughter Styliane who passed away before the age of marriage").[107] Though Psellos' authorship was at some point questioned,[108]

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103 See the analysis in Spadaro, In Mariam Sclerenam (as footnote 15 above) 21–23 and 39–44.

104 On the importance of this dynastic link in the case of Zoe and her sister Theodora see P. Lemerle, Cinq études sur l'XIe siècle. Paris 1977, 253–257 and T. Papamastorakis, The Empress Zoe's Tomb, in: Vlyssidou (as footnote 100 above) 497–511 with the older bibliography.

105 See note 27 above, Psellos' remark about the emperor's erotic fantasies after Skleraina's death.

106 For a concise presentation see A. Sideras, Die Byzantinischen Grabreden: Prosopographie, Datierung, Überlieferung. 142 Epitaphien und Monodien aus dem byzantinischen Jahrtausend. *WBS*, 19. Vienna 1994, 111–149, who, however, excluded the oration on Nikolaos, abbot of the Monastery of the Theotokos of Horaia Pege, because it is not a funeral oration proper (*ibidem* 54–55). For further information on these texts with some differences in matters of dating see also Volk (as footnote 14 above) 303–381.

107 The three thirteenth-century manuscripts transmitting the oration are Par. gr. 1182, Vat. Barb. gr. 240 and Vat. gr. 672. See now P. A. Agapitos/I. D. Polemis, Πρὸς μιὰ κριτικὴ ἔκδοση τῶν ἐπιταφίων λόγων τοῦ Μιχαὴλ Ψελλοῦ: ἡ μονωδία «*Εἰς τὸν τοῦ ἀκτουαρίου Ἰωάννου ἀδελφόν*» (*OrFun.* 16), in: Λόγια καὶ δημώδης γραμματεία τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Μεσαίωνα. Ἀφιέρωμα στὸν Εὔδοξο Θ. Τσολάκη. Πρακτικὰ τῆς Θ΄ ἐπιστημονικῆς Συνάντησης τοῦ τομέα Μ.Ν.Ε.Σ. τοῦ Ἀριστοτελείου Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης (Μάϊος 2000). Thessalonike 2002, 139–160, where also the critical edition of the nineteen *orationes funebres* for the Bibliotheca Teubneriana is announced. For the history of *Styliane's* text see G. Vergari, Osservazioni sulla tradizione manoscritta dell'*Epitafio* di Psello per la figlia Stiliana. *Orpheus* N. S. 7 (1986) 345–355, who also announced a critical edition which has not appeared so far. The only available edition, based exclusively on the Parisinus, is by K. N. Sathas, Μιχαὴλ Ψελλοῦ ἱστορικοὶ λόγοι, ἐπιστολαὶ καὶ ἄλλα ἀνέκδοτα. *Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, 5. Paris/Venice 1876 (repr. Athens 1972), 62–87. The text will be quoted by the forthcoming edition's paragraph numeration with reference to page and line numeration in Sathas (e.g. § 5; 63.26–

recent research has convincingly shown that the oration is an original work of his.[109]

The information on Psellos' family derives almost exclusively from his own works.[110] This is also the case with his daughter Styliane who was his only child after many years of marriage.[111] She was in her ninth year when she was struck by an "epidemic disease" (§ 32; 77.11 λοιμικὴ νόσος), almost certainly smallpox.[112] She died after thirty one days, probably in the late summer of 1054 during a minor epidemic that had errupted in the capital.[113] The speech must have been held at one of the memorial services after Styliane's death.[114]

30). An Italian translation with notes was published by G. Vergari, Michele Psello: Per la figlia Stiliana, in: R. Anastasi (ed.), Cultura e politica nell'XI secolo a Bisanzio: Versioni di testi di Michele Psello e Giovanni di Euchaita. *Università di Catania. Facolta di lettere e Filosofia. Istituto di studi bizantini e neoellenici. Pubblicazioni*, 2. Catania 1988, 153–184. For a recent English translation with introduction and notes see A. Kaldellis, Mothers and Sons, Fathers and Daughters: The Byzantine Family of Michael Psellos. With Contributions by D. Jenkins and S. Papaioannou. *Michael Psellos in Translation*, 1. Notre Dame, Indiana 2006, 111–138.

108 G. Vergari, Sull'*Epitafio* pselliano per la figlia Stiliana, in: Studi di Filologia Bizantina III. *Università di Catania. Quaderni del Siculorum Gymnasium*, 15. Catania 1985, 69–76. Based on a series of intelligent observations, Vergari suggested that the text does not behave like any other of Psellos' funerary works and that such a behaviour needs to be explained. This is to a certain extent correct, though what she considers a deviating behaviour is not related to different authorship.

109 Volk (as footnote 14 above) 22–23 and Sideras (as footnote 106 above) 119 note 85.

110 See Volk, ibid. 20–29 and now Kaldellis, Mothers and Sons (as footnote 107 above) 10–16.

111 § 38; 80.15 and 49; 87.5–6. See A. Leroy-Molinghen, Styliane. *Byz* 39 (1969) 155–163. Psellos and his wife also had an adopted daughter, Euphemia, who was probably a few years younger than Styliane; on Euphemia's name see now D. R. Reinsch, Der Name der Adoptivtochter des Michael Psellos. *Medioevo Greco* 8 (2008) 271–274. The chronological indications from other texts and an oblique reference at § 48 (86.19 αὐταδέλφων εὐτύχημα) suggest that Euphemia was taken into the Psellos household before Styliane's death; see Volk (as footnote 14 above) 317–318 with notes 57 and 64. Kaldellis, Mothers and Sons (as footnote 107 above) 137 note 33 believes that the phrase is only a rhetorical device.

112 This is what the description of her disease (§ 32–35; 76.29–79.5) suggests; see Leroy-Molinghen 161 and Volk (as footnote 14 above) 316.

113 Psellos remarks that, while other people had caught this same disease, no one actually died (§ 38 and 39; 80.20–22 and 81.2–7). Volk (as footnote 14 above) 317 relates these remarks to a λοιμικὴ νόσος that is attested for August/September 1054 in Skylitzes (477.74–76 Thurn). This very plausible hypothesis furnishes us with a relatively secure date for Styliane's death. Sideras (as footnote 106 above) 120–121 dates her death to 1052 on purely hypothetical grounds.

114 It is clear from the text that the funeral had already taken place (§ 41; 82.12–19) and that her father had been visiting her grave (§ 46; 85.17–22); see Sideras (as footnote 106 above) 121 with note 98. At what memorial service the oration was held cannot be established, though the *mnemosynon* on the fortieth day is the most probable occasion

The *Oration on Styliane* amounts to c. 750 printed lines of text and is one of Psellos' lengthier funerary works. It will be useful to present here a more detailed outline of its content and structure:

I Introductory section (§ 1–4).
  1 Prooimion: honouring truth and nature (§ 1–2; 62.3–63.2).
  2 The sadness of the subject; a proposal for its treatment (§ 3–4; 63.3–25).
II Growth and upbringing (§ 5–15).
  1 Descent, birth and babyhood (§ 5–6; 63.26–64.19).
  2 Transition: progress into childhood (§ 7; 64.19–65.9).
  3 At her sixth year: learning at school and at home (§ 8–10; 65.10–66.24).
  4 Transition: love for her parents, especially her father (§ 11; 66.25–67.6).
  5 Character and religious devotion (§ 12–13; 67.7–68.4).
  6 At her ninth year: growth towards perfection (§ 14–15; 68.5–25).
III Physical beauty (§ 16–26).
  1 Head, forehead, eyebrows (§ 16; 68.26–69.14).
  2 Eyes (§ 17; 69.14–24).
  3 Nose (§ 18; 69.25–70.3).
  4 Mouth (§ 19; 70.3–18).
  5 Cheeks (§ 20; 70.19–30).
  6 Neck (§ 21; 70.31–71.7).
  7 Hair (§ 22; 71.7–24).
  8 Arms (§ 23; 71.25–72.4).
  9 Breasts, waist, thighs, legs, ankles (§ 24; 72.5–19).
  10 Overall bodily harmony and whiteness of skin (§ 25; 72.20–28).
  11 Transition: even great beauty is prey to death (§ 26; 72.29–73.8).
IV Deeds (§ 27–31).
  1 Marital hopes: her beauty; nature versus artifice (§ 27–28; 73.9–74.13).
  2 Praise of bodily, mental, and spiritual virtues (§ 29; 74.14–75.10).
  3 Enumeration of her deeds (§ 30–31; 75.10–76.28).
V Death (§ 32–41).
  1 Transition: God's decision (§ 32; 76.29–77.12).
  2 The disease; helplesness of medicine, faith in God (§ 33–34; 77.13–78.15).
  3 The twentieth day: respite and relapse (§ 35–36; 78.16–79.19).
  4 The thirty-first day: death; laments of nurses and maids (§ 37; 79.20–80.8).

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for the following reason. Psellos' funeral oration on his mother can be dated with certainty to the end of 1054 or the very beginning of 1055, at a point when he had just assumed the monastic habit (U. Criscuolo, Michele Psello: Autobiografia. Encomio per la madre. Testo critico, introduzione, traduzione e commento. Naples 1989, 21–27; Sideras (as footnote 106 above) 132; Kaldellis, Mothers and Sons (as footnote 107 above) 31–32). Psellos would not have held an *epitaphios* on his daughter as a monk (once he had returned from Bithynia in the late spring of 1055), in which the bodily beauty of the girl would have been extolled in such detail as it happens in *Styliane.* It is because of his monastic habit that he omitted a detailed *ekphrasis* of the deceased from the *Epitaphios on the kaisarissa Eirene*, as he explicitly states in the text; Kurtz/Drexl (as footnote 30 above) I, 167.2–5: ὅλη γὰρ ἄνθος ἦν καὶ χαρίτων καὶ ὡραιότητος. καὶ εἰ μή με τὸ φιλόσοφον ἐδεδίττετο σχῆμα, εἶπον ἂν ἄλλα πολλά ("For she was in all a flower of charm and beauty. And if I was not awed by my monastic habit, I would have said many other things").

5 Lament of her parents (§ 38–40; 80.8–82.11).
6 Burial (§ 41; 82.12–23).
VI Consolation (§ 42–49).
1 Styliane's first dream: the vision of a garden (§ 42–43; 82.24–84.5).
2 An interpretation: Paradise (§ 44; 84.6–21).
3 Styliane's second dream: an imposing woman (§ 45; 84.22–31).
4 An interpretation: the Virgin Mary (§ 46; 84.31–85.14).
5 Succumbing to sorrow; uselesness of philosophy (§ 47–48; 85.14–86.16).
6 Help from the deceased: appearance in dreams (§ 49–50; 86.17–87.20).

The oration is broadly divided into five larger units with a clearly marked introductory section: parts II, III and V are almost of equal length, comprising eleven, eleven and ten paragraphs respectively; part VI is shorter, comprising eight paragraphs; part IV is the shortest with only five paragraphs. Parts II to IV encompass the oration's laudatory part up to Styliane's sickness, parts V and VI include the lamentative and consolatory part. However, the division between *threnos* and *paramythia* is not as sharp as was the case in the poem on Skleraina. Aspects of lamentation, praise or consolation are also found in the other parts of the text. We shall return to this matter when examining the oration from the point of view of genre.

Like the *Iambic Verses on the Death of Skleraina*, the *Oration on Styliane* is also a literary text of "applied" rhetoric,[115] though it does not include any indication that it was a commissioned work.[116] Psellos most probably composed it in order to commemorate his child at a private memorial service. Styliane, moreover, died at an age when she could not have had any personal impact on the capital's society, even though her father's standing at court was high.[117] It is, therefore, to the private domain that we must turn to look for Styliane's

115 On this concept see A. Garzya, Testi letterari d'uso strumentale. *JÖB* 30 (1981) 263–287.

116 From some of Psellos' other funerary prose texts we can infer their actual commissioners: Christophoros, the younger brother of Michael Radenos (Gautier (as footnote 83 above) 119.139); the *kaisar* Ioannes Doukas, husband of Eirene (Kurtz/Drexl (as footnote 30 above) 164.1–2, 185.26–189.11); the *aktouarios* Ioannes, elder brother of the deceased (Agapitos/Polemis (as footnote 107 above) 156.1–6).

117 Vergari, Epitafio (as footnote 108 above) 72 considers the complete absence of Constantinopolitan "high society" in the oration as something extremely peculiar and not in harmony with Psellos' rising star at court (she wrongly dates the oration to c. 1042). In fact, we do not know anything about the presence or absence of official representatives at the funeral of a private person in case his or her family had connections to the court, and here we are concerned with the death of a nine-year-old girl. However, one may compare in Psellos' *Encomium on his Mother* the description of his sister's funeral and the happenings at her grave (114.834–119.986 Criscuolo): it is an absuletely private affair. Even the participation of the city's inhabitants in the funeral procession (119.978–982) is coincidental, while it is, moreover, modelled on the equivalent scene in Gregory's oration on Basil (*Orat.* 43.80; 300–302 Bernardi).

presence. This private domain is represented through three different social spaces: the household, the school, the church. These spaces are introduced in order to demonstrate the way in which the girl behaved in respective situations: maidenly upbringing, school education, religious devotion. These situations reflect the intended expectations of her parents, in other words, they construct the ideal behavioral norms of eleventh-century urban society.[118]

Styliane's behaviour in these "standard" situations is the measure by which her father builds his daughter's image. An examination of the situations within each space of the private domain shows that Styliane goes through what every girl of her age and status has to go through. She is brought up with a nurse and servant maids, she learns basic reading and writing, she learns the Psalms, goes to evening service and memorizes hymns, learns at home how to weave, to dress and to behave properly. Styliane is neither doing nor is asked to do things that go beyond social expectations.[119] However, her behaviour, as presented by her father, invests all of these private scenes with a particular meaning that elevates the young heroine far above social conventions.[120] For example, the

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118 On children in Byzantium see A. Kiousopoulou, Χρόνος καὶ ἡλικίες στὴ βυζαντινὴ κοινωνία. Ἡ κλίμακα τῶν ἡλικιῶν ἀπὸ τὰ ἁγιολογικὰ κείμενα τῆς μέσης ἐποχῆς (7ος – 11ος αἰώνας). *Ἱστορικὸ Ἀρχεῖο Ἑλληνικῆς Νεολαίας*, 30. Athens 1997 with further bibliography. On women see, indicatively, A. E. Laiou, The Role of Women in Byzantine Society. *JÖB* 31 (1981) 233–250; Eadem, Observations on the Life and Ideology of Byzantine Women. *BF* 9 (1985) 59–102; Eadem, Mariage, amour et parenté à Byzance aux XIe–XIIIe siècles. *Travaux et Mémoires du Centre de Recherche d'Historie et Civilisation de Byzance. Monographies*, 7. Paris 1992; J. Herrin, "Femina Byzantina": The Council in Trullo on Women. *DOP* 46 (1992) 97–105; I. Kalavrezou (ed.), Byzantine Women and their World. Cambridge, MA/New Haven/London 2003, particularly the contributions by I. Kalavrezou and A. E. Laiou; K. Nikolaou, Ἡ γυναίκα στὴ μέση βυζαντινὴ ἐποχή: Κοινωνικὰ πρότυπα καὶ καθημερινὸς βίος στὰ ἁγιολογικὰ κείμενα. *Ἰνστιτοῦτο Βυζαντινῶν Ἐρευνῶν. Μονογραφίες*, 6. Athens 2005; Kaldellis, Mothers and Sons (as footnote 107 above) 17–28 with further bibliography.

119 Nikolaou (as footnote 117 above) 185–213 offers a broad picture of women's education in medieval Byzantium, but, in the case of Styliane (ibid., 191 note 24), she believes that what Psellos presents is exaggerated (so also Laiou, The Role of Women (as footnote 117 above) 253). However, the images Psellos creates appear exaggerated only if the text is approached with a positivist attitude as to the "historical information" it supposedly provides.

120 Leroy-Molinghen (as footnote 111 above) 156–158 views the portrait presented as the "real" Styliane. But "real" is only what constitutes *social convention* and what can be related to and counter-checked by other sources. The textual portrait of Styliane is the interpretative reconstruction of "reality" through the rhetorical system of *literary convention*, true in a metaphysical sense but not real in a pragmatic sense. On this issue and the difference between a modern understanding of "real" and the medieval understanding of "true" see briefly P. A. Agapitos, Zwischen Grauen und Wonne: Das Bad in der byzantinischen Literatur. *JÖB* 54 (2004) 19–37, esp. 35–37.

speaker, having presented the upbringing of Styliane at home and her education at school, addresses the audience and reports (§ 12; 67.7–17):

> What then do you think, listener? That everything was beautiful as to her body – as it could not have been otherwise! – but that it was not the same as to her soul, or that it was not in a way that someone could have imagined about her? Not in the least! She showed such eagerness for the evening hymns and the nightly celebrations, no less than anyone of those who visited the church. As if on wings, she would voluntarily hasten to church. By standing motionless and attentive she would express her reverence to God, or she would in self-taught fashion pronounce the vesper psalms and would on first hearing learn David's wise words. She sang together with the rest of the congregation, she listened to those reciting the holy hymns, and she put nothing aside from all those things that are necessarily adduced to sing the praises of God.

If the passage is reduced to its essentials of action, what remains is a young girl going to church and performing what has to be performed. But Psellos fuses narration with interpretation, thus giving to the little scene its singular and highly private character. Styliane's eagerness (τὸ πρόθυμον) to go to church voluntarily (αὐτομολεῖν), to stand motionless and attentive, and to recite the hymns she had learned on her own (αὐτομαθῶς ἀπεφθέγγετο)[121] express her inner devotion[122] and her inherent learning capacity. The natural qualities of her soul and intellect go far beyond what is expected of a six-year-old girl.[123] This is what Psellos insinuates in his very strong authorial intervention, when he asks his listener if he thought "that it was not the same as to her soul, or that it was not in a way that someone could have imagined about her" (67.8–9 τὰ δὲ κατὰ ψυχὴν οὐχ ὁμοίως ἢ ὡς οὐκ ἄν τις ᾠήθη περὶ αὐτῆς;). The phrase covers

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121 Psellos presents his mother as also having to learn reading and writing on her own (90.138–141 Criscuolo): "Whenever she could hide from her mother, having received in such a manner only the very beginnings of writing out letters, she then put them together on her own and composed syllables and words, not needing any teacher". This way of learning seems to have been the case for most women in the early Middle Byzantine period (Nikolaou (as footnote 117 above) 194–201). Some ten years later (in c. 1065), Psellos remarked in the autobiographic *excursus* of the *Chronographia* that he attained wisdom on his own, without the help of teachers (6.37; I, 282–284 Impellizzeri). However, another ten years after this statement, when he delivered in 1075 an encomiastic oration on his old teacher Ioannes Mauropous (for the date see A. Karpozilos, Συμβολὴ στὴ μελέτη τοῦ βίου καὶ τοῦ ἔργου τοῦ Ἰωάννη Μαυρόποδος. *Δωδώνη. Παράρτημα*, 18. Ioannina 1982, 46–47), Psellos described how he acquired knowledge at Ioannes' school (*OratPaneg.* 17.193–214; 150–151 Dennis). It is more than obvious that Psellos (as he himself pointed out in *Chron.* 6.197.15–46; II, 144–146 Impellizzeri), continuously shifted perspectives, adjusted himself, and rearranged his material and data according to a given situation and his textual manipulation of it. It is, therefore, a highly difficult, if not to say futile, enterprise to attempt to reconstruct "Psellos" as a unified whole of consistent utterances.

122 The motif of devotion is presented very differently in the case of Psellos' mother (*EncMatr.* 90.143–145 Criscuolo), where Theodote, preempting her mother's wish, voluntarily offers herself to the Church, an act with a clearly public dimension.

123 On her age at that point see § 8; 65.10: ἕκτος μὲν αὐτῇ τῆς αὐξήσεως χρόνος ἠρίθμητο.

with a screen of stylistic obscurity the direct question "Do you think that her soul was not excellent or that she was conventional?"

Similar situations are created to describe Styliane's voluntary visit to school and her love of learning (§ 9; 65.21–66.5),[124] or her natural talent in acquiring the skills to weave and to embroider (§ 10; 66.6–24). Psellos, on a first level, equates "basic school education" (66.6 γραμμάτων προπαίδεια) with "weaving" (66.7 ἱστουργία) when he makes Styliane divide her time equally between the two areas of activity (66.8–12).[125] However, a closer reading of the two passages reveals that the speaker invests weaving with a particular colour. Whereas school lessons are simply referred to as "the knowledge of letters" (66.11 ἡ τῶν γραμμάτων γνῶσις), weaving is more complexly described as "the art of fabric ornamentation" (66.13 ἡ ἐν ὑφάσμασι ποικιλτικὴ τέχνη).[126] Styliane has to be "initiated" (66.14 μυσταγωγουμένη) into this art by her mother, though she absorbs it so quickly as if she had its teachings "imprinted in her mind" (66.17–18 ἐντετυπωμένα κατὰ νοῦν). Psellos disingeniously adds "if one may believe the most wise Plato pronouncing that recollections are the learning processes of the soul" (66.19–20 εἴπερ τῷ σοφωτάτῳ Πλάτωνι πειστέον ἀναμνήσεις τὰς ψυχῆς μαθήσεις διαγορεύοντι).[127] This elevation of weaving into a mystagogical art could possibly be a delicate way of indicating that his daughter was better in weaving than in school.[128]

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124 One should note in this passage the use of words stressing the voluntary, *quasi* natural desire, of Styliane for learning (65.27–28 αὐθαιρέτως τοῖς παιδαγωγοῖς προσιέναι, 66.2 ὁ φυσικὸς πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα ἔρως, 66.5 φιλοτιμίᾳ φύσεως πλουτοῦσα τὸ περὶ παιδείαν ἀμίμητον). It is the same desire that, as Psellos presents it, burned in himself (*EncMatr.* 144.1685–145.1697 Criscuolo).

125 This equation is also achieved through the use of similar words for both activities; see 65.19 καὶ δαυιτικοῖς ψαλμοῖς ἀνεβιβάζετο ≈ 66.13 ἐμβιβαζομένη πρὸς τὴν ἐν ὑφάσμασι ποικιλτικὴν τέχνην; 65.19–20 τῷ τῆς φύσεως ὀξεῖ ≈ 66.16 τάχει φύσεως.

126 Psellos, in tune with societal norms, considered weaving as an exclusively female activity; see his remark here (66.11–12 νῦν δὲ περὶ γυναικῶν ἔργα καὶ ἱστοπόνους ἐπιμελείας), in the *Encomium on his Mother* (89.129–90.135, 92.218–93.229 Criscuolo) and in his essay *On how Some People Become Intelligent and Others Dumb* (*PhilosMin.* II, 19; 93.8–14 O'Meara); on this last passage see Volk (as footnote 14 above) 121. On fabric production and weaving as female professions see Nikolaou (as footnote 117 above) 293–296 and A. E. Laiou, The Festival of "Agathe": Comments on the Life of Constantinopolitan Women, in: Βυζάντιον. Ἀφιέρωμα στὸν Ἀνδρέα Ν. Στράτο. Athens 1986, vol. I, 111–122 (analysing Psellos' short text, translated now in Kaldellis, Mothers and Sons (as footnote 107 above) 179–186).

127 Psellos refers here to *Phaedo* 72e3–4 on "learning as recollection" of the soul. On Psellos' approach to such Platonic concepts see his essay *On the Ideas which Plato Discusses* (*PhilosMin.* II.33; 111–114 O'Meara), analyzed by L. Benakis, Μιχαὴλ Ψελλοῦ *Περὶ τῶν ἰδεῶν ἃς ὁ Πλάτων λέγει:* Εἰσαγωγή, κριτικὴ ἔκδοση καὶ νεοελληνικὴ μετάφραση. *Philosophia* 5–6 (1975–76) 393–423, esp. 394–411.

128 That Psellos was capable of making such delicate comments in a laudatory context can be seen from the *Monody on the rephendarios Romanos*, where he insinuates that his

Be that as it may, the private domain finds its strongest expression in the description of the reciprocal love between the parents and their daughter, viewed, almost exclusively, from the father's perspective and coloured by a broad emotional palette.[129] Emotional intensity in personal relationships is one of the chief traits of Psellos' "rhetorical" character,[130] and finds in this oration its first attested expression for the death of an immediate relative. Psellos, in a transition from describing Styliane's aptness in weaving to presenting her religious devotion, makes a pause by inserting an authorial interjection (§ 11; 66.25–67.6):

> Who then did in such a manner love her parents, or retained her attachment for them, or respected their person, or was overwhelmingly united with them through love? Now, I indeed know this and I possess the truth through experience. For she gave me many symbols and signs of her tender affection towards me: embracing my neck, offering me kisses, placing herself next to me all the time, lying with me in bed, sitting on my knees, walking around my lap, eating from the same food, partaking from the same drink, wanting to partake from everything that was offered and served to me because of the endless sea of her love.

With a few brush-strokes Psellos has drawn the harmonious atmosphere of the ideal private domain. The "symbols and signs" (σύμβολά τε καὶ σήμαντρα) of the six-year-old girl's love inscribe a domestic scene of tender intimacy; they also portray this intimacy as the expression of the girl's natural love (67.5 ἀγάπη) and not as the result of or reaction to parental upbringing. Psellos refers back to this scene when, towards the end of the laudatory part, he summarily enumerates in a series of three interjections Styliane's virtues (§ 30; 75.24–30):

> To whom belonged the embraces towards her parents, and the continuous kisses, and the throwing of her arms around the neck, things by which she inflamed the parents' love for their child? Who was my consolation, the cure of my sufferings, the medicine of my troubles, the reversal of my sorrows, the removal of my difficulties in life? Who, by walking all around my lap, just like a bird – young, soft, so tiny – flapping its wings and touching me, gladdened me through hopes of bridal ornament?

Psellos' paternal perpective is once again revealed here, when he shifts from the "impersonal" collective plural (75.24 πρὸς τοὺς τεκόντας) to the "personal"

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pupil was not made for the high realms of philosophy, but preferred rhetoric and the practical art of law; Gautier (as footnote 83 above) 129.60–130.67.

129 Vergari, Epitafio (as footnote 108 above) 71–72 excludes the possibility that such a text can express sincerity of feelings because of its rhetorical apparatus. This, however, is a grave misunderstanding of the emotional function of rhetoric; see E. N. Papaioannou, Psellos' Rhetorical Gender. *BMGS* 24 (2000) 133–146.

130 See, for example, the three texts concerning his grandson, the child of his adoptive daughter Euphemia; they are all conveniently found in Kaldellis, Mothers and Sons (as footnote 107 above) 162–165 (a short address) and 172–175 (two letters). "Personal" relationships in the case of Psellos can, of course, refer to his favourite authors as "persons"; see, for example, his highly emotional remarks on Gregory of Nazianzus (*Theologica* I.19.70–80; 74–75 Gautier).

individual singular (75.26 τίς ἦν ἐμοὶ παραμύθιον;).[131] Furthermore, the condensed repetition of the intimate scene (75.24–26) functions as a reminder to the audience of the girl's natural affection. It also serves as an associative transition which introduces the comment about the emotional importance of Styliane for her father in his troubles (75.26–28). The simile of the young bird – an image from the animal world recurring in the text's first half[132] – is a reminder of the hopes that her parents had for a good marriage, a subject that Psellos had already touched upon (§ 27; 73.9–20) and which he will fully explore shortly after (§ 31; 76.3–28). The three authorial interjections in this passage (75.24–26, 26–28, 28–30) constitute, on the one hand, a logical progression of associated images while, on the other, they relate these images to other parts of the text, securing in this way it's narrative unity. It is a rhetorical technique that, using a term from typography, I would call "indentation".[133]

Between the passages just examined stands the lengthy *ekphrasis* of Psellos' daughter (§ 16–26). Styliane's inner and outer beauty gradually blossomed as she reached her ninth year. The speaker remarks (§ 15; 68.15–22):

> Hence [i.e. her progress towards physical beauty] my innermost emotions were rekindled and my heart's love for my child burned even stronger; indeed, I could almost not bear this boundless delight for my daughter. The gradually disclosed signs of her beauty, arising and being revealed as if out of some hidden treasury, dragged me in the manner of a captive towards my paternal love for her; it was not possible, having been seized by such a passion, to remain dispassionate and loveless.

This very strong expression of paternal love is verbalized through erotic vocabulary, also employed in a number of other passages throughout the text.[134]

Psellos' outburst of love for his daugther introduces a transition (§ 15; 68.22–25) that leads to Styliane's *physiognomike ekphrasis*, in other words, the complete description of her physical attributes.[135] Among the descriptions of

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131 This is a device that he employs in various passages; see § 3 (63.5–9), 4 (63.16–25), 11 (66.25–29), 26 + 27 (72.29–30 + 73.9–10), 36 (79.6–19), 39–40 (81.21–25), 44 (84.6–10), 48–49 (86.9–27).

132 § 7 (64.30–65.4), 12 (67.12), 13 (67.29–68.4). Bird imagery is extremely rare in the *Chronographia*, as in other Psellan texts; see A. Littlewood, Imagery in the *Chronographia* of Michael Psellos, in: C. Barber/D. Jenkins (eds), Reading Michael Psellos. *The Medieval Mediterranean*, 61. Leiden/Boston 2006, 13–56, esp. 22.

133 Medievalists have termed this technique "interlace"; see E. Vinaver, The Rise of Romance. Oxford 1971, 68–98.

134 § 3 (63.7–9), 6 (64.6–9), 29 (74.14–22 and 75.5–7), 36 (79.15–16), 39 (81.14–17), 49 (86.24–87.4). This erotic vocabulary can be easily transposed to the semantic field of funerary vocabulary; thus, the flames of love are also the flames of sorrow (§ 48; 85.29–86.4).

135 On such *physiognomikai ekphraseis* see, for example, the definitions of Hermogenes (*Prog.* 10; 22–23 Rabe) and Aphthonios (*Prog.* 12; 36–41 Rabe). On these two

persons in Psellos' *œuvre*[136] this is the lengthiest; it extends to c. 125 lines and, thus, amounts to one sixth of the whole text. The description of Styliane was judged as one of Psellos' worst endeavours in *ekphrasis*,[137] because (a) it is burdened with anatomic detail, (b) it uses inappropriately erotic vocabulary and imagery, and (c) it is based on the rhetorical tradition of the ancient novel.[138] However, these are objections of critics who project their own aesthetic values on to a text produced in a totally different cultural context than their own. What is worse, they are objections resulting from a superficial study of Psellos' funerary output. In the prose monodies Psellos wrote for some of his deceased pupils the use of erotic vocabulary and imagery is extremely prominent.[139] Similar vocabulary is to be found massively in Psellos' epistolo-

progymnasmatic collections see now G. A. Kennedy, Progymnasmata: Greek Textbooks of Prose Composition and Rhetoric. Translated with Introductions and Notes. *Writings from the Greco-Roman World*, 10. Leiden/Boston 2003, 73–127. For an overview of the theory and history of *ekphraseis* in Byzantine literature see A. Hohlweg, Ekphrasis. *RbK* 2 (1971) 33–75; see also H. Maguire, The Classical Tradition in the Byzantine Ekphrasis, in: M. Mullett/R. Scott (eds.), Byzantium and the Classical Tradition. Birmingham 1981, 94–102. For a more interpretative approach see E. Mitsi/P. A. Agapitos, Εἰκὼν καὶ λόγος: Ἡ «ἔκφρασις» ἀπὸ τὴν ἀρχαία στὴ βυζαντινὴ λογοτεχνία, in: P. A. Agapitos (ed.), Εἰκὼν καὶ λόγος: Ἕξι βυζαντινὲς περιγραφὲς ἔργων τέχνης. Athens 2006, 15–38 and 165–174 with full bibliography.

136 Unfortunately, no full study has been undertaken of such descriptions in Psellos. For a first approach see Ljubarskij (as footnote 14 above) 329–348; see also P. Carelos, Die Autoren der zweiten Sophistik und die Χρονογραφία des Michael Psellos. *JÖB* 41 (1991) 133–140 and C. Angelidi, Μιχαὴλ Ψελλός· ἡ ματιὰ τοῦ φιλότεχνου. *Symmeikta* 12 (1998) 75–85. For physiognomic descriptions in other texts see C. Head, Physical Descriptions of Emperors in Byzantine Historical Writing. *Byz* 50 (1980) 226–240 and M. Alexiou, Literary Subversion and the Aristocracy in Twelfth-Century Byzantium: A Stylistic Analysis of the *Timarion* (ch. 6–10). *BMGS* 8 (1982–83) 29–45, esp. 36–43.

137 See already D. C. Hesseling, Civilisation byzantine. Paris 1907, 300. Leroy-Molinghen (as footnote 111 above) 158 does not discuss the literary aspects of Styliane's portrait. For a more positive reading see A. P. Kazhdan/A. W. Epstein, Change in Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries. *The Transformation of the Classical Heritage*, 7. Berkeley/Los Angeles/London 1985, 211–212.

138 Vergari, Epitafio (as footnote 108 above) 71 and 74–75, who, moreover, considers these elements as a strong indication against Psellos' authorship. For a far more nuanced reading of Styliane's *ekphrasis* see C. Jouanno, Michel Psellos: *Epitaphios logos à sa fille Styliané, morte avant l'heure du mariage.* Réflexions sur le cadavre défiguré et sur le rôle du corps dans le travail de deuil. *KENTRON: Revue du Monde Antique et de Psychologie Historique* 10 (1994) 95–107.

139 Gautier (as footnote 83 above) 115.21–117.73 (Michael Radenos); Kurtz/Drexl (as footnote 30 above) I, 147.19–148.10, 150.7–151.8 (Ioannes); Kurtz/Drexl, ibid. I, 214.7–13 (Georgios); Gautier, ibid. 107.24–108.37, 109.67–79 (Anastasios <Lizix?>). On erotic vocabulary in funeral orations see J. Børtnes, Eros Transformed: Same-Sex Love and Divine Desire. Reflections on the Erotic Vocabulary in St. Gregory of Nazianzus's Speech on St. Basil the Great, in: T. Hägg/Ph. Rousseau (eds.), Greek

graphic corpus.[140] We are faced here with a communicative code based on a series of literary patterns, reactivated within the nexus of intertextual polyphony.[141] These patterns[142] helped a Byzantine author to express his/her emotions in a literary manner understood by and appropriate to his/her society at a specific time and place. It is methodologically incorrect to infer that such a communicative code was, within its social function, *a priori* semantically dishonest, in other words, that the rhetoricity of a given text suppressed or even excluded the expression of sincere thoughts and emotions.[143]

The foregoing thoughts lead to an examination of the oration's style. An analysis of rhetorical figures reveals that the percentage of the *figurae*

Biography and Panegyric in Late Antiquity. *The Transformation of the Classical Heritage*, 31. Berkeley/Los Angeles/London 2000, 180–193.

140 See, indicatively, SATHAS (as footnote 107 above) 306 (no. 71), 323 (no. 84), 462 (no. 181); KURTZ/DREXL (as footnote 30 above) II, 29 (no. 22), 66 (no. 40), 116 (no. 87), 123 (no. 95), 292 (no. 242). On *philia* and *eros* in Psellos' epistolographic corpus see F. TINNEFELD, Freundschaft in den Briefen des Michael Psellos: Theorie und Wirklichkeit. *JÖB* 22 (1973) 151–168 and the respective chapter in the unpublished doctoral thesis of E. N. PAPAIOANNOU, Writing the Ego: Michael Psellos' Rhetorical Autography. Vienna 2000, 203–228. On the erotic vocabulary of Byzantine epistolary discourse in connection with the concept of friendship see, more broadly, G. KARLSSON, Idéologie et cérémonial dans l'épistolographie byzantine. Texts du Xe siècle analysés et commentés. *Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Studia Graeca Upsaliensia*, 3. Uppsala ^{2}1962, 57–78; M. MULLETT, Byzantium, a Friendly Society? *Past and Present* 118 (1988) 3–24 and EADEM, From Byzantium with Love, in: L. JAMES (ed.), Desire and Denial in Byzantium. Papers from the Thirty-first Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, University of Sussex (Brighton, March 1997). *Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies. Publications*, 6. Aldershot 1999, 3–22.

141 On the theoretical background to intertextuality and its application to Byzantine literature see P. A. AGAPITOS, Literary Criticism, in: E. JEFFREYS/R. CORMACK/J. HALDON (eds.), Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies. Oxford 2008, 77–85 with further bibliography.

142 Sixty years ago E. R. CURTIUS, Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter. Bern/ Munich ^{2}1953, 89–115 had rather vaguely termed them "rhetorische Topik" and saw them as forming a common humanistic background to all of Western Medieval Literature; for a critique of this a-historical approach see S. CONSTANTINOU, Review of TH. PRATSCH, Der hagiographische Topos (Berlin 2005). *Le Muséon* 119 (2006) 476–481 with substantial theoretical bibliography.

143 There is no reason to embark here on lengthy socio-anthropological comparisons between the communicative codes of different cultures. I might, however, be allowed to point to the typological rhetoric of (a) "Trivialliteratur" in the publishing industry since the Fifties, (b) "social melodrama" in the film industry of the Fifties and the Sixties, and (c) "soap opera" in the international television industry since the Eighties. In all three groups of products the patterns and the tropes structuring and lending meaning to the narratives are blatantly conventional and readily recognizable, yet their emotional appeal to the recipients is all the more gripping. One might read with profit the collected essays on a highly typological genre such as crime fiction in J. VOGT (ed.), Der Kriminalroman: Poetik, Theorie, Geschichte. Munich 1998.

elocutionis with a strong acoustic effect is very low in relation to the text's length.[144] The only major acoustic device used by Psellos in the oration is the *anaphora* as a series of questions. These questions can take the form of an extensive catalogue,[145] or as interconnected thoughts, though on a far smaller scale.[146] However, irrespective of the powerful impact effected through these questions, the individual sentences in these passages do not exhibit the kind of acoustic fireworks found throughout the *Iambic Verses on the Death of Skleraina.* Even in the encased lament of Styliane's parents (§ 38–40; 80.14–82.11), the kind of discourse where such effects would actually have been expected, Psellos employs the same technique. He piles up questions but with minimal use of figures of speech within each sentence, for example (§ 40; 81.23–82.1):

> Ὦ μοι τέκνον, τὸ ποτὲ μὲν εὐειδὲς νῦν δὲ δυσειδὲς καὶ δυσθέατον, πῶς τὴν τοσαύτην τῶν τραυμάτων ὑπήνεγκας ἀγριότητα; Πῶς τῶν ἑλκῶν καὶ ἰχώρων τῆς δυσωδίας ἠνείχου; Πῶς ὡς ἄγριος θὴρ ἡ θανατηφόρος νόσος ὀδόντας σοι προσπήξασα νεκρὰν ἀπετέλεσε; Ποῦ τὰ τῆς ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπόν σου μορφῆς σύμβολα; Ποῦ τὸ τῶν παρειῶν ἐρύθημα καὶ ἡ ὡς ἐπὶ κρίνων ῥόδα τὴν αἴγλην ἀπαστράπτουσα τῶν μελῶν εὔχροια καὶ συμμετρία καὶ ἡ τῶν βημάτων ἀπαραπόδιστος κίνησις, δι᾽ ὧν οὐ γεννήτορας μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς βλέποντας τῷ ἀμωμήτῳ τοῦ κάλλους ἐξέπληττες;
>
> Oh child of mine, once so pleasing and now so displeasing and terrifying to look at, how did you endure all the savagery of your wounds? How could you bear the stench of the rotting ulcers? How could the mortiferous disease, sinking its teeth in you like a wild beast, leave you dead? Where are the symbols of your suprahuman form? Where is the red hue of your cheeks, the fresh complexion and symmetry of your body's members, shining like the splendour of roses on lilies, and the smooth movement of your steps, by means of which you dumbfounded on account of your blaimles beauty not only your parents but also those seeing you?

Except for the variation on the pattern of the *anaphora* (πῶς/ποῦ), we find in this emotionally intense passage only one figure of speech, the *parechesis* εὐειδὲς … δυσειδὲς … δυσθέατον. Otherwise, the syntax of the interrogative sentences is fairly complicated, including strained word-order and long additive cola. Looking at other passages in the oration,[147] the readers are confronted with complicated syntactical structures displaying inverted word-

144 Repetition: 62.3–4, 63.3, 63.19, 68.20, 68.26, 70.4, 77.6–7, 85.7, 87.13; vivacity: 64.1–2, 66.25–28, 66.29–67.3, 77.13–15, 82.19–21, 86.1–19; assonance: 62.7–8, 63.1–2, 63.22–23, 65.7–8, 66.5, 68.8–9, 73.11–14, 76.7–8, 77.25–26, 77.30–31, 78.16–17, 79.4–5, 79.27–28, 79.31–80.1, 84.23, 85.15, 85.26–29, 87.7–10.

145 Such is the long series of nineteen questions in part IV (§ 29–30; 74.19–76.2), where Psellos enumerates Styliane's physical beauty, her moral virtues, her intellectual capacities, and her deeds. In fact, this passage is closely modelled as to its public style on the respective passage in Gregory's *Gorgonia* (*Orat.* 8.14; 274–278 Calvet-Sebasti).

146 See, for example, how Psellos presents Styliane's religious higher education (§ 13; 67.18–25) or her behaviour when her parents started planning her betrothal (§ 31; 76.3–19).

147 See, for example, the opening paragraphs (§ 1–2; 62.3–63.2), the description of Styliane's mouth (§ 9; 70.3–18), or her last moments (§ 36; 79.6–19).

order, multilevel *hypotaxis* of secondary clauses, parenthetical phrases disrupting the *parataxis*, and extremely long cola.

These stylistic matters are linked to the question of how Psellos constructs his *persona* as a speaker in this prose text.[148] We have already noticed the fluctuation between the speaker's "collective" and "individual" perspective, a device that does not necessarily facilitate the acoustic comprehension of the text. We also noticed the interrogative interjection in the second person singular to a listener who is supposed to think during the oration's delivery (67.7 τί δὲ ὑπολαμβάνεις, ἀκροατά;). In three further passages, Psellos draws the image of an audience that (a) is well versed in matters of literary criticism,[149] (b) will benevolenty judge the author's effort,[150] and (c) is prepared to be informed about important details.[151] At the same time, Psellos refers to the text's composition as "writing" (63.23 συγγράφων, sc. ἐγώ). These devices are further indications of the oration's private character, since they establish a particular sense of knowledgeable intimacy and literary appreciation between the speaker and his audience.

There is only one passage in the oration where Psellos directs his discourse towards the public domain. Part IV of the text (§ 27–31) is devoted, following the Menandrian rules, to the presentation of the deceased's deeds, the most public aspect of a person's life. In Styliane's case these "deeds" prove to be her beauty, her behaviour in the aforementioned three private spheres, and the "marital hopes" of her parents for her (73.9–10 γαμηλίους ἐλπίδας, 74.16 κρειττόνων ἐλπίδων). In § 29 (74.14–75.10) Psellos, full of joy for his daughter's good fortune (74.14–15 περιχαρὴς τῷ τῆς παιδὸς εὐτυχήματι ὤν), embarks on a series of eight questions, that summarize the "deeds" of the girl: her beauty, her character, her bodily comeliness, her study of the Bible, her singing in church, her acts of charity, her love of parents, her education. The questions are

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148 For Psellos as a first-person narrator in the *Chronographia* see the detailed analysis by Pietsch (as footnote 99 above) 32–61.

149 § 2; 62.19–21: "and thus the interested listener who, moreover, is an impartial judge of such things, will not seize us with wrestling-grips of contemptuous criticism" (καὶ ὅ γε φιλακροάμων καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἀδέκαστος διαιτητὴς οὐκ ἂν καταγνώσεως λαβαῖς ἡμᾶς ἐγκατάσχοι).

150 § 4; 63.23–25: "but because I write the truth, I shall be accepted by those who examine our affairs with a non-envious eye and who do not terrorize our efforts through reproach and censure" (ἀλλ' ὡς ἀληθῆ συγγράφων ἀποδεχθήσομαι παρὰ τῶν ἀφθόνοις ὄμμασι τὰ ἡμέτερα βλεπόντων καὶ μὴ μώμοις καὶ μέμψεσιν ἐπιφοβούντων τὰ πράγματα).

151 § 15; 68.22–25: "it is good to expound a little about her beauty, so that the listeners might know what was her outstanding splendour and dazzling appearance which vanquished the eyes of many" (καλὸν δὲ μικρὰ περὶ τοῦ ταύτης κάλλους διαλαβεῖν, ἵν' ἔχωσιν οἱ ἀκούσαντες εἰδέναι οἷον εἶχε τὸ πανευπρεπὲς καὶ ὑπέρσεμνον καὶ τοὺς τῶν πολλῶν ὑπερνικῶν ὀφθαλμούς).

phrased as conditional clauses introducing an external spectator, for example (74.30–75.4):

> Who, upon hearing her sing in the temple of the Lord and mix her own stammerings with the melodies of the chanters, would not glorify the Creator of nature and admire the singer's love of God? Who, upon seeing her charitable disposition towards the poor and her wish for giving as much as her hand could provide, would not be softened towards pity, even if he were harder than iron?

This spectator is the only person who witnesses from a public perspective Styliane's activities in all three spheres of the private domain. However, he is a completely assumed (*qua* fictive) and not an actual spectator. In this manner, Psellos, on the one hand, satisfies the encomiastic rules by including the public domain through the device of the external spectator; on the other, he adheres to the truth of social conventions for the activities of a nine-year-old girl by placing this spectator in the syntactical space of contrafactual conditional clauses.

All these stylistic traits of the text, in combination with the extremely personal perspective of the speaker and the overwhelming presence of the private domain, constitute the chief characteristics of a private discourse in Byzantine rhetoric of death. Psellos presents us here with a language that decisively distances itself from the syntactically "relaxed" but rhythmically "swift" public style. Is is a language that employs the syntactically "intense" (σύντονος)[152] but rhythmically "slow" or "slackened" (ἀργόν, ἀνειμένον) private style of funerary discourse.[153]

With this observation about the oration's private discourse, it will be necessary to examine again certain issues of genre.[154] For one thing, the oration on Styliane is the only of Psellos' funerary prose works for which no specific generic term can be adduced from the manuscript lemmata or from the text

152 See MenRhet. 369.4–5 (76 Russell/Wilson) τοῖς συντόνοις τῶν ἐπιδεικτικῶν, as well as the opposition of σύντονος to ἄνετος at 400.7–10 (136 Russell/Wilson). On this issue see Soffel (as footnote 2 above) 195–196.

153 Hermog. *De ideis* II.1 (312–313 Rabe) on τὸ ἀργὸν and τὸ ἀνειμένον as the opposite of *gorgotes* and of the "chopped type" of rhythmical phrasing (τοῦ τμητικοῦ τύπου … ἐν τοῖς ῥυθμοῖς).

154 It is sadly surprising to read in Kaldellis, Mothers and Sons (as footnote 107 above) 36, with respect to Psellos' *Encomium on his Mother*, that "generic analysis, for all that it is both easy and popular, reveals little about authorial intentions and strategies". Generalizing statements of this type, besides being erroneous, contribute nothing to a proper literary and historical understanding of texts deeply embedded in the complex phenomenon of *mimesis* as polyphonic intertextuality. Such statements are particularly inappropriate in the case of Psellos who was very much concerned with issues of genre, be it in his own works (for example, *Chron.* 4.38.1–8, 6.30.5–13, 6.73; I, 160, 278, 318 Impellizzeri; see Pietsch (as footnote 99 above) 49–57), be it in judging the works of others (see his comments on the homilies of Emperor Leo VI in *Historia syntomos* 90.14–15 Aerts).

itself.[155] In the opening paragraphs Psellos simply refers to the work as λόγος (§ 1; 62.1 and § 3; 63.3). First, he suggests that he will employ both nature and truth for the "present subject" (§ 2; 62.19 τὴν παροῦσαν ὑπόθεσιν). *Hypothesis* is the standard term for the subject of a text with narrative characteristics, which a laudatory oration with a biographic structure manifestly is.[156] Then, in the second part of the *prooimion*, Psellos goes on to present the reasons for composing the speech. He states that his oration has introduced in its *prooimion* a daughter who is the most outstanding girl of her day.[157] Therefore, he shall attempt to expound her story,[158] though, as he says, "I am utterly shaken, being pushed into dejection because of my memory of her" (63.8–9). He then continues (§ 4; 63.16–22):

> However, because nature's commands have been carried out by us and I have for a little while, as much as the word of the Lord demands, displayed my tears,[159] I shall, as

155 In the case of the *Encomium on his Mother*, for example, we find ἐγκώμιον in the text and in the lemma of the best manuscript (**P**), but also ἐπιτάφιος λόγος in the lemmata of the other manuscripts that transmitt the complete text (**V u v**). On the importance of such peritextual and intratextual references to the funerary sub-genres of the *epideiktikon genos* for understanding the generic variety of Psellos' funerary output see Agapitos/Polemis (as footnote 107 above) 143–144.

156 Psellos uses the term in a number of his funeral orations: Kurtz/Drexl (as footnote 30 above) I, 146.3 (*patrikios* Ioannes), 155.9 (*kaisarissa* Eirene), 216.5 (Nikolaos); Gautier (as footnote 83 above) 100.41 (Ioannes, metropolitan of Melitene), 119.144 (*proedros* Michael Radenos); *EncMatr.* 85.5, 89.108, 97.355 Criscuolo; *OrFunNic.* § 4 (A. M. Guglielmino, Un maestro di grammatica a Bisanzio nell'XI secolo e l'Epitafio per Niceta di Michele Psello. *Siculorum Gymnasium* N.S. 27 (1974) 421–463, esp. 448.13 = Sathas (as footnote 107 above) 89.13). He also uses it in the *Chronographia* (e.g. 6.71.4, 6.170.2; I, 136 and II, 118 Impellizzeri) and the *Life of St Auxentios* (*OratHag.* 1; 7.18 in app. crit., 9.62 Fisher). For the term in earlier funerary literature see the definitive preface of Gregory's oration on Basil (*Orat.* 43.1.1–13; 116 Bernardi).

157 § 3; 63.3: ἐπεὶ οὖν περὶ παιδὸς ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος *προοιμιάσθη* καὶ παιδὸς ἧς οὐκ ἄν τις ἴσην εὑρεῖν ἢ ἀκοῦσαι νεανιεύσοιτο.

158 § 3; 63.5–6: φέρε τὰ περὶ αὐτῆς διαλαβεῖν πειρασώμεθα. The phrase τὰ περὶ αὐτῆς has a technical ring to it, echoing similar phrases in titles of works with a biographical or autobiographical content (M. Hinterberger, Autobiographische Traditionen in Byzanz. *WBS*, 22. Vienna 1999, 97–116); at any rate, it identifies here the "daughter" as the oration's "present subject" .

159 With the parenthetical phrase ὅσον ὁ δεσποτικὸς ἀπαιτεῖ λόγος, Psellos refers to the story of the synagogue leader Jairus and his twelve-year old daughter (Marc 5.21–43). Christ reproaches the relatives and the attendants for crying (Marc 5.39: τί θορυβεῖσθε καὶ κλαίετε; τὸ παιδίον οὐκ ἀπέθανεν ἀλλὰ καθεύδει) and then raises the girl from the dead. Obviously, Psellos' reference to Christ's words in this particular miracle is directly related to the death and hope for salvation of his own daughter, a wonderful example of delicate intertextual dialogue. In Kaldellis, Mothers and Sons (as footnote 107 above) 119 the sentence has been wrongly and incomprehensibly rendered as "to the small degree called for by the rules of our speech", excising from the text a Christian allusion and introducing a non-existent generic reference.

> much as my memory allows, present what concerns the deceased. Indeed, I shall present whatever concerns her family and her growth, her education and her upbringing, her good character and her modesty, and everything else in which my daughter, having the advantage of her own nature's strive for honourable excellence, differed from all other women.

We are offered here the basic structure of the oration's encomiastic part. In fact, in all of the introductory section Psellos follows the basic pattern of *prooimia* for *epitaphioi*, where an author presents his subject and explains his method by using the appropriate terminology,[160] thus preempting any adverse criticism.[161] A comparison of the oration on Styliane with the Menandrian rules for the *pathetikos epitaphios,* the "emotional funeral oration",[162] makes clear that Psellos conforms to the conventions of this particular sub-genre. The work, adhering to the Menandrian structure, includes the presentation of the deceased's growth and upbringing, her deeds and fortune, two sections with lamentations and a consolatory conclusion.[163]

Of importance is the fact that Psellos refers twice in the oration's *prooimion* to his "memory" (63.9, 18 μνήμη). *Mneme* is his capacity as author to

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160 Note here λόγος (62.3, 63.3), ὑπόθεσις (62.19), ἀδέκαστος διαιτητής (62.20), προοιμιάζομαι (63.3), διαλαμβάνω (63.6), διεξέρχομαι (63.19), φιλοσοφεῖν (63.11), συγγράφω (63.23), μῶμος (63.24).

161 On this vocabulary and its typological semantics see the analysis of the *prooimion* of the *Funeral Oration on his Parents* by Emperor Leon VI in Agapitos, Εἰκόνα (as footnote 81 above) 300–302 with references to the model texts of the Early Byzantine Period.

162 MenRhet. 419.11–422.4 (172–178 Russell/Wilson). See the structural analysis in Russell/Wilson (as footnote 1 above) 331 and Soffel (as footnote 2 above) 68–69.

163 That Psellos knew very well how the conventions of the genre functioned, becomes manifest from a closer reading of passages concerning the *epitaphios* and the *monodia* in his own funerary production. See, indicatively, the following: *Funeral Oration on the kaisarissa Eirene* with a discussion of the relation between *enkomion* and *threnos*, as well as a presentation of the basic constituents of a funerary laudation (Kurtz/Drexl (as footnote 30 above) I, 155.1–157.2 and 180.17–29); *Funeral Oration on Anastasios <Lizix?>*, offering an exposition on the issue of the speaker's sincerity in this particular genre (Gautier (as footnote 83 above) 107.9–20), *Monody on the proedros Michael Radenos*, including a discussion of temporal distance and the development of an oration from *monodia* to *epitaphios* (Gautier, ibid. 115.1–20); *First Monody on the patrikios Ioannes*, rejecting a potential demand of his audience to follow the rules of monody and the exact inclusion of its prescribed sections (Kurtz/Drexl (as footnote 30 above) I, 146.1–8); *Second Monody on the patrikios Ioannes*, including a discussion about the appropriate balance of praise and lamentation in a monody (Gautier (as footnote 83 above) 135.23–136.21). Of particular importance in this context is the *Encomium on the Most Wise Metropolitan of Melitene.* There Psellos, supposedly responding to a request of his pupils that he should deliver a speech on the recently deceased prelate, furnishes in a substantial preface the basic principles for composing an improvised encomiastic funerary public oration (Gautier, ibid. 98.1–99.22); see Sideras (as footnote 106 above) 113–114.

remember and to write.[164] At the same time, *mneme* is a central concept of the encomiastic funeral oration.[165] Psellos, by exploring the word's semantic polyvalence, transposes its meaning from the audience's "remembrance" of the deceased to the author's "memory" about the deceased. This semantic transposition is a first signal indicating the particular importance of *mneme* in this funerary text of Psellos. I shall return to this issue when looking at the function of dreams in the oration.

At this point, we shall concentrate on the imagery of death. We have seen that in the funeral oration for his younger sister Gorgonia, Gregory of Nazianzus described her last moments by employing the *typos* of "good, natural, and companioned" death. We also noted that in early Byzantine prose funerary literature the deaths of public and private persons are described exclusively through the typology of public discourse. When looking at Psellos' *Styliane*, composed six centuries later than Gregory's *Gorgonia*, one major structural difference becomes immediately apparent. The description of Styliane's disease and death (part V) covers c. 180 lines of text. It is fully signalled by an opening passage of transition (§ 32; 76.29–77.12) and a concluding passage presenting Styliane's burial (§ 41; 82.12–23). The fifth part is thus longer than the description of Styliane's physical beauty in the third part (c. 125 lines). The two parts form a diptych, connected through their respective closing and opening passages of transition (§ 26; 72.29–73.8 and § 32; 76.29–77.12), especially through the reference to her death in § 26 and to her beauty in § 32, a splendid example of chiastic indented imagery. The two parts are therefore only apparently separated by part IV in which the girl's deeds and fortune are presented. It is a contrasting diptych which depicts Styliane's passage from resplendent beauty in life to horrifying deformity in death.[166]

The presence of this structural diptych is an indication that a change has taken place in mortuary typology from the fourth to the eleventh centuries, for to devote such prominence in a funeral oration to the pristine beauty and the final ugliness of the body of a real person is absolutely singular in Byzantine literature until this very text. By introducing this diptych, Psellos also deviates

164 This function of *mneme* is also important in Byzantine autobiographical discourse, where the author's memory helps him/her to present what concerns him/herself; see P. A. Agapitos, Ὁ λογοτεχνικὸς θάνατος τῶν ἐχθρῶν στὴν «Αὐτοβιογραφία» τοῦ Νικηφόρου Βλεμμύδη. *Hellenika* 48 (1998) 29–46, esp. 34 note 12, as well as Hinterberger (as footnote 158 above) 83–85.

165 See the remarks of MenRhet. 419.1–10 (172 Russel/Wilson) on the importance of *mneme* for the *pathetikos epitaphios* delivered for a private individual closely related to the speaker.

166 For the rhetorical context of this *ekphrasis* and a historio-psychoanalytical reading see Jouanno (as footnote 136 above) 101–107, introducing a comparison with similar descriptions of the "disfigured" body in the ancient Greek and the Komnenian novels.

from the typology of a "good, natural, and companioned" death where the sick or disfigured body of the dying person is very rarely depicted before the eleventh century.[167] Just as Psellos had used the whole gamut of erotic vocabulary to describe Styliane's body, so now he employs the full apparatus of his medical knowledge[168] to present the disease that struck his beloved child with such vehemence (§ 33; 77.13–26):[169]

> Other diseases creep up because of damaging food, or from malicious humours, or because one of the four elements in us is in surplus, or because of external wounds that have opened. In this way, they horribly chastise our body, but they can be changed towards health through medical care. This disease, however, is not born from any of these causes but, stirred from the very marrow of the bones and born out of the body's total volume, it initially causes a high fever to the sick person. Then it spreads out over the corporeal surface like grapes on a vine tree and grows into supurating ulcers dissolving the harmonious joints of the whole body. Thus, it converts into a shapeless and appalling mass the former beauty of the flesh which, swollen and tumescent because of the numerous wounds, instills terror to the observer.

The clinically detailed *ekphrasis* of the disease is emotionally gripping for its Byzantine recipients exactly because it focuses on the horrifying change witnessed on the body of the girl. This description indeed transgresses the limits of convention, but it is not unique. Psellos employs extensive medical terminology in a number of his funerary works.[170] However, such detailed medical terms are used only when the oration's addressee is intimately related to Psellos, be it a beloved pupil (Ioannes, Anastasios, Michael) or the father of a beloved pupil (the anonymous brother of the physician Ioannes), be it a very close friend (Eirene Doukaina), be it, finally, a member of his own family (Theodote, Styliane).[171] It is instructive in this context to compare the death scenes of the three patriarchs for which Psellos wrote lengthy funeral orations. In the case of Michael Keroularios († 1059, oration composed in 1063), his

167 See, for example, Gregory's very brief description of Gorgonia's death (*Orat*. 8.17; 282–284 Calvet-Sebasti).

168 On Psellos' medical knowledge see Volk (as footnote 14 above) 49–51 and 449–459.

169 On the use of medical terminology in death scenes as an element lending authority (*qua* truth) to the descriptive discourse see Agapitos, Λογοτεχνικὸς θάνατος (as footnote 164 above) 45 and idem, Mortuary Typology (as footnote 8 above) 110–112.

170 Kurtz/Drexl (as footnote 30 above) I, 173.6–176.14 (the *kaisarissa* Eirene, where Psellos even feels the pulse of the dying woman); Kurtz/Drexl (as footnote 30 above) I, 151.9–22 (the *patrikios* Ioannes); Gautier (as footnote 83 above) 109.80–110.95, 111.127–136 (Anastasios <Lizix?>); Gautier (as footnote 83 above) 120.174–189 (Michael Radenos); *EncMatr.* 131.1305–1329 Criscuolo; Agapitos/Polemis (as in. 107) 157.19–158.11 (the brother of the *aktouarios* Ioannes).

171 Medical terminology does not appear in the funeral orations or monodies on the Metropolitan of Ephesos Nikephoros, the Metropolitan of Melitene <Ioannes>, the abbot of Horaia Pege Nikolaos, the *bestarches* Georgios, the *referendarios* Romanos, the *maistor* Niketas.

bitter enemy,[172] the death scene covers thirteen pages of text without any specifics of the actual death or any use of medical terminology,[173] while in the case of Ioannes Xiphilinos († 1075), whose relation to Psellos was not an easy one,[174] the death scene is short and with the barest use of medical terms.[175] However, in the case of Konstantinos Leichoudes († 1063), with whom Psellos entertained a warm personal relationship,[176] the death scene is of substantial proportions and filled with medical terminology.[177] Consequently, the presence or absence of medical terminology in describing a dying person is a conscious strategy of Psellos, who grants to the body a central position in his funerary works and elevates it to a dynamic textualized space of paradigmatic emotions.[178]

Let us return, however, to Styliane. Psellos proceeds to describe his daughter's last moments (§ 36; 79.6–19). The poor girl, exhausted by the high fever and the decaying wounds devouring her flesh, incapable of speaking because her vocal chords have suffered a paralysis, embraces her mother in a last effort to express her love. Until this point only the parents participate in the death scene. But now, Psellos opens the point of view and the audience sees people standing around Styliane's death bed (§ 36; 79.15–19):

> This embrace caused her mother's innermost heart to light up in flames and to burn, while it forced the tears of the bystanders to flow ceaselessly; for they suffered with us,

172 F. Tinnefeld, Michael I. Kerullarios, Patriarch von Konstantinopel (1043–1058): Kritische Überlegungen zu einer Biographie. *JÖB* 39 (1989) 95–127.

173 K. N. Sathas, Μιχαὴλ Ψελλοῦ Ἑκατονταετηρὶς βυζαντινῆς ἱστορίας (976–1077). *Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, 4. Athens/Paris 1874 (repr. Athens 1972) 301–387, esp. 375–387.

174 U. Criscuolo, Sui rapporti tra Michele Psello e Giovanni Xifilino. *Atti della Accademia Pontaniana* N. S. 24 (1975) 121–128.

175 The funeral oration was edited by Sathas (as footnote 173 above) 421–461 from the Parisinus, but there the text lacks its end. For this see now A. Sideras, Der unedierte Schlußteil der Grabrede des Michael Psellos auf den Patriarchen Johannes Xiphilinos. *Göttinger Beiträge zur Byzantinischen und Neugriechischen Philologie* 2 (2002) 113–132, esp. 127.125–128.146.

176 See Psellos' praise in *Chron.* 6.178–181; II, 126–130 Impellizzeri. On the narrative function of this passage and its relation to Psellos' own self-image see Pietsch (as footnote 99 above) 93–96. On the relation of Psellos and Leichoudes see, more broadly, U. Criscuolo, Michele Psello: Orazione in memoria di Constantino Lichudi. Introduzione, traduzione, commento e appendici. *Letteratura e Civiltà Bizantina*, 1. Messina 1983, 11–75.

177 Sathas (as footnote 172 above) 388–421, esp. 416.26–418.12.

178 Needless to say, this form of description runs contrary to modern aesthetic and social categories in the representation of death; see Agapitos, Λογοτεχνικὸς θάνατος (as footnote 164 above) 30–31 with further bibliography, to which one might add E. Keller, Poétique de la mort dans la nouvelle classique (1660–1680). *Champion–Varia*, 26. Paris 1999 (as to literary analysis) and A. Kellehar, A Social History of Dying. Cambridge 2007 (on the socio-historical changes in the approach to death and its image).

> being people who loved their children and who understood our sufferings because of their own.

When, finally, Styliane gives up in pain her spirit to the shining angels (§ 37; 79.24–25), Psellos opens even further the view to a household breaking down in dirges and laments (79.27–30):

> Friends, relatives, servants, maids, freemen, nannies, and nurses, more than any other and almost like mothers, were clinging onto the corpse of the deceased, embraced her, called out for their lady and mistress.

In contrast to the similar scene in the poem on Skleraina, we are here faced with a completely private death. There is no observer from outside who, by being drawn into the text, would lend to the scene a public aspect. On the contrary, everything here concentrates on the individual and singular death of "the first and only child granted by God" (80.15).[179]

Styliane is then washed, dressed[180] and layed out for the wake. Psellos remarks that the disease had turned the girl's body into one single open wound. Seeing her like this, her parents break down in a state of frenzy (§ 38; 80.11–12 τῷ πάθει ἐκβακχευθέντες).[181] Embracing the corpse, they deliver a heartrending lament (§ 38–40; 80.14–82.11), introduced and concluded by the appropriate formulas of the speech frame.[182] We find here once again the device of the included miniform of another genre. This encased *monodia* of the parents is the closest Psellos moves towards the public discourse of funerary rhetoric within the oration on Styliane. It is also the only clearly defined unit in the whole text, where lamentation is expressed in direct speech. After the conclusion of the monody, Styliane is carried out of the house to be buried in the cemetery (§ 41; 82.12–23).

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179 The sentence πρῶτον ἡμῖν καὶ μόνον κεχαρισμένον ὑπὸ Θεοῦ makes clear that Styliane is the only *biological* child of Psellos and his wife, in contrast to her *adopted* sister Euphemia.

180 Note the expression νεκροστόλοις ἀμφίοις κοσμηθεῖσα (80.2–3) which contrastively echoes the earlier phrase ταῖς νυμφοστόλοις ἐλπίσι κατηύφρανε (75.30).

181 The phrase (see also *EncMatr.* 137.1496–138.1501 Criscuolo) echoes "tragic" vocabulary, often used in introducing laments encased in a longer text. On the literary jargon of theatrical terminology see Agapitos, Narrative Structure (as footnote 72 above) 209–211 and idem, "Drama" Rediscovered (as footnote 90 above) 130–131.

182 The speech-introducing formula here is what I have elsewhere termed the "delayed" type (Agapitos, Narrative Structure (as footnote 72) 66–67), because the verb of speaking follows after the actual discoursive section has started: <γεννήτορες δὲ> εἴ τι μὲν εὕρισκον ἀποτραυματισθὲν τῶν σαρκῶν, τούτῳ ἀπλήστως προσεφύοντο «Τέκνον», *λέγοντες*, «ποθητόν, τέκνον ἀγαπητὸν καὶ ἡδύ (80.12–15). The speech-concluding formula belongs to the "extended" type, where the verb of speaking is preceded by a longer colon: ταῦτα καὶ πλείω τούτων ὀδυνηρότερον καὶ γοερώτατα τῶν γεννητόρων μετ' οἰμωγῆς *ἐπιφθεγξαμένων*, ἦρτο μὲν ἡ παῖς ἐπὶ σκίμποδος (82.12–14). In this way, the lament is both connected to and separated from its narrative surrounding.

In reviewing the death scene of Styliane as a narrative entity (§ 32–41), we recognize the presence of the five distinct structural elements of the conventional death scene:[183] opening formula (**A**^{1}), the "space of death" (**B**) where the scene is actually taking place, the "discourse before death" (**C**) where a character addresses some kind of words to possible bystanders, the "moment of death" (**D**) where a character actually dies, the "conclusion of death" (**E**) where the deceased is buried, and closing formula (**A**^{2}). These five elements are sequentially organized in the text as follows:

A^1**:** § 32 (77.2–4), authorial interjection introducing the death scene.

X: § 33–34 (77.13–78.15), description of the disease.

B^1**:** § 35 (78.16–17), Styliane lying on her bed.

C: § 36 (79.6–15), Styliane not being able to speak.

D: § 37 (79.20–25), Styliane's death.

B^2**:** § 37 (79.25–80.8), view of the household and preparations for the funeral.

Z: § 38–40 (80.8–82.11), the parents' lament.

E: § 41 (82.12–19), Styliane's burial.

A^2**:** § 41 (82.19–23), authorial intervention closing the scene.

Psellos follows on the whole the basic sequence of the structural elements, but he has broken up the "space of death" element in two units (**B**^{1} + **B**^{2}) and he has introduced two new structural elements, namely, the description of the disease (**X**) and the monody of the child's parents (**Z**). Furthermore, he has kept the structural element **C**, although Styliane is not able to deliver any "discourse before death" because of her paralyzed vocal chords. Instead of speaking, the sick girl makes a desperate attempt to embrace her mother, offering, as her father imagines, the "final kiss" (79.14 ἐναπέθετο τὸν τελευταῖον ὡς οἶμαι ἀσπασμόν), a direct reference to the versette (*sticheron*) of the funeral service, chanted during the *aspasmos* of the deceased by his relatives and friends.[184] In this manner, Psellos has "unlocked" the *typos* by retaining its overall frame, obviously still recognizable to his audience, but organizing it in a more fluid manner. He has invested this frame with an extended structure wherein a progressive movement in time and space is accomplished. This movement combines the three modes of narration (narrative, descriptive, discoursive)[185] with simultaneous commentary and participation by the speaker. The narrative develops in the following manner:

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183 Agapitos, Mortuary Typology (as footnote 8) 108–110; for a fully developed example of this stereotypical death scene, see the death of the anonymous abbess in *The Life of Saint Eirene Chrysovalantou* § 17–18 (22.40–24.20 Rosenqvist).

184 Δεῦτε τελευταῖον ἀσπασμὸν, δῶμεν ἀδελφοὶ τῷ θανόντι, εὐχαριστοῦντες Θεῷ etc; see S. Zervos, Εὐχολόγιον τὸ Μέγα. Venice ^{2}1862 (reprinted Athens 1992) 417.

185 On the three modes of narration and their sequential combination see Agapitos, Narrative Structure (as footnote 72) 141–204.

76.29–77.2: Opening of the scene with the false hopes of Styliane's parents as to her future marriage (narrative mode).

77.2–12: God's decision; Psellos' first authorial comment (discoursive mode).

77.13–26: Appearance of the disease (descriptive mode).

77.26–78.15: The failure of medicine and second authorial comment on the will of God (discoursive mode).

78.16–79.5: The disease's progress, the twentieth day, relapse (narrative mode).

79.6–19: The "last kiss", the bystanders, third authorial commentary (narrative and discoursive modes).

79.20–80.8: The thirty-first day, Styliane's death in her room, activation of the household (narrative mode).

80.8–82.11: The parent's lament (discoursive mode).

82.12–23: Exit to the cemetery, burial; fourth authorial commentary (narrative and discoursive modes).

The lengthy passage unfolds in a seemless intertwining of three modes and in a fluid manner that approaches the narrative techniques Psellos employed later in the *Chronographia*.[186] Within the formalized context of the funeral oration, he has also "unlocked" the *topos* of the representation of death. It is in passages such as this one that we begin to understand how Psellos moved away from inherited conventions. He transformed the recognized models into an innovative type of narrative that simultaneously retained and changed the structural and semantic codes of funerary convention. I would venture to suggest, that this simultaneity is a literary expression of Psellos' conceptualization of the philosophic "middle", of thinking and living between two unreconcilable opposites.[187]

Twice in the initial part of the death scene Psellos intervenes with moralizing authorial commentary in order to present the "reason" for Styliane's death. Triggered by a question addressed to the audience, he first explains that God decreed Styliane's early death in order that such beauty should not be stained and destroyed by marital associations (§ 32; 77.4–9). He

186 Despite the immense popularity that the *Chronographia* enjoys, no large-scale narratological analysis has been attempted. For two examples of "rhetorical" narrative analysis see A. R. Dyck, Psellus Tragicus: Observations on *Chronographia* 5.26 ff. *BF* 20 (1994) 269–290 and D. R. Reinsch, Die Macht der Rede in der *Chronographia* des Michael Psellos, in: P. Odorico/P. A. Agapitos/M. Hinterberger (eds.), L'écriture de la mémoire: La littérarité de l'historiographie. Actes du IIIe colloque international philologique «ΕΡΜΗΝΕΙΑ» (Nicosie, mai 2004). *Dossiers Byzantins*, 6. Paris 2006, 253–266.

187 See the intelligent analysis by D. Jenkins, Psellos' Conceptual Precision, in: Barber/Jenkins (as footnote 132) 131–151, esp. 142–150.

supports this opinion by introducing the theological doctrine on the "limit of life", where he follows Basil of Caesarea in believing that God sets in advance this limit for the benefit of man.[188]

Then, after having described the first stages of Styliane's disease, Psellos states that medicine was incapable of helping; this triggers the second intervention. Here he explains that such a disease is a sign from God so that we might recognize the mortality of human condition and understand His inexplicable decisions through which He decrees who should die so as not to lapse into worst sin and who should be saved because of his repentance (§ 34; 77.28–78.11). However, Psellos adds, his daughter died only so that her faultless and untouched person would not be stained because of suffering procured through "human bodily conversation" (78.11–15 σωματικαῖς ὁμιλίαις ἀνθρωπίναις). It is more than obvious that in both these authorial interventions Styliane's death is presented as having occurred in order to protect her virginal status. Psellos goes one step further. Just before he is about to introduce his own and his wife's lament, he describes Styliane's corpse layed out (§ 37; 80.3–6):

> She was placed on a bed; some of the wounds had retreated from her face, but she was carrying all remaining wounds on her body, exhibiting them as a testimony of the disease through which she had to fight.

The key-phrase in the original is μαρτύριον τῆς ἐν ᾗ διήθλησε νόσου ταῦτα δεικνύουσα. In a discreet manner Psellos suggests that his little girl was a martyr, since *martyrion* and *athlos* are standard terms for the accomplishments of the martyr saint at the hour of his or her death. This saintly and martyric aspect of Styliane's death is further explored through a device employed in the consolatory section of the text, namely, the presence of two dreams.[189]

Both dreams belong to Styliane; the first is narrated to her mother (§ 42–44; 82.24–84.21), the second is told to her nannies (§ 45–46; 84.22–85.14). In the first dream, Psellos lets his daughter speak herself. The audience thus hears

188 Psellos has actually written two short texts on the subject of (a) God's knowledge of future events, and (b) the limit of human life (*PhilosMin.* II, 44 and 47 O'Meara). On the whole issue see W. Lackner, Nikephoros Blemmydes: Gegen die Vorherbestimmung der Todesstunde. Einleitung, Text, Übersetzung und Kommentar. *Corpus Philosophorum Medii Aevi. Philosophi Byzantini*, 2. Athens/Leiden 1985, xliii–lxxxiv.

189 Psellos obviously cherished this device. He used it with even greater force in the *Encomium on his Mother*, composed only a few months after *Styliane*. The oration includes six dreams. For the late antique, theological and philosophical, background to dreams in this Psellan text see Criscuolo, Autobiografia (as footnote 114 above) 51–63, who believes that the dreams are invented. For a literary analysis of these dreams and their relation to Byzantine oneirology see C. Angelidi, The Writing of Dreams: A Note on Psellos' Funeral Oration for his Mother, in: Barber/Jenkins (as footnote 132 above) 155–166, who believes that the six dreams were really experienced. Psellos also used the device of the dream in the *Funeral Oration on Patriarch Keroularios* (see the reference footnote 172 above).

Styliane's "own" voice in the text. This discoursive section is based on stylistic and linguistic simplicity,[190] while its imagery and narrative structure resemble those of wonder-tales.[191] In my opinion, this is an attempt by Psellos to reproduce a child's way of narrating what it has seen, something unique, should I not be mistaken, in Byzantine literature.[192]

Be that as it may, Psellos structures the sequence of § 42–46 with the same pattern for both dreams, in which the narration of the dream is followed by an authorial commentary explaining its meaning.[193] The sequence of the two

[190] No sentence is longer than three lines, the syntax is almost exclusively paratactic, only one word can be classed as rare (83.16 ἐνδεσμόχειρες). The simpler style of this passage was noticed by KALDELLIS, Mothers and Sons (as footnote 107 above) 135 note 28.

[191] Note the abrupt opening, the complete lack of "objective" markers for spaces and persons, the emotional participation of the speaker, the absence of interpretative authorial commentary. This way of narrating can be readily observed in tales told by children narrators. For a wonderful example recorded in Epirus in 1920 see C. HÖEG, Σαρακατσάνικα παραμύθια. Ἐπιμέλεια, εἰσαγωγή, σχολιασμός A. ANGELOPOULOU. Athens 2002, 21–30 (edited from the original two-volume edition of IDEM, Οἱ Σαρακατσάνοι. Copenhagen/Paris 1926).

[192] In the dream which Psellos himself sees as a ten-year-old boy (*EncMatr.* 98.371–391 CRISCUOLO) this is not the case. There he projects into the past his own voice as author in the present, making the child Psellos speak as if he were the thirty-six-year-old "consul of philosophers", a characteristic trait of autobiographical discourse; see PH. LEJEUNE, Le pacte autobiographique. Paris ^{2}1996, 13–15. There exists only one text from the Middle Byzantine period that concerns the death of a young child. It is Niketas Choniates' *Monody on his Son who Died as a Baby* (*Orat.* 6; 46–53 VAN DIETEN), but there, for obvious reasons, the baby is not given a voice of his own. Photios, in his *Consolatory Letter to his Brother Tarasios on the Death of the Latter's Daughter* (*epist.* 234), written from his exile in c. 870, makes the deceased daughter appear to her father in a dream and deliver a consolatory monologue (II, 154.123–155.155 LAOURDAS/WESTERINK). However, this encased *ethopoiia* does not differ stylistically from the rest of the letter. Moreover, as V. A. SARRES, Ἡ βυζαντινὴ παραμυθητικὴ ἐπιστολὴ ἀπὸ τὸν Θεόδωρο Στουδίτη ἕως τὸν Εὐστάθιο Θεσσαλονίκης (9ος – 12ος αἱ.). Ὁ θεραπευτικὸς λόγος τῶν Βυζαντινῶν ἐνάντια στὸ πάθος τῆς λύπης. Thessaloniki 2005, 362–363 has convincingly shown, Tarasios' young daughter died while pregnant with her first child (II, 150.8–12 LAOURDAS/WESTERINK). Despite, therefore, the presence of encased dream-speeches by female persons in Photios and Psellos, the two texts are not easily comparable because they belong to different funerary subgenres, while employing literary and theological conventions for different purposes and for different addressees. Furthermore, the two authors differ radically as to their age, culture, ideological assumptions and status in society. Consequently, the comparison of the two texts in KALDELLIS (as footnote 107) 114–115 is, in my opinion, conducted on wrong premises.

[193] Psellos used this bipartite pattern in other funerary texts as well, though on a far smaller scale than in *Styliane*; see the dream he has as a ten-year-old boy and the dream he has of his deceased mother in *EncMatr.* 98.366–391, 142.1637–144.1691 CRISCUOLO, or the dream he has on account of a sickness that befell his friend Konstantinos Leichoudes (SATHAS [as footnote 172 above] 414.9–415.4). This bipartite structure derives from the narrative inclusion of dreams and visions in hagiography and historiography. For the

dreams, however, stands in inverted chronological order to the progress of the disease. Styliane has her first dream (**O**^{1}) something less than ten days before her death,[194] her second dream (**O**^{2}) some days before her first.[195] If we rearrange the narrative sequence in its proper chronological succession as "plot", the order of the structural elements is as follows: appearance of the disease (**A**^{1} + **X** + **B**^{1}), second dream (**O**^{2}), amelioration on the twentieth day and relapse (**C**), first dream (**O**^{1}), the parent's lament (**Z**), death on the thirty-first day and burial (**D** + **E** + **A**^{2}). We notice that the two dreams frame element **C**, furnishing the delayed words of the deceased to her mother and her nannies. In this way, Styliane's encased narratives function *a posteriori* as the "discourse before death" which Psellos had not included at the appropriate place within the death scene itself. Obviously, the placement of the two dreams in a separate narrative unit – the oration's consolatory part – maximizes their impact on the audience by presenting them as an independent section of the text and by investing them with a prophetic/oracular meaning. This is yet another instance of how Psellos "unlocks" the *typos* and the *topos* of the funeral oration's conventions.

In her first dream (82.24–84.21), Styliane wishes to enter a garden but a man holding a set of keys does not consent to her request; she follows him for a long time and feels exhausted; they, finally, arrive at a closed entrance, the man opens the door and both of them step into a beautiful garden; she sees in the middle of the garden a seated huge man surrounded by servants dressed in white; two young men, also dressed in white, bring to the huge man a sick baby which they place in his lap; he takes it in his arms and comforts it by swaying it gently back and forth; the baby regains its health; Styliane wakes up in terror. Psellos, in his authorial comment, first identifies the persons appearing in the dream as the Apostle Peter, God and his angels.[196] He then interprets the

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Early Byzantine period see G. Dagron, Rêver de Dieu et parler de soi: Le rêve et son interpretation d'après les sources byzantines, in: T. Gregory (ed.), I sogni nel medioevo. Seminario Internationale (Roma, ottobre 1983). *Lessico Intelletuale Europeo*, 35. Rome 1985, 37–55; Criscuolo, Autobiografia (as footnote 114 above) 38–44; G. Kalophonos, Τὸ ἱστορικὸ ὄνειρο στὸ τέλος τῆς ἀρχαιότητας: Ἡ *Χρονογραφία* τοῦ Μαλάλα καὶ τὰ *Ἀνέκδοτα* τοῦ Προκοπίου, in: D. I. Kyrtatas (ed.), Ὄψις ἐνυπνίου: Ἡ χρήση τῶν ὀνείρων στὴν ἑλληνικὴ καὶ ρωμαϊκὴ ἀρχαιότητα. Herakleion Crete 1993, 283–322. For the Middle Byzantine period see briefly Angelidi (as footnote 188 above) 155–156.

194 § 42; 82.27–28: Ἡμερῶν γὰρ οὔπω δέκα παρελευσασῶν πρὸ τῆς τελευταίας ἐκδημίας.

195 § 45; 84.22: Ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὅπερ πρὸ τούτου (sc. the first dream) κατεῖδεν ἐνύπνιον παροράτεον.

196 Kaldellis (as footnote 107 above) 135 note 28 suggests that the dream "bears striking similarities" to a vision seen by a monk in the *Life of John Chrysostom* by Georgios of Alexandreia (BHG 873), as excerpted by Photios in cod. 96 of the *Bibliotheca* (II, 51 Henry); the huge text is now easily available in F. Halkin, Douze récits sur saint Jean Chrysostome. *Subsidia Hagiographica*, 60. Brussels 1977, 69–285. Except for the appearance of the Apostle Peter, who holds keys and is dressed in white, the vision has

dream as prophetic: it is an indication of his daughter's death and journey to Paradise. He adds that the sick baby represents the child's soul which regains its spiritual health because of her patience and suffering during her disease. Here the saintly imagery comes full circle: Styliane has been transformed into a virgin martyr. Moreover, the image of the soul as a baby reflects contemporary iconography of the Dormition of the Virgin Mary, where Christ holds her soul in a similar manner.[197]

Styliane had her second dream (84.22–85.14) just before the amelioration of her condition on the twentieth day. It is now told by Psellos: the sick girl lies on her bed; she sees a woman supporting a baby in her arms and holding a twig in each of her hands; the woman lies next to Styliane, then stands up to leave; the girl asks for a twig, she is given the shorter one; when she begs for the other one as well, the woman does not consent and leaves; Styliane wakes up and tells the dream to her nannies. Psellos interprets the dream as the appearance of the Mother of God[198] who, by lying next to Styliane, was the cause of her respite and who, by giving her the short twig, indicated the short time-span left for the girl to live. Psellos, excerpting Philoponos, had pronounced that children in dreams act according to their senses.[199] Thus, he considers it quite paradoxical that a nine-year-old girl, in contrast to other girls of her age, should have been granted by Divine Providence the distinction of seeing a truly prophetic dream and being able to understand it with clarity and interpretative skill (85.7–17). The prescience of one's approaching death, received by dreams or visions, is, of course, the prerogative of a saintly person. Gorgonia, for

nothing to do with what Styliane sees. Given that Peter is accompanied by the Apostle John, who holds a book and is also dressed in white, the vision, as the author of the *vita* explains, prophesies Chrysostom's ascetic struggles and ascetic writings. In its typology, therefore, it is far closer to Psellos' dream as a ten-year-old boy in the *Encomium on his Mother* (see the analysis in ANGELIDI [as footnote 189 above] 158–159). On Georgios' *vita* of John and Photios' summary see T. HÄGG, Photius as Reader of Hagiography: Selection and Criticism. *DOP* 53 (1999) 43–58, esp. 46–51.

197 See, for example, the fragment of a splendid icon (2nd half of 11th cent.) from Mount Sinai in V. LAZAREV, Storia della pittura bizantina. Edizione italiana rielaborata e ampliata dall' autore. Traduzione G. FOSSATI. Torino 1967, 203–204 and pl. 323.

198 The woman has "the symbol of the cross formed on her head" (84.25) and holds the baby Christ; it is the image of the Virgin Hodegetria as we find it in portable icons of the eleventh and twelfth century: Mary holds Christ in her left arm, while a golden cross shines on her purple-coloured head-cover at forehead level (see C. BALTOYIANNI, Ἡ Παναγία στὶς φορητὲς εἰκόνες, in: M. VASILAKI (ed.), Μήτηρ Θεοῦ: Ἀπεικονίσεις τῆς Παναγίας στὴ βυζαντινὴ τέχνη. Athens/Milan 2000, 139–153).

199 *PhilosMin.* II.13 (65.18–19 O'MEARA), a passage pointed out by ANGELIDI (as footnote 189) 159. Psellos, initially, displays the same attitude towards his dream as a ten-year-old boy in the *Encomium on his Mother*, but comes to recognize its prophetic truth only after he has studied music and science and has reached his twenty-fifth year.

example, is informed in a dream of her approaching death.[200] The saintly imagery confered on Styliane is, in fact, closely related to the equivalent image of Gorgonia in Gregory's oration.[201] However, the *typos* of public discourse, where such a prognostic *opsis* appears briefly and discreetly,[202] has been wholly changed and expanded into a full scale narration and interpretation of an oracular *horasis* (85.1 τῆς ὁράσεως), again lending a far more private character to Psellos' oration.

This private character finds it's culmination in the concluding paragraphs of the text (§ 49–50; 86.17–87.20). Psellos asks of his daughter to stop the flow of her parents' tears and to quench the flames of their sorrow (86.25–31):

> And you will somehow stop our sorrows by appearing at night, by visiting me in my sleep and by talking and addressing me with your sweet little words. Just like when you were alive you clung to me and put your arms around my neck and inflamed my love through your kisses, so now, transported and appearing through dreams, do not neglect embracing me with your dearest hands.

The future space of dreams becomes here the *quasi* physical place of emotional and corporeal interaction between father and daughter. Psellos evokes again the scene he had already twice described, where Styliane expresses her love towards him (66.25–67.6 and 75.24–30). He can evoke this scene because, through its repetition, he has made it clear to his audience that he remembers it so well. So, he asks now of his deceased daughter to exercise in her turn her memory (87.6–8, 11–12):

> Remember the fatherly upbringing, remember the motherly tenderness; you know how much we have toiled for you, how much we have troubled ourselves […] Remembering these things, render to us the reward for your rearing, your upbringing, your birth.

Just as the oration had begun with the father remembering his daughter, so now the oration ends with the daughter having to remember her father. The author's memory, in a final act of semantic transfer, has been confered to the addressee's memory. Beyond the span of their earthly existence, beyond the

200 See Gorgonia's prescient (but not narrated) dream in *Orat.* 8.19.18–23 (288 Calvet-Sebasti).

201 For Psellos as an avid reader of Gregory's works see Agapitos, Teachers (as footnote 49 above) 182 note 57 and 188 note 85 with further bibliography; see also Kaldellis, Hellenism in Byzantium (as footnote 99 above) 207–209 where it is briefly argued that Psellos' "admiration for Gregorios of Nazianzos was cynical to a degree and has been misunderstood in the scholarship". Be that as it may, it is no coincidence for the reception of Psellos that Gregorios Pardos in the twelfth century connected Gregory's funeral oration on Basil and Michael's on his mother Theodote; see Agapitos, Ancient Models (as footnote 7 above) 8–9. The particular "mimetic" relation of Psellos to Gregory will be extensively discussed in the forthcoming study of S. Papaioannou, The Rhetorical Autography of Michael Psellos: Mimesis in Premodern Greek Literature.

202 For another example of such an *opsis*, see the equally brief and discret dream that Gregory of Nyssa had just before the death of his sister Macrina (*VMacr.* 15; 192.12–19 Maraval). The term *opsis* is used by both Gregories.

intensity of their emotions, the living father and the deceased daughter will continue to coexist in the textual realm of memories and dreams.

3. Concluding remarks

Having reached the end of the paper, I would like to draw some conclusions by comparing the results from the analysis of each text. In the *Iambic Verses on the Death of Skleraina* we see Psellos composing a grand poetic lament based on his reading of the *Iliad* and on his understanding of Euripidean tragedy, while moving away from the overall structure of the Menandrian monody. It is no coincidence that no specific term can be found in the poem hinting at its generic affiliation, while the manuscript lemmata focus exclusively on its verse form. Psellos uses a purely acoustic style enforced by his "swift" dodecasyllables and a primarily "pagan" imagery. The audience is brought into the text and, thus, even the private moment of Maria's death is turned into a public occasion. One thing is certain: Maria Skleraina as a person remains in the background. She is an admirable woman of intelligence and charm, but her portrait is fragmented, static, and stereotypical. Psellos' presence as speaker in the text serves his roles as "coordinator" of a public event and as "voice" of the text's political message. As a speaker, Psellos does not establish a direct relation to his audience but only to the emperor who, in my opinion, is the commissioner of the poem. As a person, Psellos also remains in the background and, to a certain extent, stands outside his own text by openly showing how much he manipulates it. At the same time, however, we are confronted with a highly experimental work as far as genre is concerned. The series of included miniforms and the mixture of their generic categories lends to the poem a singularity not to be encountered in other poetic monodies of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

By contrast with the earlier poem, the *Oration on Styliane* reveals itself as a *pathetikos epitaphios logos* following the broader rules of the subgenre but deviating in a number of private aspects, such as the disproportionate focusing on Styliane's body in life and in death. Approximately nine years after the *Iambic Verses*, Psellos still uses the device of the included miniform though on a smaller scale and in a restrained manner. However, he introduces the device of dreams, which he will further explore in the *Encomium on his Mother* and in later funeral orations. The oration's discourse focuses on stylistic density and much less on acoustic effects. "Pagan" imagery of death is completely avoided; the oration is suffused with Christian – religious and ecclesiastical – imagery and focuses on visions of an afterlife in Paradise. These are key images of the oration's private funerary discourse. One thing is again certain: Styliane Psellaina receives in the text a fully drawn physical and emotional portrait

from which the audience is called to understand and appreciate her "personality", while this portrait is presented as a complex and dynamic narrative entity. Psellos' presence in the text also develops into his own portrait as a father. He is not the external "coordinator" but the internal "participant" in a private event. In this sense, it is he who is brought into the text. Here, Psellos does indeed establish a relation with his intended listeners by constructing them as knowledgeable and benevolent critics and using them as a foil to his rhetorical experiments.

The two texts are diametrically different even though they are based on common social, cultural, and literary assumptions. These assumptions have been realized in different ways that have led to results deviating from the canon of the respective subgenres. The two women commemorated in these texts acquire totally different portraits, not only because of their obvious difference in age and social status, but because the author has approached them in different ways by giving them a public and a private death expressed through a public and private discourse respectively. Psellos alloted a private funerary style – originally belonging to funerary poetry in the Early Byzantine period – to a private death in a prose funeral oration. His choice signals the separation of public and private discourse and its subsequent reconstruction in the now different literary enviroment of the eleventh century. This is, in my opinion, a personal achievement of Michael Psellos in the textual representation of death. It is also the decisive turning point for generic experiments that had gradually started in the late tenth century and that will give to the rhetoric of death in the twelfth century its very own innovative style.

TWO VERSES OF OVID LIBERALLY TRANSLATED BY AGATHIAS OF MYRINA (*METAMORPHOSES* 8.877–878 AND *HISTORIAE* 2.3.7)

ALEXANDER ALEXAKIS/IOANNINA

The knowledge and use of Latin literary sources by early Byzantine authors is a rather understudied topic and I will not attempt anything more than adding a potentially interesting piece to this fascinating puzzle. The more advanced steps in the research of this issue have covered considerable ground, relatively speaking, in the domain of poetry and the possible influences of Latin poets on their Byzantine brothers in art.[1] The favored theory is that among the early Byzantine poets, Paul the Silentiary and other epigrammatists knew the Roman elegists.[2] Close friend of Paul was Agathias of Myrina another poet/ epigrammatist and historian in his own right,[3] who may have shared part of that knowledge of Latin with his friend. However, that knowledge has not

I wish to thank my colleagues Prof. Demetrios Raïos for his comments and bibliography on the Latin text, Prof. Apostolos Karpozelos for an instructive discussion on Agathias, Dr. Mary Whitby for advice on a possible Greek source of Agathias and bibliography, Prof. Linda J. Hall for her help with bibliography, and my daughter Maria-Irene Alexakis for her editorial suggestions. Any mistake is my own responsibility.

1 See J. C. Yardley, Paulus Silentiarius, Ovid, and Propertius. *Classical Quarterly* 30.1 (1980) 239–43, and esp. n. 2 for bibliography and also M. Whitby, Paul the Silentiary and Claudian. *Classical Quarterly* 35/2 (1985) 507–17 at 507 and nn. 1 and 2 for further bibliography. For a cursory discussion of the status and dissemination of Latin in Constantinople in the course of the 6th century, see also U. J. Stache, Flavius Cresconius Corippus in Laudem Iustini Augusti Minoris. Berlin 1976, 7–19, and the discussion on the career of John Lydus by Ch. Kelly, Ruling the later Roman Empire. Cambridge MA. 2006, 11–18. For other areas of the Empire see also L. J. Hall, Latinitas in the Late Antique East: Cultural Assimilation and Ethnic Distinctions, in: S. Byrne and E. Cuerva (eds.), Veritatis Amicitiae Causa: Essays in Honor of Anna Lydia and John R. Clark. Wauconda IL. 1999, 85–111, and also J. Geiger, Some Latin Authors from the Greek East. *Classical Quarterly* 49.2 (1999) 606–17. For the most recent review of a more far-reaching corpus of bibliography related to the subject see now A. Markopoulos, Roman Antiquarianism; Aspects of the Roman Past in the Middle Byzantine Period (9th–11th c.). Proceedings of the 21st International Congress of Byzantine Studies, London, 21–26 August 2006: Plenary Papers vol. 1. London, 2006, 277–281 and nn. 3, 14, 20, and 25. In the wider, but still relevant, topic of Greek translations of Latin works see D. Z. Nikitas, Tradizioni greche di opere latine, in: S. Settis (ed.), I Greci 3, I Greci oltre la Grecia. Torino 2001, 1035–1051. The number of works that he lists (ibid. 1039–1041) for the period 324–8th century is rather small and he also contends that: 'Per I due secoli (secoli "bui") che seguono la morte di Giustiniano non possediamo testimonianze per quanto riguarda la conoscenza di latino', ibid. 1041.

2 Yardley (as footnote 1 above), 239, and also F. Tissoni (ed.), Cristodoro: un'introduzione e un commento. *Hellenica* 6 (Alessandria 2000) 17–18, 34–5, 69 for the imitation by the slightly earlier Christodorus of Coptus of poets such as Martial, Virgil, and Ovid.

3 For Agathias see *PLRE* IIIA, Agathias, 23–5, and A. Cameron, Agathias. Oxford 1970.

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surfaced or has not been located – as far as I know – in his epigrams,[4] but in a small section of his Histories,[5] and this is what this short article intends to demonstrate:

Scholars have puzzled over the strange nature of an epidemic which in the summer or fall of A.D. 554 decimated an army of Franks and Alamanni stationed in Ceneta,[6] after their return from a plundering expedition of the Italian peninsula, under the leadership of the Alaman chieftain Leutharis.[7] The symptoms of the illness are described by Agathias (*Histories*, 2.3.8) as follows:

> "8. … The others [i.e. the Franks and the Alamanni] … were dying like flies and the pestilence continued to rage until the whole army was wiped out. Most of them, though racked with fever, remained lucid to the very end. Some were struck down by a violent seizure; others fell into a swoon, while others still succumbed to delirium. The malady, in fact assumed a variety of forms, each one fatal…"[8]

However, Agathias, in his attempt to illustrate as vividly as possible the punishment brought upon Leutharis by the Divinity for the plundering of Christian Churches,[9] describes the symptoms and the death of the Alaman leader in gruesome detail:

> "6. … His mind became unhinged and he began to rave like a madman. He was seized with a violent ague and let out a series of low-pitched groaning noises. One moment he would fall prostrate with his face to the ground, another time he would tumble over backwards foaming at the mouth and with his eyes horribly contorted. In a paroxysm of insane fury the wretched man actually began to eat his own limbs, fastening on to his arms with his teeth and rending and devouring the flesh like a wild beast licking clean a putrefying wound. And so feasting on his own flesh he gradually wasted away and died a most pitiful death …"[10]

The general assumption that here Agathias is simply describing the symptoms of one of the many outbursts of the bubonic plague (which first visited Europe in A.D. 542 and never left since), or, perhaps, malaria,[11] was redressed in 1980 by another theory claiming that the symptoms presented above belong to the so-called pseudo-rabies. Aujeszky's Disease, as pseudo-rabies is also known, is an illness common among animals that is characterized by self-mutilation or autophagy. However, "the major difficulty with this diagnosis is that in the few

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4 For Latin inspiration of two of Agathias erotic epigrams see CAMERON, Agathias (as footnote 3 above) 19.

5 Critical edition of the text by R. KEYDELL, Agathiae Myrinaei Historiarum Libri Quinque. *CFHB,* 2. Berlin 1967, translation into English, J. D. FRENDO, Agathias The Histories. *CFHB*, 2A. Berlin 1975, the passages cited here are from this translation.

6 Modern Vittorio Veneto some 70 km to the N. of Venice.

7 See *PLRE* IIIB, Leutharis 1, 789–790.

8 FRENDO (as footnote 5 above) 2.3.8 (p. 35).

9 See CAMERON (as footnote 3 above) 54.

10 FRENDO (as footnote 5 above) 2.3.6–7 (p. 35).

11 See D. CH. STATHAKOPOULOS, Famine and Pestilence in the Late Roman and Early Byzantine Empire: A Systematic Survey of Subsistence Crises and Epidemics. *BBOM,* 9. Aldershot 2004, 101–103, and 302.

cases of this illness known in humans, the symptoms were very mild and the patients recovered fully".[12] Therefore, the symptoms we read in Agathias' account belong, in all probability, to an imaginary disease.

Credit is due to A. Kaldellis for having established the fictional character and the literary nature and antecedents of this disease. In a recent article he has suggested that Agathias has supplanted the facts in this passage with a mythological allusion. This allusion is clearly to the well known myth of Erysichthon, part of which was adapted by Agathias for the needs of his *Histories.*[13] Kaldellis sees behind this "trick" of Agathias not an intention of deception, but just a playful joke "designed to reward the few who caught it. Agathias was *playing* with his readers… testing their classical education".[14] Whether he was simply testing his audience's memory or trying to cover also his lack of first hand knowledge of the events,[15] turning, thus, a historian's shortcoming into a creative author's advantage, is difficult to say. At any rate, if he were testing his audience, (which seems a reasonable suggestion to me) then the test was even more difficult than Kaldellis sees it, as I will suggest in the following.

The myth of Erysichthon (also called Aethon) is more or less well known: He was an impious man who cut down an oak in a sacred grove dedicated to Demeter, killing in the process the Dryad who was identified with the tree. As punishment the Goddess sent famine to torment him. His insatiable hunger made him eat everything that was in sight, selling many times over his daughter (to whom Poseidon gave the ability to transform herself into whichever form she wished) for food. Eventually, Erysichthon ate his own limbs and died. This myth in its entirety is not preserved in any Greek source surviving to this day. Callimachus in his *Hymn to Demeter (Hymn* 6)[16] seems to have covered a number of the points expanded on by Ovid, but he also leaves Erysichthon begging for food at the cross-roads, and neither his daughter and the many times he sold her for food nor his death are mentioned. The story of Erysichthon's daughter does not concern us here, only that of his death: Ovid is the existing source that gives the most extensive, although somehow indirect, account of Erysichthon's death. This death by autophagy might have also been part of an earlier Greek tradition – known, perhaps, to Ovid, but lost to us –

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12 J. Théodoridès, Rabies in Byzantine Medicine. *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 38 (1980) 149–58, at 156.

13 See A. Kaldellis, Things are not what they are: Agathias *Mythistoricus* and the last laugh of Classical Culture. *Classical Quarterly* 53.1 (2003) 295–300, at 297.

14 Ibid., same page.

15 For this see Cameron (as footnote 3 above) 39–51 and A. Karpozelos, Βυζαντινοὶ Ἱστορικοὶ καὶ Χρονογράφοι Α΄. Athens 1997, 435–36.

16 Callimachus, *In Cererem*, 31–115.

since the *Etymologicum magnum*[17] defines λιμὸν αἴθωνα (the alternative name of Erysichthon) as [λιμὸν] τὸν μέγαν, ἢ ἑαυτὸν φονεύοντα.[18] The implied death of Erysichthon is given in the two last verses of this *Metamorphosis* in Book Eight of the *Metamorphoses* and read as follows in the Latin original:

Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 8.877–878:

ipse suos artos lacero divellere morsu
coepit et infelix minuendo corpus alebat.[19]

On the other hand, the text of Agathias describing the death of Leutharis reads as follows:

Agathias, *Historiae*, 2.3.7: (translation into English p. 610 above).

ἐς τοῦτο δὲ ἄρα ὁ δείλαιος ἀφῖκτο μανίας, ὥστε ἀμέλει καὶ τῶν οἰκείων μελῶν ἀπογεύσασθαι. ἐχόμενος γὰρ ὀδὰξ τῶν βραχιόνων καί διασπῶν τὰς σάρκας κατεβίβρωσκέ γε αὐτὰς ὥσπερ θηρίον διαλιχμώμενος τὸν ἰχῶρα. οὕτω δὲ ἑαυτοῦ ἐμπιπλάμενος καὶ κατὰ σμικρὸν ὑποφθινύθων οἰκτρότατα ἀπεβίω.

At first sight, the differences seem numerous. Therefore it is difficult to claim direct dependence of Agathias on Ovid or that he was translating Ovid. A closer look, however, may reveal that Agathias has performed a deft amplification of what is written by Ovid. More specifically, there is not a single word in these two verses that is not to be found translated into Greek in Agathias' passage. Only one or two words are not rendered *verbatim* or in some non-literal fashion by Agathias, but are only echoed in his text. This point may be made clearer by the next list:

A) Words directly translated by Agathias into Greek

suos artus	οἰκείων μελῶν[20]
artus	βραχιόνων (also)
artus coepit divellere lacero morsu	ἐχόμενος … ὀδὰξ τῶν βραχιόνων[21] καὶ διασπῶν[22] τὰς σάρκας
minuendo	(κατὰ σμικρὸν) ὑποφθινύθων[23]
(ipse) corpus alebat	ἑαυτοῦ ἐμπιπλάμενος

17 T. Gaisford (ed.), Etymologicum magnum. Oxford 1848, 33.

18 For a detailed review of all the possible sources and later reworking of Ovid's Erysichthon see A.S. Hollis, Ovid Metamorphoses Book VIII. Oxford/New York 1970, 128–132, and also F. Bömer, P. Ovidius Naso – Metamorphosen, Buch VIII–IX. Heidelberg 1977, 232–238.

19 Ibid., 31, with a variant "lacerans" for "lacero" provided by the 13th century Greek translation of Maximus Planudes. For translations into English see below.

20 Μέλος is the standard translation given by the medieval Latin-Greek dictionaries for *artus*, see *CGL* 2, 23.48–49 and 491.1.

21 These words are rather loosely translated and Agathias renders the gist of the Latin phrase but diverges from the literal meaning listed in the dictionaries. More specifically: *lacero* corresponds to σπαράττω *(CGL* 2, 120.25), however, *lacerti* are the μύες βραχιόνων, which may account (wrongly, of course) for the βραχίονες of the Greek text. Ὀδὰξ corresponds to the Latin *morditus* (*CGL* 2, 379.4), but the word that is loosely

B) It can possibly be suggested that Agathias had at his disposal a manuscript that already contained the variant "lacerans", hence the two verbs ἐχόμενος … ὀδὰξ and διασπῶν. Even without this, the two verbs constitute a legitimate amplification allowable in prose, in which the conciseness of Ovid's poetry is very difficult to obtain. The only word from Ovid that is simply echoed in Agathias is that "infelix" which is transferred from Erysichthon to his death, qualifying it as an οἰκτρότατον (most pitiful) event.

Seen in its entirety, the passage of Agathias essentially translates rather liberally the two verses by Ovid,[24] adding a few words here and there. These words either constitute a personal comment of the author (such as the introductory phrase ἐς τοῦτο δὲ ἄρα ὁ δείλαιος ἀφῖκτο μανίας), or try to further elucidate and rationalize the original, somehow elliptic, phrase of Ovid (οἰκείων μελῶν ἀπογεύσασθαι and κατεβίβρωσκέ γε αὐτὰς [that is, τὰς σάρκας] ὥσπερ θηρίον διαλιχμώμενος τὸν ἰχῶρα). In this translating process Agathias also created the *hapax* ὑποφθινύθω for "minuendo".[25]

The gap between Agathias' literary translation and the later Greek translation of the same verses by Maximus Planudes is significant. Planudes follows the Latin text almost word for word:

> … αὐτὸς γὰρ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ μέλη δήγμασι σπαράττων διασπᾶν ἤρξατο, καὶ ἔτρεφεν ὁ κακοδαίμων τὸ σῶμα τῷ ἀκρωτηριάζειν αὐτό.[26]

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rendered by it is that ablative *morsu*, cf., however, S. Koumanoudes, Λεξικόν Λατινοελληνικόν. Athens 1854, s.v. morsus, *morsu* apprehendere, *ὀδὰξ* λαβών.

22 Another standard correspondence between Latin and Greek: *divello* = διασπῶ, see *CGL* 2, 53.39.

23 Cf. Koumanoudes, Λεξικόν Λατινοελληνικόν (as above footnote 21), s.v. *minuo* …2) *κατὰ μικρὰ* ποιῶ … συγκόπτω τι.

24 The only other possible alternative is that both Ovid and Agathias followed closely a common, now lost, Greek or Latin (?) source. The sources listed by Hollis and Bömer (as above footnote 18) do not offer anything relevant. The only exception is a very interesting conclusion to a much later tale preserved by R. M. Dawkins, Forty-five Stories from Dodecanese. Cambridge 1950, 334 ff. as it was told to Jacob Zarraftis by an old woman on the island of Cos (Hollis, as above footnote 18, 130 ff). In this tale the hero ends up eating his own flesh and the English translation by Dawkins (loc. cit., 157) "Then he began to tear at his own flesh and to eat it, insomuch that he died his very nails actually in his mouth" seems in some respects to be coming very close to the English translations cited above. One should remember that Cos is a place, which Agathias had visited once.

25 See *LSJ*, s.v. ὑποφθίνω, and the note in the *apparatus criticus* in Keydell's critical edition (n. 5), 44. Incidentally, even this translation of a single Latin word (*minuendo*) by a rather elaborate expression (κατὰ μικρὸν ὑποφθινύθων) seems to be an additional attempt at rationalizing precision on Agathias' part, see also above note 23.

26 M. Papathomopoulos/I. Tsabare, ΟΒΙΔΙΟΥ ΠΕΡΙ ΜΕΤΑΜΟΡΦΩΣΕΩΝ ὃ μετήνεγκεν ἐκ τῆς Λατίνων φωνῆς εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ΜΑΞΙΜΟΣ ΜΟΝΑΧΟΣ Ο ΠΛΑΝΟΥΔΗΣ. Athens 2002, 8.1142–44. For Planudes as a translator of this particular Ovidian work see E.

Obviously, there is no comparison between Agathias and Planudes in terms of style and literary merit. However, although at least three of the existing English translations follow an almost word for word approach to the text of Ovid just like Planudes did,[27] there are two more that seem to be conjuring up phrases out of thin air *à la mode* of Agathias: The first English translation "credited to Arthur Golding" (1567) reads as follows:

Most cursed keytife as he was, with bighting hee did rend
His flesh, and by diminishing his bodye did intend
To feed his bodye, *till that death did speede his fatall end.*

Here there are a number of words not extant in Ovid (such as "did intend"), and that "till… his fatall" approaches Agathias' οἰκτρότατα ἀπεβίω.

Similar amplification can be observed in the translation by Sir Samuel Garth, John Dryden, et. al. of 1717:

His muscles with a furious bite he tore,
Gorg'd his own tatter'd flesh, *and gulph'd his gore.*
Wounds were his feast, his life to life a prey,
Supporting Nature by its own decay.

The phrase "and gulph'd his gore. Wounds were his feast" is very close to Agathias' κατεβίβρωσκέ γε αὐτὰς [τὰς σάρκας] ὥσπερ θηρίον διαλιχμώμενος τὸν ἰχῶρα, but it does not exist in Ovid. Evidently, the above two translators tried to do exactly what Agathias had done some ten or eleven centuries before them.

A few, rather interesting, conclusions may be drawn in view of this new finding. First, the theory that some of the early Byzantine epigrammatists had first hand knowledge of Roman poetry gains one more supporting argument. Second, this passage is an additional proof that the knowledge of Latin in some of the Constantinopolitan elite circles and, especially, of Agathias, may have been more than incidental.[28] Certainly, Agathias shows that he has some

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Fisher, Planoudes' Technique and Competence as a Translator of Ovid's Metamorphoses. *ByzSlav* 62 (2004) 142–160.

27 See, for example, the translation by Brookes More of 1922: "He gnawed his own flesh, and he tore his limbs and fed his body all he took from it" or the much earlier one by George Sandys, Ovid's Metamorphosis Englished, Mythologiz'd and Represented in Figures. Oxford 1632: "Now to deuoure his proper flesh proceeds, And by diminishing, his body feeds."

28 Whitby (as footnote 1 above, note 2, 507) states that (italics are mine): '… Among native easterners, the degree of this familiarity [with Latin] would certainly have varied considerably, from those who could recognize a few words in Latin through the lawyers, administrators and military men who had a specialized, professional knowledge, to the *small proportion who could detect the Virgilian echoes in Corippus' panegyric of Justin II* …'; see, also, A. Cameron, A Nativity Poem of the Sixth Century A.D. *CP* 74 (1979) 227: '… it is becoming clear that in general there was more Latin surviving in Constantinople even at the end of the sixth century than is commonly supposed …'.

acquaintance with Latin vocabulary only once in his *Histories* (2.20.5) and a few more times with Latin official terminology,[29] but the passage analyzed above proves much more than this. I would suggest that Agathias' seamless incorporation of a translation of Latin verses into his prose work, presupposes a high level of familiarity with Latin, and leaves the ground open for further research on Agathias' *Latinomatheia*.

Whether Agathias and his circle of friends had read lengthy passages from Ovid or just small collections of verses is difficult to say.[30]

Finally, an epigram of Agathias preserved in the *Greek Anthology*[31] where Erysichthon's hunger does also appear (εἰ γὰρ ἀεὶ βούβρωστιν ἔχεις Ἐρυσί-χθονος αὐτοῦ), shows that Agathias was indeed knowledgeable of this myth. The reference is vague and the Homeric word βούβρωστις (*Il.* 24.532) which denotes Erysichthon's hunger is certainly found in Callimachos' *Hymn in Demeter*[32]. I do not know, though, if this is enough for one to decide on whether Agathias' source for the myth of Erysichthon was a combination of Greek and Latin works or only Latin.

In view of what this short article suggests, it seems that Agathias might have been testing his audience, not only for their knowledge of Greek mythology, but also for their Latin. Following (and amplifying) Kaldellis' thesis, I suggest that this little passage was a test Agathias gave his friends in the Classics the way we understand this term today. It might have also illustrated in concrete terms one possible aspect of what Agathias perceived his friend Eutychianos to have meant when he suggested that "history was not far removed from poetry, but that both were kindred and related disciplines differing radically perhaps only in the matter of meter":[33] A passage translated from the poetry of Ovid, that depicts a powerful image of the ultimate self-punishment, simply enhanced the "appealing/enchanting" (τὸ θέλγον) aspect of historical writing. Agathias consciously tried to combine in his *Histories* this aspect with that of usefulness (τὸ ὠφέλιμον).[34] In the particular case of the death of Leutharis, his

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29 For this see Cameron (as footnote 3 above) 76–77.

30 Kaldellis (as footnote 13 above) 298–99, has suggested another parallel between the death of the Frankish king Theudebert (Agathias, *Histories*, 1.4.5–6) and the hunt of the Caledonian Boar (Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 8.282–299, 329–349 and 365–372). A comparison of the two passages brought up loose correspondence of a few scattered words (ταῦρος … μέγας / maiores … tauros, ὄρη λάσια / silva frequens trabibus, etc.) but nothing of the extent of the passage examined above. It is worth noting, though, that both parallels come from the Eighth Book of the *Metamorphoses*.

31 *Anthol. Graeca*, 11.379.3.

32 *In Cererem*, 102.

33 Frendo (as footnote 5 above) 5, the original Greek text is in Keydell's edition (as footnote 5 above), *Prooem.* 12 (p. 6).

34 For this see now A. Kaldellis, Agathias on History and Poetry. *GRBS* 38 (1997) 295–305, esp. 301 ff.

apparent practical purpose was to imprint a moral message in the minds of his audience: that the unprovoked destruction of sacred places cannot go unpunished. This message, cushioned in a literary form that indirectly drew its power from Ovid, would undoubtedly have "unobtrusively instilled [some] virtue into men's hearts", as Agathias himself would have put it.[35]

[35] Frendo (as footnote 5 above) 4.

THE TRIAL OF EUTYCHES: A NEW INTERPRETATION

GEORGE A. BEVAN AND PATRICK T. R. GRAY/TORONTO

On 8 November 448 the "Resident Synod" (σύνοδος ἐνδημοῦσα) of Constantinople, composed of bishops then present in the eastern capital, convened to decide on an otherwise unknown matter of ecclesiastical discipline at Sardis.[1] Over these preceedings, Flavian, bishop of Constantinople, presided. When the scheduled business had been resolved at the end of the first, and what would have been the last session of the synod, Eusebius, bishop of Dorylaeum in *Phrygia Salutaris*, introduced a *libellus* of accusation against Eutyches, a prominent archimandrite in the capital. This seemingly unexpected turn of events came at the end of a turbulent year in which the emperor Theodosius had intervened twice in ecclesiastical politics: first on 16 February to have the illegally consecrated bishop of Tyre, Irenaeus, deposed, and the ban on the writings of Nestorius renewed, and a second time in the spring to confine the vocal Theodoret of Cyrrhus to his see.[2] The actions of the emperor, and the subsequent trial and condemnation of Eutyches at the Resident Synod, inaugurated a new phase in the christological controversy that had been simmering since the so-called "Symbol of Reunion" of 433 had, on the conventional view of things, resolved the Nestorian controversy. The condemnation of the hapless archimandrite in 448 put in motion the sequence of events that would lead directly to the deeply divisive Council of Chalcedon.[3] Despite its pivotal importance, the trial of Eutyches, and Eduard Schwartz's highly influential but idiosyncratic 1929 interpretation of it, have long gone without

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1 We are well informed about the synod of Constantinople in 448 thanks to its *acta*, which are interspersed with the *acta* of several other synods within the proceedings of the long first session of the Council of Chalcedon (451), Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum [= *ACO*], E. Schwartz (ed.). II.1.1. Berlin 1932, 100–147. The most important of these documents were also included with comments as part of E. Schwartz, Der Prozess des Eutyches, *Sitzungberichte der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse Abt.* 5 (1929) 1–52. The precise number of bishops present at the first session of the synod of Constantinople is not certain. Theophanes puts the number at 40, AM 5940 (Theophanes, Chronographia, C. de Boor (ed.). Leipzig 1883, 99). The final decision of the synod of Constantinople was ultimately subscribed by 30 bishops and 23 archimandrites (*Gesta Constantinopoli* 552 *ACO* II.1.1, 145–147). Among the 23 archimandrites 18 were priests and one a deacon. H. Bacht, Die Rolle des orientalischen Mönchtums in den kirchenpolitischen Auseinandersetzungen um Chalkedon (431–519), in A. Grillmeier/ H. Bacht (eds.), Das Konzil von Chalkedon, Geschichte und Gegenwart, vol. 2. Würzburg 1953, 302.

2 *Collectio Vaticana* 138 *ACO* I.1.4, 66 (excerpted in *CI* I.1.3).

3 For the divisive force of Chalcedon, see P.T.R. Gray, The Defense of Chalcedon in the East (451–553). Leiden 1979.

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the careful reconsideration they deserve.[4] Virtually every assumption of the traditional assessment of the Eutyches affair – Eutyches' heretical christology, the role of Chrysaphius, Theodosius' agenda – needs to be challenged. As will be seen, the new assessment that emerges bears almost no resemblance to the old.

The Principals

Flavian had been bishop of Constantinople only a year since the death of his predecessor when he faced the challenge of Eutyches.[5] To historians Flavian has become a cipher; scarcely anything is known of his background or his doctrinal stance.[6] That he suffered in the cause of orthodoxy is widely assumed, but this begs the question of *whose* orthodoxy. It may well have been precisely because Flavian was a colourless supporter of the *status quo* that he was selected to succeed so dynamic a bishop as Proclus.[7] He would not be expected to express any novel opinions on christological questions and would dutifully uphold the Peace of 433.

Both Eusebius and Eutyches, by contrast, had established reputations that went back to the episcopate of Nestorius. In 428, when he was among the first

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4 See recently also D. May, Das Lehrverfahren gegen Eutyches im November des Jahres 448. Zur Vorgeschichte des Konzils von Chalcedon, *AHC* 21 (1989) 1–61. While emphasizing the strong influence of Roman juridical procedure on the Home Synod May leaves completely unquestioned the basic tenets of Schwartz's interpretation (see *infra*) and believes that the legal forms used in the synod justified its decision. Cf. W. de Vries, Das Konzil von Ephesus 449, eine "Räubersynode"?, *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 41 (1975) 357–398 that almost alone among modern scholarship examines the events of 448 and 449 and concludes that the condemnation of Eutyches was not legitimate by the standards of the time (see *infra*).

5 Although Proclus is commonly thought to have died in 446, the precise date of Flavian's consecration as bishop is not known from any early sources. F.X. Bauer, Proklos von Konstantinopel. Ein Beitrag zur Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte des. 5. Jahrhunderts. Munich 1919, 142–143.

6 Theophanes AM 5939 (de Boor, 97) states that Flavian had been a "priest and treasurer" in the church of Constantinople.

7 The alternation of active and passive bishops is a well attested pattern for the 5th century. The humble Sisinnius (Socrates *HE* 7.26) was followed by Nestorius, who was in turn suceeded by the mild and elderly Maximian (Socrates *HE* 7.41–42). Only after several earlier failed attempts to become bishop did Proclus gain the see on the death of Maximian. If Flavian was exiled to his home city, and he was reported to have died en-route to Hypaepa in Cappodoccia, it may be inferred that this was his birthplace. For conjectures on the place and date of Flavian's death, see H. Chadwick, The exile and death of Flavian of Constantinople: a prologue to the Council of Chalcedon, *JThS (NS)* 6 (1955) 17–34.

to attack Nestorius, Eusebius was a *scholasticus.*[8] Later that year, Eusebius is said to have composed a *contestatio* comprising a polemical pamphlet that compared selected passages of Nestorius with works of Paul of Samosata, and to have interrupted a sermon of Nestorius to defend *Theotokos.*[9] At an unknown time after the Council of Ephesus (431), he was consecrated bishop of Dorylaeum, no doubt as a reward for his efforts against Nestorius. For all intents and purposes Eusebius had a strong record of publicly defending orthodoxy. Moreover, his rhetorical and legal training equipped him to be the formidable accuser he proved to be at the trial of Eutyches.

The monk and archimandrite Eutyches appears as an early supporter of Cyril in the eastern capital. By the time he was summoned before the synod of Constantinople in 448, Eutyches had reached quite an advanced age, and had lived, according to one source, for 70 years as a monk.[10] Even if this number is doubted, it is clear that Eutyches had become a monk at a very early age.[11] If Eutyches entered the monastic life so young, it is unlikely that he ever received much formal, theological training. The pious monk probably learned scripture, and a traditional understanding of doctrine. We cannot assert that Eutyches ever achieved any level of doctrinal sophistication, and must assume that he was guided by others. The harsh judgement of Leo that Eutyches was an *imperitus senex* and *multum imprudens* may not be too far from the mark: Eutyches was indeed an old man, which may have meant that his mental agility had declined, and he was certainly, as his performance at his trial demonstrated, unprepared to acquit himself well in theological debate with a skilled adversary.[12] When Eutyches appears in the historical record, he is first attested

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8 *PLRE* II *s.v.* "Eusebius 15", 431 and *RE* VI 1444. See Theophanes AM 5923 (de Boor, 88) for Eusebius as a *scholasticus* in the Basilica of Constantinople, i.e. he represented the church of Constantinople in legal matters. For the title *scholasticus* see A.H.M. Jones, The Later Roman Empire, 284–602: A Social, Economic and Administrative Survey. Oxford 1964, 512–513 and 999; and C. Roueché, Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity. London 1989, 76–77 and 107. Evagrius HE 1.9 (J. Bidez/L. Parmentier eds. London 1898, 17) calls him simply a *rhetor.*

9 For the text of the anonymous *Contestatio*, see *Collectio Vaticana* 18, *ACO* I.1.1, 101–102 (*CPG* 5940). For Eusebius' authorship of this text, see Leontius of Byzantium, Contra Nest. et Euty. 3, *PG* 86, 1389. For Eusebius interrupting Nestorius' sermon, see Cyril's *Contra Nestorium* I.5 (*CPG* 5217), *Collectio Vaticana* 166 *ACO* I.1.6, 25.40–26.4.

10 *Collectio Casinensis* 108 *ACO* II.4, 144.37. Eutyches says to Leo that he has lived *in contintentia et omni castitate septuaginta annos.* Another text of the same letter, however, in the *Collectio Novariensis* says only that he lived *religiose et continenter in christianis officiis* (*ACO* II.2.1 p. 34:40) with no reference to his age. See Bacht (as footnote 1 above) 207, note 48.

11 See Eutyches' *libellus* to Leo: *ACO* II.2.1, 90.21.

12 Leo *Ep.* 47. See Bacht (as footnote 1 above) 207, note 47 for further references to such negative estimations of the aged archimandrite's intellectual abilities. De Vries (as footnote 4 above) 372 finds such claims suspect.

in a letter of Cyril's *synkellos*, Epiphanius, to the bishop of Constantinople, Maximian, in 432/3. Epiphanius, as Cyril's representative in Constantinople, writes to Maximian to request that he intervene with certain members of the court to ensure that Cyril's position triumph in the aftermath of the failed Council of Ephesus:[13]

> *et dominum meum sanctissimum Dalmatium abbam roga ut et imperatorem emendet, terribili eum coniuratione constringens, et ut cubicularios omnes ita constringat ne illius memoria ulterius fiat, et sanctum Eutychem ut concertetur pro nobis <et> pro domino meo fratre vestro sanctissimo.* (p. 223.23–26)
>
> Also ask my lord the most holy abbot Dalmatius to set the emperor right, binding him by a terrible oath, and to bind all the chamberlains likewise, so that no memory of that man [Nestorius] lingers. Also, ask holy Eutyches to fight for us and for my lord, your most holy brother [Cyril].

Cyril would also, it turned out, have a copy of the acts of Ephesus dispatched to Eutyches in order to win his support.[14]

Eutyches was apparently associated closely with the revered archimandrite Dalmatius, who left his cell for the first time in decades in the summer of 431 to urge the emperor to reject Nestorius. Eutyches, it seems, accompanied Dalmatius during the demonstrations against Nestorius.[15] But Eutyches did not assume the monastic mantle of Dalmatius on his death in 440, and instead came to head, according to one source, the monastery of St. Mokios situated in a suburb of Constantinople, the Hebdomon, where some 300 monks reportedly dwelled.[16] It seems also that Eutyches enjoyed considerable support among the

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13 *Collectio Casinensis* 293 *ACO* I.4, 222–224. English translation by J.I. McEnerney, St. Cyril of Alexandria, Letters 51–110. Washington D.C. 1987, 191.

14 *Gesta Ephesi* 157 *ACO* II.1.1, 91.11–13.

15 Statement of Flavian: *Gesta Constantinopoli* 417 *ACO* II.1.1, 137. Eutyches says also that he had fought for orthodoxy at the time of the First Council of Ephesus: *Gesta Ephesi* 155 *ACO* II.1.1, 90.

16 For Eutyches' monastery, see Liberatus, *Brevarium* 11 *ACO* II.5, 113.33–114.3: *His temporibus Eutyches quidam presbyter et archimandrita praesidens Constantinopolim celeberrimo monasterio urgente satana praedicabat dominum nostrum Iesum Christum consubstantialem nobis non esse secundum carnem, set de caelo corpus habuisse rursusque varians dicebat ante adunationem duas in Christo fuisse naturas, post adunationem vero unam factam esse.* Also, Niketas Choniates, *Thesaurus*, *PG* 140, 37B: *…monasterio autem praefectus, quod quidem prius in septimi finisbus erat et extra Constantinoplim iacebat et de Iobi nomine dicebatur: nunc autem intra urbem videtur et sancti Mocii templo confino est.* Cf. Theodore Lector, *Epitome* 344 (Theodoros Anagnostes, Kirchengeschichte, G.C. Hansen (ed.). Berlin 1971, 97.19–20): Εὐτυχὴς ὁ αἱρετικὸς ἀρχιμανδρίτης ἦν τῆς μονῆς Ἰὼβ τῆς ἐν τῷ Ἑβδόμῳ', τὰ Ἀπολιναρίου φρονῶν … See also E. Honigman, Juvenal of Jerusalem. *DOP* 5 (1950) 230, note 43 and Bacht (as footnote 1 above) 207, note 48. For recent discussion of the location of Eutyches' monastery, see now V. drecoll, Die Stadtklöster in Kleinasien und Konstantinopel bis 451 n.Chr. *Cristianesimo nella storia* 23 (2002) 645–647. The number of monks under

memoritai, the ascetics who inhabited the *martyria* and tombs in Constantinople outside of the supervision of the monasteries and their archimandrites.[17]

Nothing in the record so far warrants calling Eutyches a major figure in the ongoing christological controversy or in ecclesiastical politics. The most that can be said is that he enjoyed a modest reputation as a senior monastic in the capital, and that his support there, for what it was worth, could be counted on for the cyrillian side. The assumption that he was in fact a major figure depends on several late sources which assert that he had a close relationship with another supposed principal, the powerful chamberlain and eunuch Chrysaphius. The evidence is, however, tenuous at best for this high official's direct involvement in ecclesiastical politics.[18]

According to the sixth century western bishop Liberatus, Eutyches was Chrysaphius' baptismal sponsor.[19] If such was the case, this relationship need not have carried with it the anachronistic implication that Chrysaphius was committed to upholding all the views of his "godfather".[20] Liberatus further claims that, when Eutyches was confronted with the charges against him, he used Chrysaphius to have the emperor send a guard of the *silentiarius* Magnus and the *patricius* Florentius with him to the synod:[21]

> *quibus cum identidem Eutyches de infirmitate excusaret conpellentibus tamen eis qui missi fuerant, petiit unius septimanae dilationem, ut post septem numerum dierum audientiae occurreret. qui refugiens ad imperatorem Theodosium impetravit ab eo, ut*

Eutyches comes from the *libellus* of Eutyches' monks submitted at Second Ephesus: *ACO* II.1.1, 186.28.

17 See T.E. Gregory, Vox Populi: Popular Opinion and Violence in the Religious Controversies of the Fifth Century A.D. Columbus 1979, 167–168; and Bacht (as footnote 1 above) 212–213.

18 For Chrysaphius' indisputable influence in the Theodosian court, see Alan Cameron, The empress and the poet: paganism and politics at the court of Theodosius II. *Yale Classical Studies* 27 (1982). For claims that Chrysaphius and Eutyches were in league, see B. Kidd, A History of the church to A.D. 461. Vol. 3. Oxford 1922, 285–256; and Schwartz (as footnote 1 above) 80–81. The eunuch was a *cubicularius* and *spatharius*, and like almost all other eunuchs he came from outside of the Roman Empire. See Jones (as footnote 8 above) 567–571; J.E. Dunlap, The Office of the Grand Chamberlain in the Later Roman and Byzantine Empire, New York 1929; K. Hopkins, Eunuchs in Politics in the Later Roman Empire, *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 189 (1963) 62–80; and R. Guilland, Fonctions et dignité des eunuques. *Études Byzantines* 2 (1944) 185–244.

19 Liberatus *Breviarum* 2 *ACO* II.5, 114.34.

20 Cf. Gregory (as footnote 17 above) 131: "Flavian had apparently taken and indepependent line in his dealings with Chrysaphius, and he had allied himself with Pulcheria against the eunuch's successful manipulation of court intrigue. This was important for the present issue since Chrysaphius was the godson of Eutyches and presumably a supporter of his theology from an early date."

21 Liberatus *Brevarium* 11 *ACO* II.5, 114.30–35.

> *fertur, per Chrysaphium eunuchum, quem Eutyches susceperat de sacro baptismate, ut cum patricio Florentio et Magno silentiario illud Flaviani concilium ingrederetur…*
>
> When Eutyches excused himself again and again on account of his weakness to those who had been sent, he sought a delay of seven day, so that after seven days a hearing would take place. When he sought the emperor Theodosius he begged from him that it be brought about through the eunuch Chrysaphius, whom Eutyches had baptized, that he enter along with the patrician Florentius and the silentary Magnus Flavian's council.

This assertion can, however, be no more than conjecture on Liberatus' part, and hostile conjecture at that, to explain the arrival of imperial troops to escort Eutyches to the synod. As will be seen, there is a more plausible way to explain this turn of events.

The analysis is further complicated by reports of the hostility of Chrysaphius towards the archbishop Flavian. Another 6th century source, Evagrius *scholasticus*, adds the story that Flavian, on his appointment in 447, had failed to give to Chrysaphius the expected donatives and instead sent him the sacred vessels of the church in order to shame the eunuch (*HE* 2.2).[22] Theophanes, writing centuries after the events, claims that Theodosius was completely under the sway of the eunuch, who was "jealous" of Flavian's appointment as bishop, and because of Flavian's failure to pay the benefactions Chrysaphius demanded he harbored feelings of grievance towards the bishop.[23]

Sources closer in time to the events of 448, however, say nothing about a connection between Chrysaphius and Eutyches, a fact which suggests that Evagrius' and Theophanes' stories, too, are hostile conjectures at best. The account given by Nestorius in his *Liber Heraclidis*, written in late 450 or early 451 in Egypt, serves as a useful corrective to these late reports.[24] Nestorius is silent about the role of Chrysaphius, and instead boldly claims that Theodosius allowed Eutyches to set himself up as a "bishop of bishops".[25] Using the emperor's authority, Eutyches was free to disseminate his heretical teaching of the "one nature", according to Nestorius. Nestorius does not mince words in assigning to Theodosius culpability for the outrages of 449 at the Second Council of Ephesus, and in so doing reflects his own bitterness towards the emperor for his abandonment of him almost two decades earlier. In comparison with the Chalcedonian Evagrius, Nestorius states that it was

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22 Gregory (as footnote 17 above) 155, note 19 suggests that the hostility between Flavian and Chrysaphius even predated the former's appointment as bishop.

23 Theophanes AM 5940 (de Boor, 98).

24 For critical discussion of the Liber Heraclidis, see L. I. Scipioni, Nestorio e il concilio di Efeso: storia, dogma, critica. Milan 1974; and L. Abramowski, Untersuchungen zum Liber Heraclidis des Nestorius. Louvain 1963.

25 Nestorius, Liber Heraclidis, P. Bedjan ed. Leipzig and Paris 1910, 459–460. English: The Bazaar of Heraclides, L. Hodgson/ G. R. Driver (transl.). Oxford 1925, 336; French: Le Livre d'Héraclide de Damas, F. Nau (transl.). Paris 1910, 294–295.

Theodosius himself, not Chrysaphius, who demanded a payment of gold from Flavian, and that the bishop had to melt down church vessels to satisfy him.[26]

Additional contemporary evidence of Chrysaphius' neutrality in the controversy comes from Theodoret's *Ep.* 110 to Domnus of Antioch, which must date to the spring of 448.[27] In it Theodoret expresses his frustration at the mixed signals coming from Constantinople concerning the case of Irenaeus, a friend of Nestorius who had become bishop of Tyre despite an earlier order of exile against him and his remarriage. When Irenaeus had been ordained, no one complained, but now the actions of Theodoret and his colleagues were being cast as illegal by their opponents. Yet despite the recent imperial order removing Irenaeus and expressing surprise that he had ever been ordained at all, Theodoret writes that letters had been received from other officials in Constantinople that offered to reverse the decision in return for "prayers":[28]

> Ἃ δὲ ἀνέγνων κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἡμέραν, καθ' ἣν λεκτικάριος ἀφίκετο, γράμματα, ἐναντία τούτοις ἐστίν. Ἅγιος γάρ τις μονάζων τῶν ἐπισήμων ἔγραψε πρός τινα, ὡς ἐδέξατο γράμματα καὶ τοῦ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτου σπαθαρίου, καὶ τοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου ἀπὸ μαγίστρων, σημαίνοντα ὡς διορθώσεως τεύξεται τὰ κατὰ τὸν θεοφιλέστατον ἐπίσκοπον τὸν κύριον Εἰρηναῖον· καὶ ταύτης γε τῆς σπουδῆς ἀντιδόσεις ἀπῄτουν τὰς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν προσευχάς.
>
> Moreover the letters which I read on the very day of the letter-bearer's arrival are opposite in tenor. For a holy man, one of the notable monks, has written to some one that he has received letters both from the very illustrious *spatharius* and the very glorious ex-*magister* stating that the case of the very godly lord bishop Irenaeus will stand more favourably, and in return for this good will they ask for prayers on their behalf.

The *spatharius* can be no other than Chrysaphius and one suspects that the "prayers" might well be code for some sort of gratuity. While this reference confirms the view of Chrysaphius as a mercenary schemer, it actually proves that the eunuch was neutral in ecclesiastical matters. In offering to reverse the emperor's decision about Irenaeus, he shows that he cannot be a doctrinaire supporter of Eutyches and the other conservative Cyrillians in Constantinople.

Why do the late sources feel compelled to ascribe a central and malign role to Chrysaphius, when the contemporary evidence does not? Nestorius had little to lose by calling the emperor a heretic and connecting him directly with Eutyches and his exoneration in 449. Our later authors, on the other hand, were committed to upholding the decisions of First Ephesus (431), and to the view that, just as it had been necessary to correct the error of Nestorius, so the Council of Chalcedon (451) had been necessary to correct, in complementary fashion, the antithetical error of Eutyches. In their minds, Theodosius, as the

[26] Liber Heraclidis 467–469 (Hodgson/Driver 341–342; Nau 299).

[27] Y. Azéma (ed. and transl.), Théodoret de Cyr. Correspondance. Vol. 3. *Source Chrétiennes,* 111. Paris 1967, 38 note 1.

[28] Ep. 110 (Azéma vol. 3) 40–41.

power behind Ephesus, was cast as a defender of orthodoxy, and this made it impossible for them at the same time to see him as the supporter (as it seemed) of the heretical Eutyches in both 448, and again in 449, Eutyches and the actions of both those gatherings being condemned by the supremely authoritative Council of Chalcedon. Their commitment put them in a difficult interpretive position vis-à-vis the seemingly contradictory actions of Theodosius. The way out of this awkward situation was to shift the responsibility to the baneful Chrysaphius, already execrated for his manipulation of the *Augustae* Pulcheria and Eudocia and for his bungled attempt to assassinate Attila, and to see him as having induced a weak Theodosius to support Eutyches and Dioscorus.[29]

This interpretation on their part clearly should not be confused with history. A close analysis of the emperor's actions in 448 will show that the situation was actually a good deal more complicated than the later, pro-Chalcedonian sources such as Liberatus, Evagrius and Theophanes make out. A better explanation for Theodosius' reversal of policy is needed than unsupported suppositions about the emperor's weakness and the hated Chrysaphius' inordinate interest in, and power over, ecclesiastical affairs. The claim that Eutyches enjoyed substantial influence before his trial, if based on his alleged connections with Chrysaphius, is thus without substance.

The argument that Eutyches had entered into conflict with the eastern bishops before he was summoned before the synod in Constantinople is sometimes based on different evidence. None of it, however, is convincing.

Some have found it tempting to see Eutyches as the itinerant "beggar" caricatured in Theodoret's eponymous *Eranistes.*[30] Someone worthy of

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29 For Chrysaphius' campaign to undermine Pulcheria and Eudocia, see K. Holum, Theodosian Empresses. Berkeley and Los Angeles 1982, 191–196; and Cameron (as footnote 1 above 8) 267. See also P. Goubert, Le rôle de Sainte Pulcérie et de l'eunuque Chrysaphios, in Grillmeier and Bacht (as footnote 1 above) vol.1, 302–321, followed by C. Luibhéid, Theodosius II and Heresy. *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 16 (1965) 31–32. Goubert believed that Chrysaphius' was using the renewed religious crisis as a smokescreen for his own abortive attempt to assassinate Attila. The argument, however, is demonstrably false as Chrysaphius could not have known of the failure of the failed assassination until the fall of 449, as was shown by Gregory (as footnote 17 above) 138–139.

30 Tillemont (Mém. vol. xv, 271) was among the first to say of Eranistes that "Ce qui convient assez bien à Eutyches". See also Kidd (note 18) 287, Bacht (as footnote 1 above) 209, and Bardy in A. Fliche and V. Martin (eds.), Histoire de l'Eglise, vol. 4. Paris 1948, 214. For the date of Eranistes, see M. Richard, L'activité littéraire de Théodoret avant le concile d'Éphèse, *Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques* 24 (1935), 83–106 (= *Opera Minora*, vol. 2, #45. Louvain 1977, 459–472), and, Theodoret of Cyrus. Eranistes: Critical Text and Prolegomena, G.H. Ettlinger (ed.). Oxford 1975, 3–4 with references. No internal evidence allows the date of 447 to be positively confirmed, but it remains the scholarly consensus.

caricature by such an author must, the reasoning goes, have been an important adversary. Published in 447 or thereabouts, *Eranistes* lampoons the views of the conservative Cyrillians by constructing a dialogue between an Antiochene, styled "Orthodox", and "Eranistes", one who like an itinerant beggar has gone round gathering heresies, especially those of Apollinarius. This work, composed for a sophisticated audience in Antioch or Constantinople, was nothing short of a shot across the bows of the conservative followers of Cyril. The work sought to prove, in dialogue form, three fundamental articles of Antiochene christology. The first dialogue argues that, because God is immutable, the divine part of Christ could not in any literal sense be changed during the incarnation (60–111). The "Word became flesh" of John 1.14 could not be accepted literally; the word did not change into flesh, but assumed the human nature only. The second (112–88) shows that the human and divine natures could not be intermingled in the person of Christ. The third dialogue argues that, if God is impassible by nature, only the human nature of Christ could have suffered (189–253).

The views Theodoret imputed to "Eranistes" may seem very close to those that would convict Eutyches in November of 448, but there is in fact no positive evidence to show that Theodoret was even aware of the archimandrite when he began to compose the *Eranistes* in 446 or 447. Facundus, bishop of Hermiane in Africa, who wrote over a century after the events, claimed that it was Domnus of Antioch who first accused Eutyches of Apollinarianism before the emperor.[31] No letters of Domnus to the emperor survive, however, and it is quite possible that Facundus is presenting only a supposition based on the later hostility of the Antiochenes towards Eutyches. If Theodoret was unaware of Eutyches' position, so that he cannot have satirized it in *Eranistes*, that is hardly surprising: Eutyches, so far as is known, never publicly disseminated any doctrinal works before 448. This has led the most recent translator of the *Eranistes*, to conclude that Eutyches could not have been the target of Theodoret's polemical dialogue.[32] Instead Theodoret had set his sights on the followers of Cyril's late writings, among whom Eutyches located himself.

[31] Facundus *Pro defensione trium capit.* 12.5 (*PL* 67, 852A) and 8.5 (*PL* 67, 723C), discussed by Bacht (as footnote 1 above) 209.

[32] See G. H. Ettlinger's introduction to his recent translation of the *Eranistes:* The Fathers of the Church. Vol. 106. Washington, D.C. 2003, 9–10.

The Reopening of the Christological Controversy

Theodoret's *Eranistes*, despite not being directed against Eutyches as has been supposed, did have a connection with the trial of that unhappy archimandrite. Its immediate effect, it seems, was to reopen the christological controversy that had been simmering since the Peace of 433 reconciled the feuding parties at the Council of Ephesus.[33] The conservative Cyrillians in Constantinople had in the *Eranistes* yet more ammunition with which to continue their campaign against the bishop of Cyrrhus, and it was in connection with that campaign that Eutyches appeared for the first time in the debate. He was probably co-opted by this cyrillian party to use his venerable position as an ascetic to win over the West, and this was why he wrote to pope Leo early in 448. Although Eutyches' letter is now lost, Leo's reply of 1 June 448 clearly indicates that the archimandrite had complained about those who were reviving the heresy of the "two Sons", an unmistakable reference to the Antiochene dyophysitism of Theodoret and his followers, and perhaps to Theodoret himself, since he had written explicitly in defense of Diodore, the reputed originator of the "two Sons" doctrine.[34]

From the perspective of the emperor, Theodoret's actions must have seemed a dangerous and deliberate provocation, since they could not fail to arouse increased hostility on the part of partisans of Cyril who had never been happy with how much he had conceded to the Antiochenes in 433. The situation could unravel the peace of the church and reopen the shooting war of 431 to 433. Theodosius inevitably took steps to make sure that did not happen. So grave was the threat of a new crisis that, on 16 February 448, without the authority of any synod of bishops behind him, the emperor dispatched a *sanctio* to Antioch that renewed the ban on the writings of Nestorius, and had Irenaeus, the recently appointed bishop of Tyre and a formerly exiled associate of Nestorius, deposed from his see.[35] This edict, it was reported, met with public disapproval when it was read out on Easter Sunday (18 April) in Antioch.[36]

33 The references to the "Peace of 433" are to the statement of belief originally put forward by Theodoret of Cyrrhus and the Eastern bishop in 431 at the request of the emperor (*ACO* I.1.7 p. 69–70) and later quoted by Cyril in *Laetentur Caeli* with only minor modifications (*ACO* I.1.4 p.17.9–10). This statement has sometimes been misleadingly referred to as the "Symbol of Reunion". It was not a credal formula as the title "Symbol" suggests, but rather a gloss on the Nicene creed subscribed to only by John of Antioch and Cyril of Alexandria.

34 Leo *Ep.* 20, *ACO* II.4 p. 3. See also SCHWARTZ (as footnote 1 above) 76.

35 *CI* I.1.3 and *Coll. Vat.* 138 *ACO* I.1.4, 66.

36 Akten der ephesischen Synode vom Jahre 449, J. FLEMMING (ed. and German transl.), *Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, philosophisch-historische Klasse* 15. Berlin 1917, 130–131. English: The Second Synod of Ephesus, S.G.F. PERRY (ed. and transl.). Dartford 1881, 322.

Theodoret himself had spoken against it before the congregation, it was reported.

The emperor's fears as to the response of the cyrillian side were not without foundation. When the monk Theodosius brought to Alexandria news of the Antiochene reaction as well as incriminating writings of Theodoret, Dioscorus felt compelled to join the fray. The bishop of Alexandria exchanged several letters with Domnus of Antioch, preserved in the Syriac acta of Second Ephesus, which demanded that Theodoret be sanctioned for not upholding the 12 Anathematisms of Cyril.[37] Domnus' rejoinder claimed that he and Theodoret were operating fully within the terms of the Peace of 433, agreed to in Cyril's *Laetentur Caeli.*[38]

The emperor took seriously the charges that Theodoret was disturbing the peace, and in the summer of 448 the *comes* Rufus was charged with serving the bishop of Cyrrus with an imperial *sacra* that ordered him confined to his see for "continually assembling synods and thus causing trouble to the orthodox."[39] While deposing Theodoret by *fiat* would have been a gross violation of ecclesiastical law, Theodosius clearly signalled that he was convinced that the bishop of Cyrrhus had gone too far in promoting the Antiochene agenda and in moving already unhappy cyrillians to prosecute a more uncompromising position on their side. The fragile Peace of 433 had held until now, but Theodoret had, dangerously and recklessly, made its status a central point of contention. As his letters to Dioscorus and Flavian show, the bishop of Cyrrhus argued that he was upholding that Peace and maintaining the substance of all the documents agreed to by Cyril of Alexandria and John of Antioch in 433, and in particular Athanasius' Letter to Epictetus and the Antiochene statement of belief quoted in *Laetentur Caeli.* Although Dioscorus' letter of reply to Theodoret does not exist, Theodoret's report of it indicates that the bishop of Alexandria utterly rejected his claims to orthodoxy on that basis. Battle-lines were being drawn, and the Peace of 433 had become, not the restraining influence it had been, but a *casus belli.*

Difficult choices were posed for the emperor as the year 448 unfolded. Breathing new life into the Peace of 433 was an attractive option, given that it had provided a period of at least relative calm heretofore, but it had a weakness: it had been no more than an agreement between two bishops, John of Antioch and Cyril of Alexandria, and its writ did not run beyond them. Indeed, it evidently did not run even to Cyril's successor, Dioscorus, let alone

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37 Flemming, 132–139 and Perry, 339–43.

38 Flemming, 138–141. Dioscorus would write again to reiterate his demand that the 12 Anathematisms be enforced (Flemming, 140–143), but Domnus once more appealed to the "Symbol" of 433 (Flemming, 144–147).

39 The terms of the order are reported by Theodoret in his *Epp.* S 79, to Anatolius the Patrician (Azéma, vol. 2, 182–189), and S 80 (Azéma, vol. 2, 188–191).

to the whole church. If he wished to reimpose the peace, Theodosius would need to find a way to give it a weight and authority it did not inherently possess. Alternatively, the emperor could move beyond the Peace, recognize that its terms were insufficient either to rein in the strong dyophysitism of Theodoret or to satisfy critics on the cyrillian side, and establish a cyrillian standard for orthodoxy in some way. Voices were being raised in favour of that alternative: there can be little doubt that an influential faction in Constantinople, which included Eutyches, convinced Dioscorus of the need to discard the Peace and define orthodoxy in the uncompromising terms that Cyril had laid out subsequent to 433. What was the emperor to do?

The events of November 448 would reveal the emperor' and his advisors' initial approach to this problem, with the hapless Eutyches standing surrogate for the rejected option. When Eusebius submitted his *libellus* to the synod in Constantinople, then, it was not essentially the orthodoxy of Eutyches that was at stake, but which understanding of christological orthodoxy – that represented by the Peace of 433, or that represented by the late Cyril of the "one incarnate nature of the divine Logos" favoured among his conservative followers by 448 – would be established as the faith of the imperial church. It is that drama that will be explored in what follows immediately; the fascinating but largely irrelevant issue of what Eutyches himself actually believed will be reserved for the end of the article.

The Trial: Proceedings in Eutyches' Absence

Eusebius of Dorylaeum's startling introduction of a *libellus* at the session of the Resident Synod drawing to a close on 8 November served notice only that Eusebius was charging Eutyches with a kind of heresy, a vague charge couched in terms that construed Eusebius himself as loyal to the fathers (with Cyril of Alexandria at the top of the list) and to the councils of Nicaea and Ephesus, while construing Eutyches as one who blatantly rejected those authorities and their teaching. Flavian, who was presiding, directed that the libellus be inserted in the minutes so that all could read it, and that two officials should go to Eutyches, read the accusations in the *libellus*, and summon Eutyches to appear in his own defense.

The investigation of Eutyches began on 12 November, but the archimandrite himself did not appear until 22 November.[40] In his absence, during four sessions on 12, 15, 16 and 17 November, the synod selected the documents that would be used to define the state of christological orthodoxy, and established several procedural rulings that were clearly intended to ensure his condem-

[40] *Gesta Constantinopoli* 238 *ACO* II.1.1, 103.

nation. The centre-piece of the prosecution's case against the archimandrite would be the Peace of 433.

Eusebius tips his hand immediately on 12 November when the Synod reconvenes: he has indicated in his *libellus* on 8 November that he is accusing Eutyches of "corrupting the orthodox doctrines of the Church."[41] Astonishingly, at least in terms of the traditional view of Eutyches' condemnation, Eusebius does *not* charge him either with confusing the human and divine natures of Christ (i.e., with being a "Monophysite"), or with teaching that Christ's human body came down from heaven, the doctrines the heresiological tradition always associates with Eutyches. Rather, it is what Eutyches *does not accept* that matters to Eusebius and the prosecution. What he does not accept, as is quickly made clear, is the authority of two, and only two, letters of Cyril of Alexandria: Cyril's Second Letter to Nestorius, and the *Laetentur Caeli,* which contained the all-important Antiochene statement of faith.

Eusebius appeals first to the Second Letter to Nestorius.[42] That letter would, at first sight, seem to be an unlikely authority to insist on alongside the Antiochene-tinged *Laetentur Caeli*, since it sets out a vigorous case against Nestorius' Antiochene position. Eusebius' purpose is not immediately apparent, and it might – wrongly – be thought that he was inconsistent. As will shortly become clear, there is an excellent reason for making his case as he does, and for representing this specific letter as a definitive statement of christological orthodoxy. He goes on, in fact, to amplify the letter's authority: it was "an exposition of the faith of the holy fathers assembled at Nicaea", he tells the synod, and he reminds them that Cyril asked that it be read at the Council of Ephesus (a council properly called by the emperor, he notes), and that Ephesus had, at Cyril's request, explicitly confirmed that this letter "was in agreement with … the exposition of the holy fathers." (p. 103.30–33) He asks that the letter be read, and that the synod make it "clear to all that we think and that we believe in accordance with the faith contained in the letter." (p. 104.1) Eusebius' presentation has thus done its very best to bring out the authority of the letter: as Cyril's, it shares his suthority as the champion of orthodoxy against Nestorius; as an exposition of Nicaea, it shares in Nicaea's authority; as enshrined in the acts of Ephesus, it shares in Ephesus' authority.

The quasi-conciliar ("synodical") authority of this letter – so important, as will be seen, to the agenda of the synod – was not its only unique feature among the letters of Cyril. By a (for Eusebius and his cause, happy) accident, Cyril was blissfully unaware when he wrote the letter in 430 that the word "natures" had a central and technical place in the Antiochene articulation of christology. For him at that point, the issues were the title *theotokos* for Mary,

41 *ACO* II.1.1, 103.11.
42 *Gesta Const.* 238 *ACO* II.1.1, 103–104.

and whether one could speak of two sons. He could not, then, have foreseen how fatal would be, for succeeding generations, his casual qualification of a typical assertion that there is "one Christ and Son out of two" by the addition "not as though the diverseness of the natures were done away by this union." This casual assertion by Cyril of Christ's possession of two natures "after the incarnation" was, as will be argued, precious evidence for the case Eusebius was there to build.[43]

Eusebius next appeals to *Laetentur Caeli:* "There is also a second letter of Cyril, written to the holy synod of the Orient … indicating their opinion on the incarnation of our Saviour Christ, and how the holy churches of God in every place ought to think and preach." (p. 104.2–5) He demands that it, too, be read, and inserted in the minutes, "so that the doctrines of the church may be understood properly by all." (p. 104.6–7) The presentation, while brief, associates the letter with Cyril's authority, and construes it as connecting that, not just with John of Antioch, to whom the letter was written, but with a notional "holy synod of the Orient".[44] The letter is also said to represent, not Cyril's grudging agreement to the acceptable use of two-natures language by "theologians" in the specific context of his relationship with John of Antioch and of imperial pressure for a truce, but his and the "synod's" magisterial teaching on "how the holy churches of God in every place ought to think …" It is clear here that Eusebius intends to amplify the authority of this letter, much as he intends to amplify that of the Second Letter to Nestorius.

Once the two letters have been read, and they and the related documents – meaning, presumably, the acts of Ephesus confirming the Second Letter to Nestorius as its understanding of christological orthodoxy – have been read into the minutes, Eusebius closes his presentation with the words "I am standing up as the opponent of those who, starting with these texts, want to change orthodox doctrine", making it absolutely clear that he is claiming these texts, and no others, as the standard of orthodoxy, and is charging Eutyches with departing from them.[45]

The crux of the matter quickly become clear. Flavian's response lays it out unmistakeably: he agrees that these letters of Cyril – again, no other letters are mentioned – "interpreted exactly the thought of [Nicaea]", and "have taught us … that our saviour Jesus Christ, only-begotten son of God, is perfect God

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43 *ACO* II.1.1, 109.3–5. For the text of *Laetentur Caeli* in the documents of First Ephesus, see *ACO* I.1.4 17.9–20.

44 There is no evidence that such a meeting of the Diocesan Synod of Oriens was convened to vote on the statement in *Laetentur Caeli.* Eusebius may mean here that the original Antiochene statement was drafted by John of Antioch and his colleagues at the *conciliabulum* in 431. But this counter-synod was not considered to have any synodical authority in 448.

45 *Gesta Const.* 270 *ACO* II.1.1, 113.27–28.

and perfect man composed of a rational soul and of a body, begotten before all ages without beginning of the Father according to deity, and in late times the same begotten for us and for our salvation of the Virgin Mary according to humanity; consubstantial with the Father according to deity, and consubstantial with his mother according to humanity. We confess that the Christ is from two natures *after the incarnation*, confessing in a single hypostasis and in a single person a single Christ, a single son, a single lord."[46]

Even Dioscorus would find nothing to disagree with in the first banal phrases of Flavian's statement.[47] Its sting is in its tail: the claim of authority for one critical doctrinal assertion: Christ is in or from two natures "after the incarnation".

The bishops, each being invited by Flavian to "hand in a deposition as to his opinion and as to his faith for the minutes of the acts", confirm with monotonous uniformity that this is indeed the key point (p. 114.12–14). For example, Basil of Seleucia praises Cyril's infallible orthodoxy in "all his writings and all his letters" extravagantly, but draws from these two letters the key conclusion: "we adore our single Lord Jesus Christ as needing to be recognized *in* two natures."[48] Seleucus of Amasea says he believes "in our single Lord Jesus Christ … declared in two natures after the incarnation and after the assumption of flesh …";[49] Longinus, representing Rome, says that he is convinced that "after the incarnation out of two natures one adores the deity of the only-begotten Son of God …"[50] It is precisely in the context of having affirmed the two natures after the incarnation that each of the bishops repeats some form of Flavian's declaration, "Those who choose to think otherwise we banish from the holy fellowship of priests, and from the whole body of the church." (p. 114.10–12)

The case against Eutyches made by Eusebius, and agreed to by Flavian and all of the bishops present at the Synod, was thus unmistakably that he refused to speak of Christ as being in two natures, or out of two natures, after the incarnation. There is no mistaking the controversial context of this tactic: it takes dead aim at cyrillians like Dioscorus, who had begun to make their mantra Cyril's clarification, in post-433 letters like those to Succensus, of what he meant when he admitted the legitimacy of two-natures language in the Symbol of Union. That mantra said "Indeed, we do speak of two natures, but we say Christ was out of two natures *before the union*." The agenda of Eusebius

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46 *Gesta Const.* 271 *ACO* II.1.1, 114.1–10. Italics are our own.

47 *Gesta Actionis Primae* [Chalcedon] 281 *ACO* II.1.1, 115.

48 *Gesta Const.* 301 *ACO* II.1.1 p. 117.16–22. For an account of Basil's beliefs, see M.M. van Parys, L'évolution de la doctrine chistologique de Basile de Séleucie. *Irénikon* 44 (1971) 493–514.

49 *Gesta Const.* 302 *ACO* II.1.1, 117.35–118.2.

50 *Gesta Const.* 331 *ACO* II.1.1, 120.9–11.

and the synod was clearly to suppress that line of argument by condemning Eutyches for refusing to accept what was essentially an Antiochene christological formula nuanced in the light of this latest stage in the controversy – "in/out of two natures after the incarnation". The condemnation was to be given force by representing the refusal to accept this formula, through the highly-constructed understanding proposed by Eusebius and accepted by the bishops at the Synod, as a breach of the dogmatic authority of Cyril and of the Council of Ephesus embodied, so it was claimed, in Cyril's two "synodical" letters.

The strategy of promoting a vigorously Antiochene christology while shielding it behind the authority of the Peace of 433, it will be remembered, was precisely that used earlier in the year by Theodoret and Domnus, complemented in their case by a thumbing of their noses at Dioscorus, when he insisted that orthodoxy meant subscribing to the uncompromisingly non-Antiochene position of the very different Cyril represented by other letters, such as the Third Letter to Nestorius with its anathemas, or the late letters to Succensus and others that spoke of "one incarnate nature", and insisted that Christ was "out of two natures", but only in thought, and only before the union.

Two things are new with Eusebius' and Flavian's extension – for it can hardly be anything else – of this campaign. First, the clever association of the Second Letter to Nestorius with the Symbol of 433, attracted to the latter the authority of the Council of Ephesus. Second, Eutyches' stage-managed and very public condemnation and deposition were evidently expected to make other cyrillians of his stripe think twice before attacking Antiochenes. From the point of view of partisans of an Antiochene way of thinking, both of these goals were highly desirable. Achieving them was the *raison d'être* of the synod, at least as far as the bishops were concerned. How it related to imperial policy is a matter to be taken up shortly.

The next two sessions of the Synod, on 15 and 16 November, concerned themselves with reports from delegations sent to Eutyches one after another (three times, in total, to fulfil the canonical requirement.) The first delegation was made up of the priest John, and the deacon Andrew, accompanied, as it turns out, by one of Basil of Seleucia's staff, a deacon named Athanasius. On 15 November they report finding Eutyches in his monastery, reading him the *libellus*, giving him copies, naming Eusebius as the accuser, and telling him about the Synod and his obligation to appear before it in his own defense.[51] Eutyches' response, they say, was to refuse to appear, as being confined to the monastery by a lifelong vow, to dismiss Eusebius as a longstanding enemy of his whose attack on him was the product of simple enmity, and to read out in a loud voice a document setting out his faith. It is important to note that here, as

[51] *Gesta Const.* 359 *ACO* II.1.1, 124.

later, this document was never accepted by the synod or its representatives, nor were its contents ever cited. Eutyches' considered understanding of his own position was never given standing; he was to be judged on the basis of *parti pris* reports, and on what he was led to say under cross-examination. This delegation reported that Eutyches claimed to accept the "expositions of faith" of Nicaea and Ephesus, but that he sidestepped the issue of what was the faith of the fathers by going straight to the Scriptures – a tactic indicating that Eutyches was sufficiently aware of the minefield represented by that question, and of his own inability to negotiate it with confidence, to be aware that he should avoid it if he could. Nonetheless, the delegates were able to report what the synod wanted to hear: "After the incarnation of God the Word, i.e. after the birth of our saviour Jesus Christ, he adored only one nature, the nature of God incarnate and become man" (p. 124.24–26) – the burden, they alleged, of the document he read out. Moreover, Eutyches was challenged by what seems to have been an appeal to a different passage in the Second Letter to Nestorius, in which Cyril said "We do not say that the Logos became flesh by having his nature changed … [but on the contrary that] in an unspeakable and incomprehensible way, the Word united to himself, according to his hypostasis, flesh enlivened by a rational soul …",[52] tendentiously glossed in terms of natures by the synod's representative as "the statement that our Lord Jesus Christ was composed of two natures united according to his hypostasis …"[53] His reported response was to steer clear of it, again by appealing only to Scripture, affirming that he believed that "he who was born of the Virgin Mary was perfect God and perfect man, but that he did not have a body of the same nature as ours." (p. 124.33–34) In, at least purportedly, speaking of only one nature after the incarnation, Eutyches had incriminated himself in the terms of the synod, i.e. he refused to submit to the authoritative doctrine of Christ in or out of two natures after the incarnation, and Eusebius drew the obvious conclusion: Eutyches clearly stood condemned out of his own mouth. His refusal to say that Christ had a body "of the same nature as ours", in itself no more than a traditional cyrillian recognition that, as the body of the Word, it was unique, would quickly be pounced upon as a second point of vulnerability to the charge of heresy.

A second delegation was then sent, this time made up of the priests Mamas and Theophilus. While they are waiting for it to return, later the same day, Eusebius rises to make a further charge against Eutyches, to the effect that he is trying to arouse the monasteries to rebellion against the synod by circulating a letter on the faith and asking them to subscribe to it.[54] Presumably it was the

52 *ACO* II.1.1, 26.25–27.
53 *ACO* II.1.1, 124.29–30.
54 *Gesta Const.* 381 *ACO* II.1.1, 126.

statement of faith Eutyches read out to the first delegation, prefaced by a letter, hastily circulated either after the depositing of Eusebius' libellus on 8 November, or, more likely – since a later report on it would cite some recipients of it as describing it as perhaps containing the acts of Nicaea and Ephesus, or an exposition of one of them – after the nature of Eusebius' charges became known on 12 November, since Nicaea, Ephesus, and the exposition of them, were the themes of his attack. That such a letter had been received is confirmed by a representative from one of the monasteries. Just as Eusebius was demanding that the synod send representatives to the monasteries to counter Eutyches, presumably by threatening the monks with condemnation for heresy under the same reading of orthodox doctrine being applied against Eutyches, the second delegation's arrival diverted attention from this proposal, reporting that monks at Eutyches' monastery had said he was sick, but that Eutyches himself did meet with them once he knew it was another summons to appear.[55] He repeated his reason for not appearing (a vow to remain in the monastery), and asked that he not be summoned a third time. His request that they accept "something he had written" (again, his statement of faith) was explicitly refused, and when a monk read it to them "in a loud voice", they refused to listen to it, saying he should subscribe to it and send it directly to the Synod (p. 128.27–32). In short, the only achievements of this second delegation were to keep Eutyches' statement off the record again, and to contribute to meeting the legal requirement of three summonses to appear, before Eutyches could be condemned in absentia. A third delegation was sent late in the day with the third summons, this one calling Eutyches to appear on the morning of 17 November.[56]

In a session on 16 November, a delegation of monks arrived as Flavian was discussing matters with the Synod. Among them was the archimandrite Abraham who, pleading Eutyches' sickness and anxiety, offered to pass on messages from Eutyches directly to Flavian.[57] Rather than accept that proposition, Flavian suggested that the synod's investigation of the case be suspended until Eutyches was better, thereby keeping the trial alive.[58] When Abraham offered to make certain recommendations on Eutyches' behalf, Flavian again refused, insisting that Eutyches should appear at the Synod and speak for himself, by which he means, as he goes on to say, that he should confess his error and anathematize his heretical views.[59] The way was kept firmly closed against any opportunity for negotiation, for Eutyches' views in written form to be put on the record, or for anyone else to speak on Eutyches'

[55] *Gesta Const.* 397 *ACO* II.1.1, 127–128.
[56] *Gesta Const.* 403 *ACO* II.1.1, 129.
[57] *Gesta Const.* 414 *ACO* II.1.1, 130.
[58] *Gesta Const.* 415 *ACO* II.1.1, 130.
[59] *Gesta Const.* 417 *ACO* II.1.1, 130–131.

behalf. There was a stark choice before Eutyches: to remain silent in his monastery and face certain condemnation, or to appear before the Synod and defend himself *viva voce*.

On 17 November, the third delegation began the day with its report.[60] They described a brief interchange with Eutyches in which he said that the reason he had sent Abraham to the Synod was to signal his readiness to assent to "all the formulas of the holy fathers of Nicaea and of Ephesus, and to all those of blessed Cyril." (p. 131.30–31) In other words, Eutyches had understood that he was charged with not agreeing with the teaching of Nicaea and Ephesus as authoritatively interpreted by Cyril in the Second Letter to Nestorius and in *Laetentur Caeli*, and was hoping to escape condemnation by a blanket submission to those councils and to Cyril's authority. At this, Eusebius interrupted the report urgently to demand that Eutyches not be allowed to escape condemnation for what he had believed, just because he now would submit to saying he believed whatever the Synod demanded.[61] It would be just possible to see this demand as motivated by Eusebius' personal animosity and/or his lust for victory, were it not that Flavian immediately reassured him that "No one is permitting you to give up your accusation, or permitting him to avoid defending himself for the faults of the past."[62] Were it an open question, one might have expected him to say "No one is *asking* you to give up your accusation." That he uses the word "permitting" (συγχωρεῖ) makes it clear that Flavian himself was the moving force behind the prosecution of Eutyches, whatever rhetoric he might have used at the beginning about his hope that Eutyches would think better of his error. Flavian, and whatever forces he was allied with, had no intention of letting Eutyches get off simply by repenting: they wanted what he had stood for condemned publicly and decisively, evidently so that those who shared that view might be cowed, and so that its converse (the doctrine that Christ had two natures after the incarnation) might be established with the maximum of authority, and its partisans might speak freely.

The balance of the delegation's report was then taken up. According to the spokesperson, Memnon, Eutyches had pleaded sickness as a reason for sending Abraham in his stead, Memnon had insisted in return that only Eutyches himself could appear to defend himself, and Eutyches had asked for a delay for the balance of the week, promising that he would, God willing, appear and defend himself on the following Monday (22 November).[63]

60 *Gesta Const.* 422 *ACO* II.1.1, 131.
61 *Gesta Const.* 423 *ACO* II.1.1, 131–132.
62 *Gesta Const.* 424 *ACO* II.1.1, 132.
63 *Gesta Const.* 427 *ACO* II.1.1, 132.

As the last recorded business of the session, the commission appointed to investigate Eutyches' letter to the monasteries reported questioning some monastic leaders, with vague results. Some indicated that the letter was said to include the acts of Ephesus, or the expositions of Nicaea and Ephesus, but no one actually read or signed them. Another said he had received, not a letter, but a verbal warning from Eutyches not to obey an order they were to receive shortly from Flavian.[64] Flavian closed the session by granting Eutyches' requested delay, and indicated that if he did not appear, as promised, on 22 November, he would be deprived of his priesthood and of his leadership of the monastery.[65]

The next session, on Saturday, 20 November, has a number of curious features. It was apparently not expected, and was called on short notice, since one of the two persons Eusebius wanted to appear at it, and again as witnesses against Eutyches on Monday, had not had time to return. These two persons were Mamas and Theophilus, the members of the second delegation – who had given their report early in the week, and who would normally have expected that to be their last appearance before the Synod. In this second appearance, it became clear that they had engaged in a theological argument with Eutyches, the existence of which they had suppressed in their report. Since they reported having said to Eutyches several times that they had not been sent to have discussions with him, the obvious conclusion is that they had orders (from Flavian?) not to engage with Eutyches in any kind of theological debate. Despite that prohibition, Mamas and Theophilus were now called upon, not to be chastised or disciplined for disobeying orders – they were neither chastised nor disciplined – but to report on the argument they were not supposed to have had! What was going on?

In attempting to answer that question, it is important to remember how things stood at this moment. A position – the refusal to accept two natures after the incarnation – had been condemned, a position Eutyches was suspected of holding. Eutyches had been called to appear and clear his name, but it is evident that, in fact, his condemnation had already been decided on one or both of two counts: that he had refused to accept two natures after the incarnation, and that he continued to refuse to accept that doctrine. Now that Eutyches had promised to appear before the Synod, there was only one way in which this carefully-designed strategy could fail, and that was if Eutyches, unprepared and old though he was, could surprise everyone by offering an articulate and convincing defense. By denying him the right to enter his written statement of faith into the records, the prosecutors had forced him into the highly disadvantageous position of defending himself *viva voce*. The various

64 *Gesta Const.* 440 *ACO* II.1.1, 133–134.
65 *Gesta Const.* 444 *ACO* II.1.1, 134.

speakers for the prosecution were, as will shortly become clear, prepared with arguments that they could use to trap him into condemning himself out of his own mouth in that situation, but there must still have lingered a certain apprehension that Eutyches might prove unexpectedly able on his feet. It is in this light that the order not to enter into debate with Eutyches must have been given to Mamas and Theophilus: if they argued with him, they might alert Eutyches to the rhetorical strategies prepared for use against him at his defense, and give him time to prepare his response. That the delegates were not chastised or punished shows that something unexpected had happened. An account of the impromptu debate must have reached Flavian and Eusebius, but their initial concern about their strategy being inadvertantly leaked to Eutyches must have been replaced by delight that, as it turned out, Eutyches had proven himself even more inept than they had believed, had no idea of attempting to show that he was orthodox in their terms, and was willing to condemn himself over and over again, offering new rhetorical possibilities to his prosecutors along the way. The impromptu session of Saturday, 20 November, was called so that Mamas and Theophilus could repeat – for the record, and sworn on the gospels, we note – the heretical assertions Eutyches had made in their hearing.

Theophilus, in Mamas' absence, reported first.[66] Eutyches, he said, had begun the debate by asking where "two natures" was to be found in Scriptures, and shortly after that, which fathers had used the expression. They had replied that "two natures" was like "consubstantial", i.e. it was not in Scripture, but was in the "explanation [evidently, of Scripture] of the holy fathers." (p. 136.5) From the line of argument taken by Eusebius in his libellus, it is clear that the prosecution wanted to establish a patristic and conciliar pedigree for "two natures after the incarnation" in christology, along the lines of the pedigree for "consubstantial"in trinitarian doctrine, and we have seen which "explanation of the holy fathers" they offered as authoritative. Eutyches' silence showed he did not have an answer to that argument of any sort.

More useful, potentially, to Eutyches was the next line of argument:

> εἶπον κἀγὼ πρὸς ταῦτα· τελειός ἐστιν ὁ θεὸς λόγος ἢ οὔ; λέγει ὁ αὐτὸς πρεσβύτερος· τέλειος. λέγω ἐγώ· τέλειος ἄνθρωπος ὁ σαρκωθεὶς ἢ οὔ; λέγει ὁ αὐτὸς πρεβύτερος· τέλειος. λέγω· εἰ τοίνυν θεὸς τέλειος καὶ ἄνθρωπος τέλειος, τί κωλύει λέγειν ἡμᾶς ἐκ δύο φύσεων ἕνα υἱόν; δύο τέλεια ἕνα ἀποτελοῦσιν υἱόν. (p. 136.8–12)
>
> I myself [said Theophilus] added to that: "Is God the Word perfect or not?" The same priest said "Perfect". I said, "Once he is incarnate, is he perfect man or not?" The same priest said "Perfect". I said: "If then he is perfect God and perfect man, what stands in the way of our saying that the Son is one out of two natures? Two perfect elements make up one single Son."

[66] *Gesta Const.* 451 *ACO* II.1.1, 135–136.

This line of argument had not been voiced before in the Synod, though Flavian had included in his summary of the teaching of the "synodical" Cyril on 12 November the consubstantiality of Christ with the Father in divinity, and with Mary in humanity, the double consubstantiality being included in the Antiochene statement of faith in the *Laetentur Caeli.* Eutyches' refusal to fully accept the double consubstantiality was, as will be seen, to be the clinching argument used by the prosecutors on 22 November to convict him, and it is entirely likely that they would have preferred to keep their strategy from him. Eutyches' response, however, must not only have allayed their fears, but also have made them feel doubly confident:

> μὴ γένοιτο ἐμὲ εἰπεῖν ἐκ δύο φύσεων τὸν Χριστὸν ἢ φυσιολογεῖν τὸν θεόν μου. εἴτε οὖν βούλονται καθελεῖν με εἴτε θέλουσι ποιεῖν τι κατ' ἐμοῦ, κατα συγχώρησιν θεοῦ ποιείτωσαν· ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐν τῆι πίστει ἧι παρέλαβον, ἐν αὐτῆι ἕστηκα καὶ τελειωθῆναι βούλομαι.
>
> God forbid that I should say Christ is out of two natures or explain my God through notions about nature. Whether they want to depose me, or whether they want to do something against me, let them do it with God's permission. I hold firm in the faith that I have received, and I want to die in it. (p. 136.13–16)

When Mamas arrived, he confirmed Theophilus' report, summing up Eutyches' final statement as follows:[67]

> ἐγὼ θεότητα οὐ φυσιολογῶ οὔτε λέγω δύο φύσεις, μὴ γένοιτο. καὶ ἐνταῦθα, κἂν καθαιρεθῶ, τάφος μοι ἔστω τὸ μοναστήριον, καὶ ἐὰν συγχωρῆι θεὸς παθεῖν μέ τι, ἥδιστα πάσχω. ἐγὼ γὰρ δύο φύσεις οὐχ ὁμολογῶ.
>
> I won't explain the deity – God forbid! – with the notion of nature, and I won't say two natures. That does not please God. I stand here, and if someone deposes me, let the monastery be my tomb, and if God allows me to suffer, it is with a full heart that I'll suffer. For I do not recognize two natures. (p. 137.8–10)

Eutyches, it seemed, was determined to fall headlong into the trap prepared for him. He was an inspired choice as victim.

Eutyches' Defense and Condemnation

On 22 November the synod convened. At first, things unfolded in the expected way. Eusebius was called and entered, then Eutyches was called, but did not immediately appear. Things took a surprising turn when he did appear, for he was accompanied by imperial troops and a group of monks.[68] As a condition of appearing he demanded that he have a free-conduct to leave afterwards.[69] No

67 *Gesta Const.* 456 *ACO* II.1.1, 136–137.

68 *Gesta Const.* 463 *ACO* II.1.1, 137–138. See *infra* for a discussion of the roles of these imperial officials.

69 *Gesta Const.* 464 *ACO* II.1.1, 138.

sooner had Flavian assented than the imperial silentiary Magnus, saying he had been sent by the emperor, asked permission to enter.[70] Granted that permission, he read a letter from Theodosius asking that the patrician Florentius be allowed to participate in the Synod, an extraordinary request.[71] Permission was granted, though not it would seem without some tension with Eusebius, the accuser of record. That hint of tension runs through the records of the session. It was tension, not over the goal of the synod, since both Eusebius and Florentius worked unmistakeably to have Eutyches condemned, but over the order in which they should proceed. From the beginning, Eusebius doggedly pursued his favoured approach: the minutes of the previous sessions, laying down what doctrine had to be accepted, were to be read in full, and Eutyches' condemnation was to be assured by proving first that he had not accepted that doctrine, and then, if possible, that he still did not accept it. Eusebius, it will be remembered, had an excellent reason for insisting on this approach: if he failed to get a conviction, the punishments he demanded for Eutyches would be turned against himself. Only once Eutyches had been condemned, at least for what he once believed, would Eusebius feel totally secure. Florentius, on the other hand, quickly made it clear that he favoured instead asking Eutyches to explain what he currently believed, relying – as events would show, correctly – on his finely-tuned debating skills for the task of leading Eutyches to condemn himself. It fell to Flavian to reassure Eusebius that "no one is going to accept the priest Eutyches' present consent unless he is refuted for what he thought earlier", though that assurance did not necessarily mean that the prosecution would proceed in the order preferred by Eusebius.[72]

Once the complete minutes were read, as Eusebius had urged, but before he could begin, Florentius suggested they should begin by asking Eutyches "what his faith is, and what he says, and then let him be asked again why, since now he says one thing, formerly he professed other opinions."[73] Eusebius, probably with some reluctance that he did not dare show, agreed that Eutyches should be cross-examined first, but again "on condition that his current consent does not become a prejudicial judgment. For it is in virtue of the minutes already of the past that I have convicted him of being heterodox."[74] Flavian again reassured him, and Eusebius began the cross-examination of Eutyches he would have preferred to make later on. "Does Eutyches", he asks, "adhere to the letters of blessed Cyril that were recently read, and does he confess that there was a union of two natures in a single person and a single hypostasis?"[75]

70 *Gesta Const.* 466 *ACO* II.1.1, 138.
71 *Gesta Const.* 468 *ACO* II.1.1, 138.
72 *Gesta Const.* 480 *ACO* II.1.1, 138.
73 *Gesta Const.* 484 *ACO* II.1.1, 140.10–11.
74 *Gesta Const.* 485 *ACO* II.1.1, 140.13–15.
75 *Gesta Const.* 487 *ACO* II.1.1, 140.

Flavian backs up Eusebius with the unskilfully-framed demand that Eutyches say whether he confesses "a unity out of two natures".[76] The ideal response, from Eusebius' and Flavian's point of view, would obviously be "no", in which case Eutyches would stand condemned under the Synod's previous ruling on required orthodox doctrine. Instead, Eutyches gives the worst possible response: "Indeed I do, out of two natures", an answer any cyrillian could make in good conscience.[77] Eusebius refines the question, asking whether he confesses "two natures after the taking of a body", and "that Christ is consubstantial with us by the flesh", but he is too late.[78]

Eutyches temporarily claims the initiative: "I do not come to be cross-examined, but I do come to bring before your sanctity what I think."[79] What he thinks, he says, is written in his statement of faith, and he boldly demands that it be read. The moment is fraught with peril for the prosecution, especially since, as comes out in the cross-examination, Eutyches' statement of faith is made up mostly of patristic texts supporting his views. This must have been precisely the kind of embarrassing evidence for a very different christological "orthodoxy" – Cyril's post-433 formulations of "out of two natures" and "one incarnate nature" – that the prosecution's case had been intent on avoiding all along by refusing to accept or listen to the statement.[80]

By this time Flavian seems to have taken over the cross-examination from Eusebius, presumably since things have been going badly. He hardly does better, however, for he tells Eutyches to read the statement himself.[81] Eutyches says that he cannot do so, the obvious implication being that he suffers from presbyops, an interpretation made all the more likely by the fact that, when the statement was read out to the second delegation, it was read by a monk, not by Eutyches himself. When Eutyches claims it is both his statement and that of the fathers, Flavian at first says "Tell us of which fathers",[82] but quickly recovers and says brusquely: "Speak for yourself. What need do you have of written stuff?"[83] Fortunately for Flavian, Eutyches misses the opportunity presented to bring to the fore the issue of the patristic tradition as his side understands it, and instead accepts the challenge of saying what he believes. What he confesses, apart from a formulaic statement on the Trinity, is "[the Son's] incarnate mode of presence, made from the flesh of the holy virgin, and

76 *Gesta Const.* 488 *ACO* II.1.1, 140.
77 *Gesta Const.* 489 *ACO* II.1.1, 140.
78 *Gesta Const.* 490 *ACO* II.1.1, 140.
79 *Gesta Const.* 498 *ACO* II.1.1, 141.
80 Eutyches, when claiming that it was indeed his statement, and not someone else's, added "but that statement is equally that of the holy fathers." *Gesta Const.* 501 *ACO* II.1.1, 141.
81 *Gesta Const.* 499 *ACO* II.1.1, 141.
82 *Gesta Const.* 501 *ACO* II.1.1, 141.
83 *Gesta Const.* 503 *ACO* II.1.1, 141.

perfectly become a body for our salvation."[84] Unexceptionable in what it does assert, the statement seems to be using the modifier 'incarnate" in Cyril's "one incarnate nature of God the Word" to assert *something* about the humanity's reality after the incarnation, but without affirming positively that he is thereby affirming a second nature. It is a rather deft approach, seeming to yield more than it does; the wording, not echoed elsewhere in any recorded statements of Eutyches, may suggest the work of some more sophisticated theologian behind Eutyches himself. Eutyches may be remembering it from the written statement. Certainly he says nothing so deft in what follows. Deft or not, his prosecutors recognize in his statement the point on which he is holding back, the identification of this "mode of presence", "body", and "flesh" as a human nature fully consubstantial with ours. From now on, that is the focus of their attack.

Flavian immediately asks whether Eutyches confesses the double consubstantiality of Christ, "with his Father by divinity, with his mother by humanity".[85] Eutyches at first attempts to stand with what he has said, but under continued questioning on the point admits that "[t]o this very day I have not called the body of the Lord our God consubstantial with us, though I confess the holy virgin to be consubstantial with us, and our God to be incarnate from her."[86] It is clearly the body of Christ that is the sticking-point for Eutyches; for some reason – we shall have to consider in due course what that reason is – he cannot bring himself to say that it is a human body like any other. Despite the relentless repetition, by Basil of Seleucia, and then by Florentius, of the point that, if Christ took his humanity from Mary, and she was consubstantial with us, then he must be consubstantial with us too, Eutyches simply will not call "the body of God a human body".[87] He will not yield his internal consent to it, though he is, finally, willing to give external and verbal assent to it, as being prescribed by those with authority over him: "What I never said before, I now say to you. I think what I have said in my statement; but now, since your sanctity [i.e. Flavian] says this, I say it."[88]

It is of some importance to recognize the realities of this situation. Eutyches is sometimes thought to have been not only old and unprepared, but also so vacuous that he could shift positions without any consideration of consistency.[89] Such assessments are made in ignorance of the nature of the campaign to condemn Eutyches no matter what, and on the assumption that his cross-

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[84] *Gesta Const.* 505 *ACO* II.1.1, 141.
[85] *Gesta Const.* 511 *ACO* II.1.1, 142.
[86] *Gesta Const.* 514 *ACO* II.1.1, 142.
[87] *Gesta Const.* 519–522 *ACO* II.1.1, 142.
[88] *Gesta Const.* 524 *ACO* II.1.1, 143.
[89] Cf. T. Camelot, De Nestorius à Eutychès, in: Bacht/Grillmeier (as footnote 1 above) 229–242; and R. Draguet, La christologie d'Eutychès. *Byzantion* 6 (1931) 441–457.

examiners really intended to bring him to a "more correct" understanding. A more attentive reading notes that he does not change his essential position: "I think what I have said ..."[90] What he does is agree to give external consent, bowing to the authority of his bishop and patriarch Flavian, by repeating certain propositions with his voice that Flavian insists on. When it is a matter of actually anathematizing what he himself thinks, however, he does not agree. Eutyches may not be as courageous as some might wish in adopting the first tactic, but in attempting to save himself he is not, in fact, inconsistent.

External consent under authority is not, of course, enough to placate his accusers. Flavian asks if Eutyches has really "confessed the true faith" only under compulsion, and Eutyches agrees that this is the case.[91] Flavian insists that what they wish Eutyches to confirm is not some "novelty" dreamed up by himself and the Synod, but "the faith ... just as it was expounded by [the fathers]."[92]

The coup de grâce is administered by Florentius, as he elegantly connects the point about consubstantiality with the Synod's explicit decision to make the doctrine of two natures after the incarnation the touchstone of orthodoxy: "Do you, or do you not," he asks, "say that our Lord who is from the virgin is consubstantial by reason of both natures after the incarnation?"[93] Eutyches, faced with this stark demand, admits that he confesses "two natures before the union", but "one nature afterwards."[94] In the harshest demand yet made on him, the Synod then insists that Eutyches "confess openly, and anthematize every dogma which is contrary to those which were just read [two natures after the union, and the double consubstantiality]".[95] Eutyches says again that he will confirm the doctrine they ask him to confirm, since it is insisted upon by Flavian, but repeats his view that it has neither scriptural nor patristic support. He will not, however, anathematize other dogmas: "If I am to make a condemnation, woe is me if I condemn our fathers."[96] The whole Synod then declares its judgment: "Anathema to that man."[97]

When it comes time to sentence Eutyches, Flavian asks what punishment is to be given to Eutyches. Flavian says he had hoped Eutyches would agree with the Synod's enunciation of orthodox doctrine, and "anathematize his own dogma ... but since he persists in the same malignity, he falls under the canons

90 *Gesta Const.* 522 *ACO* II.1.1, 142.32.
91 *Gesta Const.* 523–524 *ACO* II.1.1, 142–143. See *infra* for an analysis of Florentius' interventions.
92 *Gesta Const.* 525 *ACO* II.1.1, 143.
93 *Gesta Const.* 526 *ACO* II.1.1, 143.
94 *Gesta Const.* 527 *ACO* II.1.1, 143.
95 *Gesta Const.* 534 *ACO* II.1.1, 143.
96 *Gesta Const.* 535 *ACO* II.1.1, 143–144.
97 *Gesta Const.* 536 *ACO* II.1.1, 144.

for punishment."[98] Eutyches has a last chance to have his say: "I in fact do say those things, since you have now commanded me to, but I do not anathematize."[99] Florentius repeats his ultimate challenge: "Do you say he is two natures, and consubstantial with us?", and "Do you confess two natures after the union?"[100] Eutyches, with nothing to lose, finally gets some of the case for a different reading of patristic orthodoxy on record: "I have read the works of Cyril, and of the holy fathers, and of holy Athanasius; although they say he is out of two natures indeed before the union, yet after the union and incarnation they do not say he is two natures, but one", and "I have read also the writings of holy Athanasius, yet he says no such thing [as two natures after the union]."[101] Basil of Seleucia interjects that, "If you do not say there are two natures after the union, you speak of a commixture and a confusion."[102] It is Florentius who returns to the essential point: "He who does not say out of two natures and two natures does not believe correctly."[103] Flavian then, "regretfully", deposes Eutyches from his headship of the monastery and from the priesthood, and excommunicates him.[104]

The goal of the prosecution led by Flavian and Eusebius, assisted and kept on track by Florentius, had throughout been to arrive at precisely this point: to have Eutyches condemned and made a public example of for not confessing "two natures after the union" as the single authoritative statement of orthodox christological doctrine, to the exclusion of all others. This doctrine it had construed as authoritative by ascribing to the Antiochene statement of faith which contained it, and to which Cyril subscribed in *Laetentur caeli*, the reputation for orthodoxy of its "author".[105] It was given added heft by John of Antioch's co-subscription to it, and by its alleged approval by the "synod of the Orient". Moreover, it was paired with the Second Letter to Nestorius, containing the same doctrine, or so it seemed, and having the virtue of having been officially adopted by the Council of Ephesus. Throughout the series of engagements with Eutyches in the process of serving him with the necessary three summons to appear and defend himself, Eutyches' repeated attempts to get his considered and written statement of faith – a statement that, as what he

98 *Gesta Const.* 539 *ACO* II.1.1, 144.
99 *Gesta Const.* 540 *ACO* II.1.1, 144.
100 *Gesta Const.* 541 and 543 *ACO* II.1.1, 144.
101 *Gesta Const.* 542 and 544 *ACO* II.1.1, 144.
102 *Gesta Const.* 545 *ACO* II.1.1, 144.
103 *Gesta Const.* 549 *ACO* II.1.1, 145.
104 *Gesta Const.* 551 *ACO* II.1.1, 145.
105 De Vries (as footnote 4 above) 373–374 agrees that Eutyches was condemned "auf einer falschen Interpretation seiner Lehre" and that the statement of 433 provided inadequate grounds for Eutyches' condemnation: "ihre Ablehnung durch Eutyches kein zwingender Grund für dessen Verurteilung." Cf. May (as footnote 4 above) 51–52.

said as he was about to be sentenced finally revealed, would have appealed to a very different vision of cyrillian orthodoxy, one that spoke of a Christ out of two natures before the incarnation, but one nature after the union and incarnation – were systematically suppressed, while anything he said of a potentially incriminating nature was systematically put on the record so that it could be used against him. Though things did not always go smoothly for the prosecution when it finally had Eutyches before it in the session of 22 November, and though Eutyches occasionally showed an apparently unexpected talent for stealing the initiative, the conclusion was never in real doubt. It must therefore have been with particular satisfaction that Flavian reported, in a letter to Pope Leo, that the wolf in sheep's clothing, Eutyches, had failed in his satanically-inspired attempt to lead the church astray from the truth. "It is", he said, "proper to avoid vain investigations, and rather to follow our fathers, and not to alter their enduring definition which we have passed on just after Holy Scripture."[106] He was even able to commit the final indignity of vilifying Eutyches on the grounds that, by insisting that "two incarnate natures after the incarnation" was not the teaching of Nicaea, Eutyches had attempted to subvert Cyril's Second Letter to Nestorius and so was favouring the heresy of Apollinaris.[107]

The Historical Eutyches

What Eutyches actually believed was of no interest to the Synod. Indeed as we have seen, everything was done to suppress his written statement of what he wanted to go on record as believing, and when he did speak, to construe what he said in the most disadvantageous way. The quest for the historical Eutyches requires reading the evidence against its intentions.

It also requires a critique of the heresiological tradition's "information" about Eutyches and his supposed heresy. According to the tradition, Eutyches had one clear and central belief, the belief that the human and the divine natures were mixed or confused in Christ. He may also, it says, have believed that Christ's body came down from heaven. Both claims are entirely without foundation. To understand where they came from is to understand why that is the case.

Basil of Seleucia, speaking at the Synod, is the source of the first claim. He attacks Eutyches on the last day:"If you do not say there are two natures after the union, you speak of a commixture and a confusion" (*Gesta Const.* 545 p. 144). What Basil is doing, though, is not repeating what Eutyches actually said,

106 Leo *Ep.* 22 to Flavian.
107 Leo *Ep.* 22 section 3.

but laying out rhetorically the disastrous implication of what Eutyches really did say, that there were not two natures after the union. This is the rhetoric of aporetic argument; it purports to demonstrate the untenability of an opponent's position precisely by spelling out the unacceptable but logical implication (the *aporia*, or "impasse") of maintaining that position, though it fully realizes that the opponent will deny the implication, and perhaps offer counter-aporiae. Its real point is not to disprove the opponent's position, but to discredit it by arousing uncertainty.[108] The heresiological tradition, by contrast, came to accept Basil's aporia against Eutyches as historical fact, when it was nothing but rhetoric.

The claim that Eutyches believed that the body of Christ came down from heaven is based on even less convincing evidence: Eutyches told the first delegation that "a calumny had been launched against him … to the effect that he had said that God the Word had taken his flesh from heaven, but he wasn't reponsible for such an insane belief." (p. 124.27–29) The tradition has accepted as fact a charge by unknown persons which the person charged, Eutyches, roundly denied! If, as seems likely, Eutyches was referring to another case of aporetic rhetoric being used against him, it is not difficult to reconstruct the kind of argument that would have been involved: If you believe there is one nature after the incarnation, but it is out of two natures before the incarnation, the divine and the human, this one nature produced out of two must be either a new nature that is neither human nor divine, which is blasphemous, or one of the natures out of which it came to be. If it is the human nature, then Christ is not divine, which is blasphemous. If it is the divine nature, then Christ's body is not human but divine, and must therefore be from heaven. Such arguments would certainly figure in rhetoric against anti-Chalcedonians in the succeeding phases of the christological controversy.[109] This charge, like the other, has nothing directly to tell us about the historical Eutyches.

If there remains any hesitation on this point, it should be dispelled by the realization that Cyril himself – a father of the church no one has ever seriously thought believed in a commixture of natures or a heavenly body – had similar rhetorical charges made against him. He wrote to Succensus about "certain unsound claims" being made about him, one of which took the form, "If there is one incarnate nature of the Word, there must have been a sort of merger and mixture, with the human nature in him being diminished by its removal."[110] In *Laetentur caeli* itself he indicates that "[S]ome of those accustomed to find fault and to buzz around justice like wild wasps, were disgorging villainous

[108] There is no small irony that even Timothy Aelurus and Severus of Antioch, paragons of monophysite belief, would reject Eutyches. Draguet (as footnote 89 above) 457.

[109] See, for instance, the sixty-three counter-aporiae published against anti-Chalcedonians by Leontius of Jerusalem in ca. 536: *PG* 86, 1769A–1804C.

[110] *ACO* I.1.6, 158.6–10.

words against me, as if I was saying that the holy body of Christ had been brought down from heaven and not from the holy virgin …"[111]

The fact that Eutyches faced the same charges as Cyril did tells us that he held standard cyrillian positions against which rhetorical tropes like these were habitually used. The few authentic references to him before the trial suggest no more than that he was considered a reliable supporter of Cyril to be rallied to the cause in 432, and that early in 448, writing to Pope Leo, he was critical of a real or supposed revival of the "two sons" christology associated originally with the father of the Antiochene School, Diodore of Tarsus, and then with his followers in that school.[112] If, as seems reasonable, Eutyches were to be judged by the company he kept and the causes he supported, he would come off here too as one among many cyrillian loyalists who urged making the Twelve Anathematisms and/or the formula "one incarnate nature of the divine Word" the standard of orthodoxy, and who agitated against Antiochene views. Anything more specific about Eutyches will have to be divined from the acts of the Synod of 448.

The crucial missing piece of evidence is Eutyches' statement of faith, so often suppressed, and never recorded. The assumption has been that it contained heretical statements. However, the fact that Eusebius very carefully avoided having it made public at every point is strong *prima facie* evidence that it was not demonstrably heretical, since had it been so, that would have been useful evidence for the prosecution.[113] Can we say more? It does seem reasonable to suspect that it was either identical with, or very similar to, the "blasphemous statement against our universal saviour Christ" Eusebius said, in his indictment read out in the first session on 8 November, that Eutyches had issued (p. 100.24–25). Little can be told, though, from Eusebius' claim that it called "fathers numbered among the saints heretics, as also us who are imitators of their faith" (p. 100.25–26). Eusebius was, after all, about to argue that the fathers taught exclusively "two natures after the incarnation", and his description might mean only that Eutyches opposed that doctrine and said, or implied, that it was heretical. Nestorius purports to reproduce it in his *Liber Heraclidis*, but his account too is useless as solid historical evidence.[114] The

111 *ACO* I.1.4, 17.25–18.2.

112 A. Grillmeier, Christ in Christian Tradition. From the Apostolic Age to Chalcedon (451), Second Edition, Engl. transl. J. Bowden. Atlanta 1974, 352–360.

113 Eusebius insisted vigorously that any new statement adduced by Eutyches could not be used to turn the tables against him: e.g. *Gesta Const.* 425 *ACO* II.1.1, 132. Eusebius was protecting himself against just the possibility that the statement of belief was in fact orthodox.

114 Liber Heraclidis 462–466 (Hodgson/Driver, 337–340; Nau, 296–298). Nestorius must have looked upon Eusebius' defense of the two natures with some irony. Was not his former accuser in 428 now defending his position in 448?

same statement, now styled a τόμος, was probably contained in the letter disseminated among the monasteries of Constantinople during the course of the synod to gain support,[115] an action Eusebius would characterize at the synod, in Eutyches' absence, as an attempt to create *stasis* among the monks of the capital.[116] The monks who responded to questions about the contents of this letter at the session of 17 November were so vague as, again, to yield no useful information.

Useful information is at last to be found in the report given by the first delegation to Eutyches at the third session of the Synod, that of November 15. In the course of that report, they describe Eutyches' response to the information that Eusebius of Dorylaeum had submitted a *libellus* against him, and that he was called to defend himself against the charges made in it. As part of his response, Eutyches – significantly – identifies only one specific doctrinal position as his own: "After the incarnation of God the Word, i. e. after the birth of our saviour Jesus Christ", he said, "he adored only one nature, the nature of God incarnate and become man. He had fetched a document in this vein, and he read it in a loud voice" (p. 124.24–29). This is evidence, that is to say, that Eutyches' central assertion in the document was that there was only one nature after the incarnation, and nothing more outlandish than that.

If we may suppose that, when Eutyches knew he stood condemned, and was about to be sentenced, he felt free to say exactly what he believed, the heart of whatever he had written in his statement, then it is no surprise that what he says coheres precisely with what we have already seen: he has "read the works of Cyril and of the holy fathers and of holy Athanasius; although they say he is out of two natures indeed before the union, yet after the union and incarnation they do not say he is two natures but one … I have read also the writings of holy Athanasius, yet he says no such thing [as two natures after the union]" (*Gesta Const.* 542 p. 144). When Eutyches had affirmed, earlier in the day, that his statement was not only his, but also "equally that of the holy fathers", he meant, presumably, that it was essentially an amalgam of citations from the christological tradition Eutyches was steeped in, the tradition of "Athanasius" and Cyril.[117] If so, there was very real reason for the statement to be suppressed, since to address it directly in the case the prosecution was seeking to make would have meant attacking the orthodoxy of statements by the very

115 *Gesta Const.* 392–394 *ACO* II.1.1, 127 and *Gesta Const.* 432–440 *ACO* II.1.1, 132–134.

116 *Gesta Const.* 381 *ACO* II.1.1, 126.

117 *Gesta Const.* 502 *ACO* II.1.1, 141. He could not have been aware that the formula, "one incarnate nature of God the Word" was not in fact Athanasian, but an Apollinarian forgery fathered on Athanasius. J. Liébaert, L'Évolution de la christologie de saint Cyrille d'Alexandrie partir de la controverse nestorienne. *Mélanges de Science Religieuse* 27 (1970) 27–48.

fathers whose authority that case meant, so daringly, to line up behind "two natures after the incarnation".

There remains one other bit of evidence from that report to be dealt with. Eutyches was to get into trouble, when he later appeared at the Synod and was interrogated, over his assertions as to the uniqueness of the body of Christ, a belief of which his interrogators made good use, as we have seen, in arguing that he could not, therefore, believe in the real consubstantiality of Christ with us, which in turn meant he could not really believe in Christ's humanity. In the report to the Synod, the delegates gave an account of Eutyches' voluntary confirmation that he said "that [Christ] did not have a body of the same nature as ours". That does make it sound as though Eutyches, in a bizarre departure from anything taught by the orthodox fathers, did not believe Christ was genuinely human. The truth is that what he said was neither novel nor bizarre; it was, simply, a repetition of something the post-433 Cyril himself said in the First Letter to Succensus: "It is, indeed, Life's (that is, the Only-begotten's) body; it has been made resplendent with divinest glory and is conceived of as God's body. That is why anyone calling it 'divine' in the same sense as, for example, he calls a man's body 'human', will be perfectly correct to do so … Being, as I have said, God's own body, it transcended all things human, yet earthly body cannot undergo change into the Godhead's nature … [T]hat it was changed into Godhead's nature none of the holy fathers has said or thought and we have no intention of doing so either."[118] It was part of the cyrillian tradition to celebrate the truly human body of Christ as unique and 'divine' inasmuch as it was the divine Word's own body, a tradition strongly connected with a strain of eucharistic piety in Alexandria emphasizing the life-giving "bread that came down from heaven" of John 6.[119] That was a way of talking that, if he used johannine language, might explain in a different way the charge Eutyches admits in passing was made against him that he believed the Word "had taken flesh from heaven". Like Cyril, though, Eutyches must have been clear in his own mind that neither of these ways of talking – about the uniquely 'divine' body of Christ, or about the bread/body from heaven – compromised belief in the genuineness of Christ's humanity.

To summarize, then, the evidence from the acts that can be trusted to represent, not the rhetoric of Eutyches' accusers, but what he himself said,

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[118] *ACO* I.1.6 156.3–18 (transl. L. Wickham, Cyril of Alexandria. Select Letters. Oxford 1983, 81).

[119] E.g. Cyril of Alexandria, Commentarii in Joannis Evangelium IV, 2 (*CPG* 5208) in P.E. Pusey (ed.), *Opera* III. Oxford 1872, 520. On the eucharist/christology connection in Cyril, see H. Chadwick, Eucharist and Christology in the Nestorian Controversy. *JThS (NS)* 2 (1951), 145–164; and P.T.R. Gray, From Eucharist to Christology: the life-giving body of Christ in Cyril of Alexandria, Eutyches, and Julian of Halicarnassus, in I. Perczel et al. (eds.), The Eucharist in Philosophy and Theology. Louvain 2005, 23–36.

gives us no reason to see him as having been anything other than a vigorous champion of a late cyrillian position, making essentially the same stand, though with less theological sophistication, as were Dioscorus and others in the atmosphere of heightened tensions and jockeying for position and imperial support that marked the period. They admitted that Christ was out of two natures before the incarnation, but insisted that there was only one incarnate nature of the Word of God; they insisted on the uniqueness of the incarnate Word's body, and were willing to call it divine as being his. Such were Eutyches' beliefs, so far as the evidence goes. Nothing has been found to justify the heresiological tradition's ascription of novel and outlandish beliefs to this entirely unoriginal partisan of the cyrillian cause.[120]

Imperial Policy and the Synod

Eutyches must have known that the case being built against him could only lead to his excommunication. For this reason he refused each of the three summonses to attend the synod.[121] Something or someone, however, changed his mind. When Eutyches at last came before the synod on 22 November he was not alone.[122] The archimandrite arrived outside the synod chamber escorted by a contingent of monks, soldiers and officials of the Praetorian Prefect. The hand of the emperor was unmistakable in the composition of the party. Leading the delegation as the representative of the emperor was the *silentarius* Magnus.[123] The presbyter John, an official of the synod (an ἔκδικος) announced that the party of Eutyches had indeed arrived, but also that they refused to allow the archimandrite to enter the synod without guarantees that he would be free to go at the end of the proceedings. When Flavian asked them to enter, Magnus went in first and read the *responsum* that the emperor had given to him:[124]

> We take thought for peace and for the holy churches and for the orthodox faith and we desire that the faith which was pronouced rightly by God's inspiration by our fathers,

120 See also Camelot (as footnote 89 above) 232 for a not dissimilar conclusion.

121 See Schwartz (as footnote 1 above) 72 for this tradition of three summonses. It appears not have been among the canons of the church at all, but developed out of tradition.

122 See *ACO* II.1.1, 138 for a description of the archimandrite's entry. Bacht (as footnote 1 above) 213 lamely suggested that Eutyches' delayed appearance was due to problems getting in touch with his patron Chrysaphius.

123 For the *silentarii* see Jones (as footnote 8 above) 571–572 and 1234. and O. Seeck *s. v. silentarius*, *RE* 2.5, 1927, 57–58.

124 *Gesta Const.* 468 *ACO* II.1, 138 (transl. P.R. Coleman-Norton. Roman State and Christian Church, A Collection of Legal Documents to A.D. 535. Vol. 2. London 1966, 746). In this context, Florentius' ὀρθότης should be regarded as a statement of his ὀρθοδοξία (Coleman-Norton, vol. 2, 747 note 10).

> those 318 gathered in Nicaea and those in Ephesus for the deposition of Nestorius, should be guarded. Therefore we desire this: do not let a scandal be cast upon the aforesaid orthodoxy. And since we know that the most magnificent patrician Florentius is faithful and has borne an attested character for rectitude (ὀρθότης), we desire him to be engaged with the synod's hearing (θέλομεν συνεῖναι αὐτὸν τῆι ἀκροάσει τῆς συνόδου), since the discussion is concerning faith.

Florentius, the imperial representative at the Synod of Constantinople, had had a long and distinguished career as a high official under Theodosius II. As one of the most trusted of the emperor Theodosius' men, he was consequently entrusted with the very sensitive task of steering the synod and re-establishing the Peace of 433.[125] Although Florentius was not granted a vote, it appears he had license to guide and take part in the discussions of the bishops. Comparison with the *sacra* outlining the role of Candidianus at Ephesus in 431 immediately shows how exceptional was Florentius' role at Constantinople.[126] Candidianus had been expressly forbidden by Theodosius to participate in the debate on doctrine. His function was confined to to maintaining order and to making sure that the bishops did not deviate from the agenda. Despite Theodosius' announced concern for proper procedure, nothing forbade Florentius from engaging in discussions of faith. Although the imperial order read by Magnus was vague as to the emperor's intentions, it must have been clear that the emperor was determined to make sure the bishops arrived at a specific result. Although the presence of the soldiers in Eutyches' retinue suggests *prima facie* that the emperor supported Eutyches' views, Magnus and his subordinates were there principally for the personal protection of Eutyches. There is good reason to suspect that the promise of this imperial guard was precisely what convinced an unwilling Eutyches to leave his monastery. If Eutyches had not been called before the synod and condemned in person, any judgement against him *in absentia* could easily be called into question later. Thus it was imperative that the archimandrite be made to face his accuser and be so condemned.

125 Florentius was *praefectus urbis* in 422, praetorian prefect in 428 and 438/9 and made became a patrician between 444 and 448. *PLRE* II *s.v.* "Fl. Florentius 7", O. Seeck s.v. "Florentius (13)" *RE* 6, col. 2758 and Hefele-Leclerq vol. 2.1, 533 note 1. For laws addressed to Florentius attesting his offices see: *CTh* VI.8.1, *NTh* 1.1, 3.1, 5.2 and 7.1. Theodoret of Cyrus had also written to Florentius, among other high officials, to complain about his confinement in 448 (*Ep. S* 89, Azéma, vol. 2, 236–239) and his deposition in 449 (*Ep. S* 117, Azéma, vol. 3, 72–75). In the absence of any surviving response to Theodoret's letters it is unknown where Florentius' sympathies lay. The patrician would resurface to advise Marcian and act as an imperial representative at Chalcedon (listed as the 8th imperial representative, *ACO* II.1.1, 55–69).

126 See Gregory (as footnote 17 above) 156 note 32.

Rather than decrying the involvement of this imperial official in their discussions, the synod greeted Florentius with acclamations. One suspects they had little choice in the matter:[127]

> Πολλὰ τὰ ἔτη τοῦ βασιλέως. μεγάλη ἡ πίστις τῶν βασιλέων. τῶν φυλάκων τῆς πίστεως πολλὰ τὰ ἔτη. τῶν ὀρθοδόξων βασιλέων πολλὰ τὰ ἔτη. τῶν εὐσεβεῖ τῶι ὀρθοδόξωι. τῶι εὐσεβεῖ βασιλεῖ. τῶι ἀρχιερεῖ βασιλεῖ. ἀκούετε ἅγιοι πατέρες. εὐχαριστοῦμεν τοῖς ὀρθοδόξοις βασιλεῦσιν.
>
> Many years to the emperor! Great is the emperors' faith! Many years to the faith's guardians! Many years to the orthodox emperors! To the pious, the orthodox, the pious emperor! To the high priest-emperor! Listen holy fathers. We are thankful to the orthodox emperors!

Flavian, predictably, voiced no opposition whatsoever to the involvement of Florentius, and Eutyches also, when asked by Flavian about him, accepted his presence.[128]

Once Eutyches is seen as essentially orthodox, his position is not the odd *sui generis* heresy that is commonly ascribed to him but an expression of orthodoxy as Cyril and his followers understood it following the Peace of 433. But the actions of Florentius at the synod of 448 present us with a *crux interpretationis* and demand a cogent explanation if we are to understand the ecclesiastical politics of the years 448–451.[129] Schwartz claimed that when Florentius insisted that Eutyches accept both "out of two natures" and "two natures" he was speaking, not in his official capacity, but as a friend of Eutyches.[130] According to Schwartz's account, he was trying to draw into the open precisely what Eutyches believed so that it might be used to show that Flavian and Eusebius were themselves in the wrong. Schwartz's boldest assertion, however, was that behind Florentius' actions were Chrysaphius and the emperor himself, who were conspiring to have Eutyches condemned so that there would be grounds to prosecute "Nestorians" like Flavian in the following

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127 *Gesta Const.* 469 *ACO* II.1.1, 138.24–29. See also Kidd (as footnote 18 above) 296–297, who remarks that Florentius could not "at first sight, seem acceptable to the Synod". Schwartz ascribed the acclamations to the bishops at Second Ephesus, at which the acts of the Synod of 448 were being read out. This would be the only interjection in the otherwise continuous reading of the acts of the Synod of 448 from nos. 348 to 490. Moreover section 469 is introduced with the words: Ἔτι τούτων ἀναγινωσκομένων ἡ ἁγία σύνοδος εἶπεν. This statement matches the phrase that introduced no. 468: Καὶ ἀνέγνω ὁ θαυμασιώτατος σιλεντιάριος Μάγνος οὕτως. There is no compelling reason why no. 468 was not part of the acts of the Synod of 448.

128 *Gesta Const.* 470–2*ACO* II.1.1, 138.

129 Gregory (as footnote 17 above) 134 is almost alone among recent authors in expressing doubt about the will of the emperor in light of Florentius' involvement. Draguet (as footnote 89 above) 412 was also cautious about Schwartz's thesis.

130 Schwartz (as footnote 1 above) 85.

year. Florentius, so Schwartz claimed, was actually in league with the archimandrite and his backers, despite his insistence on the "two natures".[131]

Florentius was a trusted and senior imperial official, one not likely to strike out on his own direction in so important a task, and it is unthinkable that he was operating outside the emperor's mandate. In fact, the imperial order permitting him to take part in the synod *did not* bar him from intervening in the discussions of the bishops on the faith. Schwartz is, in fact, caught in a contradiction by claiming at once that Florentius' *interlocutio* was not officially permitted under the terms of his involvement, and that the patrician's intervention was part of a plan engineered by Chrysaphius. It was the intention of Chrysaphius, Schwartz claims in an argument propelled by little more than bluster and supposition, to have Eutyches convicted at the synod in order to reopen his case a year later in the larger forum of a general council.[132] This council Theodosius would officially call in the summer of 449, the presidency of which he would grant not to Flavian, according to his rank, but to Dioscorus of Alexandria. The Second Council of Ephesus would reject the decisions of the synod of 448, and would lead to the removals of Flavian, Domnus of Antioch and Theodoret of Cyrrhus, among others, for their "Nestorian" leanings and improper conduct in securing the ordinations of their supporters in *Oriens*, and the removal of their opponents.[133]

Schwartz, and all the scholars who have followed him, have viewed the actions of Florentius in 448 through the lense of 449, and have concluded that Theodosius was planning the Second Council of Ephesus as the triumph of the

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131 SCHWARTZ (as footnote 1 above) 86: „Der Beamte steckte also mit im Komplott, so paradox eine Collusion mit dem Beklagen sein mag, die sich dessen Freisprechung, sondern die Verurteilung zum Ziel setzt." Cf. MAY (as footnote 4 above) 52 who states that the synod received instructions from the court to clear Eutyches, but that they deliberately rejected them: „Flavianus und die Synode waren zweifellos darüber unterrichtet, wo die Sympathien des Hofes lagen, aber sie wahrten ihre Unabhängigkeit und sprachen die Verurteilung über Eutyches aus."

132 SCHWARTZ (as footnote 1 above) 75–76 boldly asserts the key role Eutyches played in ecclesiastical politics, although he concedes there is little concrete evidence for it: „Das gute Verhältnis, in dem er zu den konstantinopler Agenten und Delegierten Cyrills hatte, wurde ohne Zweifel von den dortigen Apokrisariern des Dioskoros übernommen, um so mehr als er Chrysaphius aus der Taufe gehoben hat und den allmächtigen Kämmerer durch seinen geistlichen Rat im Sinne der alexandrinischen Politik bearbeiten konnte. Als die schon öfter erwähnte Konstitution gegen die 'Nestorianer' erlassen wurde, beteiligte er sich eifrig an der nach der Reichshauptstad hinübergespielten Agitation gegen Domnus und Theodoret; wichtiger als diese Beteiligung, deren Art und Umfang sonst nich überliefert ist, dürfte sein, dass er sich ihrer in Briefen an den römischen Papst Leo rühmte und, wie es scheint, ihn aufforderte eben falls gegen die ‚wieder aufkeimende Ketzerei' einzuschreiten."

133 For a brief account of this period, see R. V. SELLARS, The Council of Chalcedon: a Historical and Doctrinal Study. London 1953, 70–87.

"one incarnate nature" even in the fall of 448.[134] Schwartz's interpretation of events, however, is vitiated by the fallacy of unintended consequences; in the summer and fall of 448 the emperor and his advisors could not have accurately predicted the result of Eutyches' condemnation, much less the actions of Dioscorus *et al.* in the year following. While several modern scholars have expressed reservations about Schwartz's hypothesis, they have never advanced a real alternative.[135] Another reconstruction, however, is much more economical with the evidence and presents a far more plausible picture of events in 448 and 449.

The emperor and his advisors had three principle choices before them by mid-448 to ensure peace within the church. First they could summon a new general council to hammer out a new credal formula that would at once exclude Nestorianism, and be acceptable to both the bishops of *Oriens* and the partisans of Cyril. In light of the failure of the Council of Ephesus in 431 to achieve anything remotely approximating consensus on central matters of faith, the emperor must have been very wary of putting before any general council so controversial a task; he risked an even worse mess than the one facing him in 448. Second, the emperor could competely abrogate the informal statement of faith in Cyril's *Laetentur caeli* and impose a purely Cyrillian definition of orthodoxy. A combination of the Third Letter to Nestorius, the appended 12 Anathematisms, and the explicit "one incarnate nature" added in Cyril's Second Letter to Succensus would neatly have encapsulated the faith of the many conservative followers of Cyril. But many eastern bishops who recognized the two natures, as professed by their great teacher, Theodore of Mopsuestia, had already shown themselves completely unwilling to accept the "one nature" and it was not clear that Theodosius was willing or able to suppress all dissent in *Oriens.* Last, the emperor could move to shore up the peace established in 433 by the acceptance of the Antiochene statement of faith in *Laetentur caeli.* The agreement of 433 had much to recommend it to imperial policy makers, for it guaranteed peace in the eastern church for well over a decade. But the original agreement had been between two bishops, John of Antioch and Cyril of Alexandria, and had never been formally approved by any synod. With the deaths of both John and Cyril, the statement of faith of 433 faced a very uncertain future under centrifugal forces that were pulling it apart by 448. Theodoret and Domnus construed *Laetentur caeli* as a *carte blanche* approval for the Antiochene christology of two natures, while Dioscorus of Alexandria and conservative followers of Cyril in the East, such as Eutyches, seemed to ignore *Laetentur caeli* entirely in favour of Cyril's more explicit

134 Schwartz's thesis was heartily accepted by Sellars (*ibid.*) 64 note 1.
135 See Bacht (as footnote 1 above) 216 who describes it as a "wohl zu geistvolle Hypothese", and Gregory (as footnote 17 above) 156 note 38.

statements made in support of the "one incarnate nature". If the Antiochene statement of belief in *Laetentur Caeli* could be approved by a lawfully convened and representative synod of bishops, and the radicals in both the Antiochene and Cyrillian factions could be checked, the peace of 433 seemed set to continue in the future. It was precisely this third course that Theodosius set about to effect in 448.

By the summer of 448 the emperor had effectively marginalized the vocal bishop of Cyrrhus, Theodoret, and put an end to his interventions outside of his own see. It remained to bring *Laetentur caeli* before a synod and to chasten the conservative Cyrillians. The home synod of Constantinople provided the opportunity to kill two birds with one stone. The Antiochene confession of faith, and its support of the two natures, would be used to convict the prominent Cyrillian archimandrite Eutyches, whose christological beliefs had already been felt out by the lawyer and bishop Eusebius. Eutyches did not have the unqualified support of Chrysaphius, much less of the court. Instead the archimandrite presented an easy target for the prosecution. He was unsophisticated in his support for the "one incarnate nature". He may well have been unpopular among the elite monastic leaders of Constantinople, such as Faustus, and Martin, for his close relations with the the unconventional *memoritai.*[136] No fewer that 23 archimandrites proved willing to subscribe to his condemnation, and even in his own monastery support for him seems to have been lukewarm.[137] The attack on Eutyches was a gambit in a larger imperial plan to ensconce the Antiochene statement of belief as an article of the faith.

The condemnation of Eutyches, engineered by Florentius and his superiors, while meeting with the approval of Domnus and Theodoret, excited widespread disapproval, not only for its unfair tactics but for its evident rejection of conservative Cyrillian orthodoxy.[138] A firestorm of controversy ensued that forced Dioscorus of Alexandria, who it seems in the summer of 448 was still aloof from the situation in Constantinople, to act in Eutyches' defense. Far from renewing the peace settled at 433, as the emperor had hoped, the synod of Constantinople excited a wider conflict that gravely threatened ecclesiastical

[136] For the opposition of Faustus and Martin, see Leo *Ep.* 32 to these and other sympathetic archimandrites in Constantinople. See also Gregory (as footnote 17 above) 167–169 for Eutyches and the *memoritai.* Gregory also points out (134–135) that in 449 a letter to the Council of Ephesus complaining of Eutyches deposition was subscribed by only 35 monks, and that the other 265 or so monks had acquiesced to the decision of the synod (*ACO* II.1.1, 186–187). Perhaps Eutyches was not even popular in his own monastery, much less among the other archimandrites.

[137] *Gesta Const.* 552.31–53 *ACO* II.1.1, 146–147. See also Gregory (as footnote 17 above) 135.

[138] See Theodoret *Ep.* 11 and *Gesta Ephesi* 884.2 *ACO* II.1.1, 182.17–25 (Domnus' approval of the condemnation).

unity precisely when the eastern empire was facing the threat of Attila's Huns. With the bishop of Alexandria now in direct conflict with his Constantinopolitan counterpart, the aftermath of the synod of 448 must have seemed to Theodosius like a replaying of the Nestorian controversy almost two decades earlier. To avoid engulfing the eastern church in yet another divisive battle over christological doctrine, Theodosius quickly changed the direction of imperial policy.

This embarassing reversal in imperial policy was quickly covered up and it has left few traces in the sources. A chagrinned Theodosius dramatically showed his support for the Cyrillians in the summer of 449 with the call for a new general council under the presidency of Dioscorus.[139] Ominous too was the order to grant the the Syrian archimandrite Barsuma, a zealous and intemperate cyrillian, the right to sit at the council with a vote.[140] As for the principal players in the synod of 448, they either denied any direct involvement, or were designated as scapegoats. The imperial representative, Florentius, at an investigation into the synod of Constantinople held in the following year, denied that he had questioned Eutyches in any official capacity; he intended his interventions only as an aid to the archimandrite so that he might better understand the demands of the other bishops.[141] Basil of Seleucia, one of the most vocal bishops in support of the two natures in 448, cravenly distanced himself from his earlier statements and submitted to the "one incarnate nature" to save himself at the Second Council of Ephesus.[142] Eusebius, the ostensible architect of the synod, and Flavian, the synod's president, were both left to the mercy of their opponents. Eusebius was

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139 An imperial *sacra* of 6 August 449 gave the presidency of the upcoming Council of Ephesus to Dioscorus (*Gesta Ephesi* 52 *ACO* II.1.1, 74.16–14).

140 *Sacra* to Barsuma, 14 May: *Gesta Ephesi* 48 *ACO* II.1.1, 71 (Coleman-Norton, vol. 2, 749–750). On the next day, 15 May, Theodosius ordered Dioscorus to give the archimandrite a place and a vote at the upcoming council. *Sacra* to Dioscorus: *Gesta Ephesi* 47 *ACO* II.1.1, 71 (Coleman-Norton, vol. 2, 750–751). Theophanes AM 5940 (de Boor, 100) adds that Eudocia sent a "large army" to support Dioscorus at Ephesus. This action would certainly fit with the image of Eudocia as a supporter of the conservative Cyrillian cause in the East, but it is doubtful that Eudocia had such resources at her disposal following her murder of Saturninus in 444.

141 See *Cognitio de Gestis contra Eutychen* 772, 776 and 778 *ACO* II.1.1, 171–172. See Schwartz (as footnote 1 above) 30 and 85 who claims that Florentius' remarks in 448 were parenthetical and carried no weight.

142 Basil of Seleucia had close ties with Theodoret. See *Epp.* P 49 (Azéma, vol. 1, 119), P 1 (vol. 1, 74) and S 85 (vol. 2, 222–224) and S 102 (vol. 3, 21–23). It is worth considering whether or not he had been sent as a member of the delegation dispatched by Domnus to advocate for the Antiochene position in Constantinople; we hear nothing of the fate of this delegation and it has left no traces in the surviving correspondence. Theodoret's bitter disappointment over the defection of Basil of Seleucia is clear by comparing *Ep.* S 81, written before the synod, to *Ep.* S 102, dating to after the Second Council of Ephesus.

condemned and fled to the West, where he pleaded his case before pope Leo. The bishop of Constantinople was condemned, and exiled briefly before he succumbed to rough treatment.[143]

Nestorius reported that Flavian's offer to resign was met with anger by Theodosius. His anger is fully consistent with our reconstruction, for Flavian would stand as the scapegoat for the abortive imperial policy of 448 and not escape the punishment of deposition and exile that his enemies so longed for. Nestorius says too that Theodosius publicly distanced himself from Flavian in Hagia Sophia in the week before Easter (27 March 449).[144] Finally, the emperor permitted several investigations into the legitimacy of the procedures and recording of minutes at the Synod of Ephesus in April of 449.[145] Theodosius' pragmatic reversal must have semed cruel and calculating to Flavian, who was left to face the consequences of the emperor's abortive policy of 448.

But Nestorius' account is profoundly coloured by his negative experience with Theodosius in the 430 s. For Nestorius, writing in exile in Egypt with imperfect reports, likely originating with Antiochene sympathizers like the deposed Irenaeus of Tyre, the case of Flavian seemed to present an elegant parallel with his own.[146] Here was another bishop of Constantinople abandoned by Theodosius and beset by a malevolent bishop of Alexandria, deposed and sent into exile. The *Liber Heraclidis* of Nestorius must stand as the *locus classicus* for Schwartz's reconstruction. Nestorius, among the earliest sources to discuss the ecclesiastical politics of 448 to 449, knows nothing of Theodosius' first strategy to uphold the peace of 433 and instead, like modern scholars, saw the imperial policy of 449 as a direct continuation of that of 448. Because the emperor supported Eutyches in 449, Nestorius and Schwartz agree, he must always have supported Eutyches in the past.

The short-lived strategy of the emperor enacted through Florentius perhaps seems ill-conceived to us in hindsight, but we need look no further than the celebrated Council of Chalcedon to see how this strategy of 448 could have been realized had Theodosius proved willing to stay the course. The emperor Marcian, swept to power by barbarian generals disenfranchised at the end of

143 For the death of Flavian, see H. Chadwick, The Exile and Death of Flavian of Constantinople: a Prologue to the Council of Chalcedon. *JThS (NS)* 6 (1955) 17–34.

144 Liber Heraclidis 467–469 (Hodgson/Driver 341–342; Nau, 299).

145 Three separate sessions were held in Constantinople to investigate the actions of the Home Synod of 448: 8 April: 556–558 *ACO* II.1.1; 13 April: 555 and 560–828 *ACO* II.1.1; and 27 April: 829–849 *ACO* II.1.1. None ruled the synod invalid, but the very fact that they were held shows the very tenuous grip Flavian had over his own See.

146 The *comes* Irenaeus had been a personal friend of Nestorius and had accompanied him to the Council of Ephesus in 431. Although he was exiled in 435 along with Nestorius, Irenaeus reappeared in 446/7 as the bishop of Tyre.

Theodosius' reign, quickly showed himself a risk-taker of the first order.[147] Marcian would reverse the policy of appeasement towards Attila and summon a new church council. Likely under the influence of Theodosius' sister Pulcheria, Marcian directed imperial representatives to impose on the bishops at Chalcedon a formula that contained the statement that Christ was "in two natures"; only Cyril's letter *Laetentur caeli*, which accepted the Antiochene statement of belief, and his Second Letter to Nestorius, were considered to be true to his teaching. Moreover, Marcian took measures to ensure that Dioscorus, who had been such an intractable opponent to Theodosius' policy of 448, was deposed before any discussion of the "two natures" even took place. The hardened soldier Marcian proved willing to face head-on the unrest his council would engender, whereas Theodosius had bowed to pressure three years earlier. Neither Marcian nor Pulcheria, though, would live long enough to see precisely the sort of long-lasting, destructive divisions in the East that Theodosius had tried to avoid by his little known *volte face* in early 449.

[147] Two very important studies have independently reached the same conclusions about the pivotal role played by Fl. Zeno and Aspar in Marcian's accession: R.W. BURGESS, The accession of Marcian in the light of Chalcedonian apologetic and monophysite polemic. *BZ* 86/87 (1993/4) 47–68; and C. ZUCKERMAN, L'Empire d'orient et les Huns; notes sur Priscus. *Travaux et Memoires Byzantines* 12 (1994) 159–182.

THE PRE-METAPHRASTIC BYZANTINE READING MENOLOGION FOR JULY IN THE SLAVONIC TRADITION

TERJE HELLAND / OSLO

Ehrhard was unaware of any transmitted copies of a Byzantine pre-metaphrastic July menologion, except from two minor fragments: one containing texts covering the period from the 12th to the 17th (part of Cod. Athon Dionys. 582; 9th or 10th century), and the other from the 12th to the 14th (part of Cod. Patm. 185; 11th century).[1] The July volume is thus one of the volumes of the pre-metaphrastic Byzantine monthly reading menologia least covered by transmitted manuscripts. The Slavonic menologia are therefore of great interest, and do yield a number of hagiographic texts not preserved in the Greek tradition, preserving almost completely what was presumably the original content of their common archetype. The purpose of this article is to present the contents of the preserved Slavonic reading menologia and show how they relate to the transmitted Greek hagiographic texts for July preserved in the surviving fragments of reading menologia for July, as well as in other anthologies. The corresponding Greek texts are indicated with the entry in the BHG.[2] I shall discuss individual texts in cases where it seems doubtful that they were translated from a pre-metaphrastic menologion.

At least four almost complete menologia for July are preserved in the Russian tradition. A menologion for the month of July is preserved in the library of the Hagia Sofia Cathedral in Novgorod: number 1376 (S);[3] a manuscript of the 16th century. The manuscript also contains some texts for the month of August, and it could theoretically represent a translation of a Greek two-month menologion for the months of July and August. However, there are so few August texts that it is almost certainly a translated July menologion with some August texts added. In addition, there is a July menologion from the Holy Trinity Lavra of Sergiev Posad, number 678 (T1), from the 15th and 16th centuries, as well as a menologion from the Volokolamsk monastery RGB-Volok 598 (V)[4], from the 16th century, which covers June, July and August, and

1 A. Ehrhard, Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der Griechischen Kirche von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts, Teil 1. Leipzig 1937, I 662–673.

2 References made to entries in: F. Halkin, Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca. Bruxelles 1957, and F. Halkin, Novum Auctarium Bibliothecae Hagiographicae Graecae. Bruxelles 1984.

3 D. I. Abramovič, Опiсание рукописей С.-Петербургской Духовной Академии – Софийская Библиотека, Вып. II. Sankt Peterburg 1882, 283–287.

4 Ieromonach Iosif, Опись рукописей перенесенныхъ изъ библиотеки иосифова монастыря въ библиотеку Московской Духовной Академии. Moskva 1882, 260–263.

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contains the smallest number of July texts. Another 16th century menologion originally from the Holy Trinity Lavra is now to be found in the collections of the Moscow Spiritual Academy RGB MDA 95 (T2).[5] S contains one original Russian text not included in the list below: the Martyrion of Boris and Gleb, whereas T1 contains a text on the Christianisation of Russia. S, T1 and T2 contain an original Russian text on the Law of Moses. This is obviously Russian, since it contains numerous references to the Russian language and Russia's Christianisation during the reign of Vladimir.[6] Two less obvious original Slavonic texts are included in the list, but italicised. References to Ehrhard below are only to his attempt at reconstruction of the July menologion, based on the entries in the Synaxarion and available July texts found in the fragments referred to, and in other types of anthologies.[7] The incipit is taken from the first manuscript referred to. The manuscripts contain the following translated July texts:

1. July 1: Martyrion of Kosmas and Damianos. (ST1T2V) (BHG 376) (Ehrhard) Inc: По плотьнѣмь владыки Христа въсїанїи на земли едино есть слышати всѣхъ вкоупѣ свѧтыхъ Христовыхъ моученїкь житїе …

2. July 2: The transfer of the veil of the Theotokos to the Vlachernae monastery. (ST1T2) (BHG 1058) (Ehrhard) Inc: Свѧтаꙗ нѣкаꙗ и великаꙗ таина Божїимъ человѣколюбствомъ ꙗвлена въ нашихъ не предъ …

3. July 2: Martyrion of Konon the Gardener. (ST1T2V) (Different from BHG 361) (Different from Ehrhard's version) Inc: Вѣнецъ оубо многоцвѣтенъ и всѣми цвѣцы оукрашенъ …

4. July 3: Martyrion of Hyakinthos (ST1T2V) (BHG 758) (Ehrhard) Inc: Царствоующоу въ то времѧ Траїѧноу бысть гоненїе велико христїаномъ …

5. July 4: Life of Andrew of Crete by Niketas the Patrikios and Quaestor. (ST1T2V) (BHG 113) (Ehrhard) Inc: Неподобно есть праведныхъ и преподобныхъ моужь на земли высокое житїе имѣвша …

6. July 5: Life of Athanasios of Mount Athos.[8] (ST1T2) (BHG 188) (Not in Ehrhard) Inc: Иже изрѧдныхъ моужеи написана житїа и древнимъ оубо ноуждна бѣшѧ ради ꙗже отъ …

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[5] Archimandrit Leonid, Сведение о славянскихъ рукописяхъ поступающихъ изъ книгохранилища Св. Тройцкой Сергиевой Лавры въ библиотеку тройцкой духовной Семинарии въ 1747 году, вып 1. Moskva 1887, 54–60.

[6] N. K. Nikol'skij, Материалы для повременного списка русских писателей и их сочинений. Sankt Peterburg 1906, 77.

[7] Ehrhard (as footnote 1 above) I 667–671.

[8] This is a late vita, written in the 11th century. It is probably a late addition to the menologion.

7. July 7: Martyrion of Orestes (ST1T2V)[9] (BHG 1384–1385) (Not in Ehrhard under this month) Inc: **Царствоующю Дїоклитианоу бысть гоненїє велико на христїаны …**

8. July 7: Martyrion of Patermuthios, Koprios and Alexander (ST1T2V) (BHG 1429) (Different from Ehrhard's version) Inc: **Іоулїанъ царь вѣровавъ Христа и ходѧ въ заповѣди его …**

9. July 8: Martyrion of the Great Martyr Prokopios (ST1T2) (BHG 1577) (Ehrhard) Inc: **Въ она времена царствоующю Дїоклитїаноу моучителю и омраченїємъ идолъскымъ обълєнъ …**

10. July 10: Martyrion of the 45 martyrs in Nikopolis of Armenia (ST1T2V) (BHG 1216) (Ehrhard) Inc: **Ликинїосъ ц҃рь поусти заповѣди по всеи вселенѣи аще нѣцїи обрѧщоутсѧ христїане и сїа всѧцѣми моуками моучити …**

11. July 12: Martyrion of Proklos and Hilarion (ST1T2V) (BHG 2374) (Ehrhard) Inc: **Бысть при Максимїанѣ игемонѣ и Траїанѣ цари въ землѣ Калинѣ, близъ Анкѵра запрещенїє положи всѣмъ человѣкомъ …**

12. July 13: The Passion of the Martyr Golindouch-Mary (ST1T2V) (BHG 700) (Ehrhard) Inc: **Законъ есть похвалимъ иже въ премоудрости велми смыслѧть …**

13. July 15: Martyrion of Kerykos and Iulitta (ST1T2V) (BHG 317) (Ehrhard) Inc: **Повелѣвшоу твоемоу преподобьствоу честными книгами твоими нашемоу окаанствоу взыскати словоущаго моученика …**

14. July 16: Cyril of Alexandria, conversation on the Theotokos and the Council of Ephesos (T1T2) (BHG 1151) (Ehrhard) Inc: **Свѣтило намъ слово и благодати наполнено елма и свѣтелъ св. отецъ съборъ …**

15. July 16: On the fourth ecumenical council (T1T2) (BHG 2334) (Not in Ehrhard) Inc: **Свѧтыи иже вселенскыи четвертыи съборъ бысть въ Халкидонѣ при Маркианѣ благочестивомъ …**

16. July 16: The epistle of Leo of Rome to Flavian, Patriarch of Constantinople (T1T2) (not in BHG) (Not in Ehrhard)[10] Inc: **Понеже твоє благородноє боголюбїє поуверзенїємъ раченїа къ Христоу …**

17. July 16: Martyrion of Antiochos (ST1T2V) (BHG 2030) (Ehrhard) Inc: **Андрїаноу воеводѣ соущоу гоубителю и лютыи и без милости къ дїаволю дѣлоу велѧхъı христїаныа ємлющи …**

18. July 17: Martyrion of the Great Martyr Marina (ST1T2V) (BHG 1165) (Ehrhard) Inc: **Въскресенїю Господню бывшоу Ис. Христа избавителѧ Господа нашего …**

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[9] This saint is commemorated on November 9th or 10th in the Byzantine tradition. The present translation is the same as the one found in several Slavonic menologia under November 10th. It is thus not an original part of the July menologion.

[10] This is obviously a translation of a version of the Tomos of Leo of Rome. See *ODB* 2, 789–790 for bibliography.

19. July 17: Martyrion of Athenogenos the bishop (ST1T2V) (BHG 197) (Ehrhard) Inc: При Дїоклитїанѣ цари бѧше велика пора на христїаны …

20. July 18: Martyrion of Hyakynthos of Rome (ST1T2V) (BHG758b)[11] (Ehrhard) Inc: Спаса нашего сѣменныи миръ по всеи вселенѣи въглоусисѧ и възрадсте и до небесе вѣтви простре …

21. July 18: Martyrion of Aimilianos (ST1T2V) (BHG 33) (Ehrhard) Inc: Царьствоующоу нечестивомоу Іоулїаноу, горкоу гоненїю вихоръ на Христовы воины творѧшесѧ …

22. July 19: Life and Encomium to Dios (ST1T2V) (BHG 2105) (Ehrhard) Inc: Єгда нѣцїи любѧщихъ оученїа моужь нѣчто обще и преславно вкоупѣ …

23. July 19: Life of Makrina by Gregory of Nyssa (ST1T2V) (BHG 1012) (Ehrhard) Inc: Видъ оубо книжныи елико в писанѣмъ образѣ епистолїа мнитсѧ быти …

24. July 20: Life and encomium to the Prophet Eliah.[12] *(ST1T2) (Different from the versions in BHG) (Different from Ehrhard's versions) Inc:* Нынѣ свѣтозарное солнце небеснаго кроуга въшествїемъ огненныхъ конь свѣтлостїю …

25. *July 20: Encomium to the Prophet Eliah, by Gregory, hegoumen of the Pantokratoros monastery.*[13] *(ST1T2) Inc:* Пророци оубо вси въплощенїе Єдинороднаго послани бывшѧ …

26. July 21: Life of the fool for Christ's sake, Symeon, by Leontios of Cyprus (ST1T2V)[14] (BHG 1677) (Ehrhard) Inc: Въ лѣта царствїа еже въ свѧтыхъ Іоустинїана царѧ идоущимъ нѣкимъ христолюбцемъ

27. July 22: Martyrion of St. Phocas (ST1T2V) (BHG 1536) (Different from Ehrhard's version) Inc: Єлма же многажды отшествїа Господа нашего Ис., Христа и пришествїю любосерднаго и крѣпкаго и врача и пастоуха …

28. July 22: Martyrion of Apolinarios of Antioch, Archbishop of Ravenna (T1T2) (BHG 2038) (Not in Ehrhard) Inc: Въ дни Клавдїа царѧ пришедшю отъ Антїохїа петроу апостолоу …

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11 Ehrhard refers to Hyakynthos of Rome on July 3 or 4, whereas Hyakynthos of Amastris is referred to under July 18.

12 This text is very doubtfully attributed to Clemens of Ochrid. See: Климент Охридски, Събрани Съчинения. T. I, Sofia 1970, 673–706. The text is common to the Slavonic tradition of July menologia and panegyrika for the whole year. Its oldest witness is the 12th century Russian manuscript RNB F. p. I. 46, which is a combination of a panegyrikon for the whole year and a Slavonic Chrysorrhoas.

13 This text was probably written by the early 15th-century Bulgarian author Gregory Camblak, who was abbot of the Visoki Dečani monastery, referred to as Pantokratoros monastery, before he became head of the Orthodox Church in Poland-Lithuania.

14 The Slavonic translation lacks the prooimion; the text thus corresponds to the Greek text in *AASS* Iul I, 138–155. It is a large text in the Slavonic manuscripts too, for example covering folios 233v–262v in S.

29. July 23: Martyrion of Christina (ST1T2V) (Different from the versions with incipit in BHG) (Different from Ehrhard's version?)[15] Inc: Въ Тѵрѣ предъ четырминадесѧте каланды авгоуста при Оуранѣ воеводѣ и иныхъ кнѧзїи бѧше нѣкаа свѧтаа …

30. July 24: Martyrion of St. Eupraxia (ST1T2) (BHG 631) (Not in Ehrhard)[16] Inc: Бысть нѣкыи моужъ въ Константинѣ градѣ сѵнглитикъ именемъ Ѧндигонъ …

31. July 26: Martyrion of St. Theodota and her children. (ST1T2V) (Different from versions in BHG)[17] (Different from Ehrhard's version) Inc: Св. Моученица Ѳеодоти бѣ отъ Никеискаго града …

32. July 26: Martyrion of Kallinikios (ST1) (BHG 286y) (Ehrhard) Inc: Славно всѣмъ чл҃комъ. и вкоупѣ всеи вселенѣи …

33. July 27: Martyrion of Panteleimon (ST1T2) (BHG 1413a) (Ehrhard) Inc: Царствоующю нечестивомоу и законопрестоупномоу Максимїаноу многомъ же живѿ сь презрѧщимъ веры ра ди бж҃иꙗ …

34. July 28: Martyrion of Eustathios of Ancyra (ST1T2V) (Different from BHG 2137[18]) (Not in Ehrhard) Inc: Съи свѧтыи воинъ бѣ и приведенъ бысть къ кнѧзю Ѧгѵрскомоу …

35. July 29: Martyrion of Sofia and her three daughters (T1T2) (BHG 1637y)[19] (Not in Ehrhard under this month) Inc: Ѧбие оубо до конца словеси всѣаноу отъ Христа Іисоуса Спаса нашего по всеи земли …

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[15] The Church Slavonic text is quite long, covering folios 268v–279v in S. The Church Slavonic text ends similarly to *BHG* 302b, but has another incipit. The Greek *BHG* 302b is still unpublished.

[16] Ehrhard, strangely enough, does not refer to the text in his "reconstruction" of the pre-metaphrastic menologia. However, he refers to several texts written on this saint in various other places in his work. See entry in *BHG*.

[17] *BHG* refers to the martyr Theodota of Nicea cum filii under September 2 or August 28 (*BHG* 1781). However, the version in the Slavonic menologia is quite different. It is a short text covering less than one folio in S, folio, 292v–293v.

[18] *BHG* 2137 is the only text known to this saint and it is the version of the post-metaphrastic Imperial menologion. The Slavonic version is almost certainly the pre-metaphrastic version.

[19] These saints are commemorated on September 17th in the Byzantine tradition. This text is a different translation of the same text as the one found in several Slavonic September menologia under that date. Ehrhard also mentions it under that date. It is possible that the text was part of the prototype of the translated July menologion, since it has been translated separately from the September text. Interestingly, in view of the general uniformity of the transmitted manuscripts, this text is only found in two of the four manuscripts, a fact that weakens a hypothesis that it is an original part of the July menologion.

36. July 31: Martyrion of Eudokimos (ST1T2V) (BHG 607)[20] (Ehrhard) Inc: **Євдокима иже о Бозѣ тѧ клименитѣ житїє споведдати добро ...**

The various transmitted menologia show a clear uniformity. Most of the texts are found in all of the manuscripts. It is safe to assume that they present a translation of a single monthly pre-metaphrastic menologion, as only a few days lack an entry. The various types of post-metaphrastic menologia referred to by Ehrhard contained far fewer texts for July.[21] The exact number of days covered by the Slavonic menologia can not be determined precisely, since the texts might refer to some extent to different dates in different manuscripts. However, there are 34 original Greek texts covering the whole month, so the prototype was almost certainly a monthly menologion, although not all 34 texts probably stem from a pre-metaphrastic July menologion. Interestingly, all the texts in the two fragments of reading menologia referred to by Ehrhard are contained in the Slavonic menologia, except one, the Martyrion of Onesimos.

Most texts are ancient, anonymous texts written in the 4th to the 5th century, and the old martyria dominate completely as in the case of most other months in the pre-metaphrastic reading menologion cycle. The youngest text, apart from the Life of Athanasios of Athos, is the 8th-century Life of Andrew of Crete,[22] whereas the text on the transfer of the protecting veil of the Theotokos to the Vlachernae monastery was written much earlier by Theodoros Synkellos, an early 7th-century associate of the Patriarch Sergios I.[23] The text on Symeon Salus, written by Leontios of Neapolis is difficult to date, but was probably written some time in the 7th century.[24] There are very few encomia included in the menologion, an indication that the prototype might be quite an old Byzantine menologion, perhaps even from before the time of Theodore Studite, possibly going back to the 8th century. Afinogenov, in his study of the Slavonic February menologion, demonstrates a possible link between Studios monastery and many of the texts in it, and argues that it must be the translation

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20 This is in the version of Symeon Metaphrastes, the only text by him in the July menologia investigated. There are five other July texts in the metaphrastic menologion, see Ehrhard (as footnote 1 above) II 615. The text is known in Greek only in the metaphrastic version, Ehrhard mentions the saint only, but does not present a particular text to him in his reconstruction. Has Symeon Metaphrastes perhaps not revised this text, so that it was also originally part of the pre-metaphrastic menologion?

21 Ehrhard (as footnote 1 above) III 58–144.

22 The dating of this text varies greatly amongst scholars. Most recently, Auzépy has dated the text to the period of the reign of Constantine V (741–775). See M. Auzépy, La carrière d'André de Crète. *BZ* 88 (1995) 1–13.

23 *ODB* 3, 1878.

24 L. Rydén, Das Leben des heiligen Narren Symeon von Leontios von Neapolis. Uppsala 1963, 17–27.

of a menologion from that monastery.[25] The same can not be said for the July menologion. It contains no texts which can explicitly be linked to the Studios monastery.

The youngest text the menologion is obviously the post-metaphrastic Life of Athanasios of Athos (July 5th). The Life of Athanasios of Athos exists in two principal Greek versions, both anonymous (BHG 187 and BHG 188).[26] In Noret's view, BHG 187 was written some time before 1028, whereas BHG 188 was written after the death of Contantine VIII, since he is referred to as ἀοίδιμος. The text was written in the Great Lavra of Mount Athos, by one of its monks, where Athanasios probably died sometime between 1002 and 1004. The translation contained in the menologia is a translation of BHG 188, and it contains the text in its entirety. The same translation occurs in the VMČ.[27] The life seems to occur in no Russian manuscript earlier than the 15th century, but is known from then on in several different types of anthologies.[28] The earliest witness of the Slavonic translation occurs on folios 3–67 in manuscript 307 (14th century) of the Narodna Biblioteka in Sofia.[29] The Slavonic text might well be a Tarnovan translation from the period of the Bulgarian Patriarch Theodosios, and it is probably the only translation of this life into Church Slavonic, which was later added to the Slavonic July menologia. It is the only original Greek text in the July menologion whose translation can with any great probability be identified as an addition from this period.

The only text in the July menologion which was with certainty written originally in Latin is the Martyrdom of Apolinarios of Ravenna. This is another example of an Eastern Christian pursuing a career in the Western Church. He was originally from Antioch, but was martyred as a bishop in Ravenna. Texts originally written in Latin, which are found in Church Slavonic translation, have always met with strong interest from scholars of Slavonic studies, as they may be rare examples of medieval texts translated directly from Latin into

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[25] D. Afinogenov, The Church Slavonic Life of St. Thaddaios the Martyr of the Second Iconoclasm, *Analecta Bollandiana* 119/II (2001) 313–337.

[26] J. Noret, Vitae duae antiquae S. Athanasii. Louvain 1982, CV–CXXVII.

[27] See Abramovič (as footnote 3 above) 134. Most of the texts in the July menologia listed above are also part of the July volumes of the VMČ. The contents of the July in the VMČ are listed in: Archimandrit Iosif, Подробное ѡглавленЬІє ВеликихѰ ЧетЬІихѰ Минеи Всерѡссиискагѡ митрополѧта Макар͡. Moscow 1892, col. 298–299. Unfortunately, the July Volume of the VMČ is not published, and only a few of the texts are published from other sources.

[28] See O. V. Tvorogov, Древнерусские четьи сборники XII–XIV вв., *ТОДРЛ* 44 (1990) 196–225.

[29] B. Conev, Описъ на рукописете и старопечтните книги на Народната библиотека въ София, I. Sofia 1910, 249.

Church Slavonic.[30] If one were able to prove that a particular translation was made from Latin, it would in turn be interpreted by the same scholars as proof of the presence of men of higher learning in this or that Slavonic area, and not only of simple bilingual monks, or of Slavonic monks who might have picked up some Greek at home or during stays in a Greek-speaking area. The martyrion of Apolinarios is only found in two of the four July menologia referred to above, the two menologia from Holy Trinity Lavra, and there is also another text for July 22 found in all four manuscripts. It is thus impossible to tell whether the text is an original part of the translated July menologion, as it is also found in manuscripts outside the menologion tradition.

The most recent study of the Martyrion of Apolinarios of Ravenna was carried out by L. Taseva and M. Jovčeva.[31] They knew of only five Slavonic manuscripts containing the text. Apart from the three copies of the VMČ of Makarij, these are RNB Pogodin 912 of the 16th century, and RNB F.I. 686 written in 1594. Thus, they were unaware that the text can be linked to a Slavonic menologion tradition independently of Makarij's work. However, they compared several passages of the Greek BHG 2038, which is only found in one Greek manuscript, codex Messin 29, dating from 1307, and the Latin text from Acta Sanctorum.[32] They found that in 120 of the cases analysed, the readings of the Slavonic text follow the Greek; in another 71 cases, where there is a discrepancy with the Latin, it follows the meaning of the Greek text. In another 300 cases, the Slavonic translation follows the Latin version. This could obviously be interpreted as a strong argument that the Slavonic text was translated from Latin and not from Greek. However, the Greek manuscript is of late date, and we know that the monthly Greek pre-metaphrastic July menologion has been lost. Thus, it is certainly possible that the Slavonic translation was made as part of the translation of the reading menologia, from a Greek tradition of the text now lost. However, since the text is found in only two of the Slavonic reading menologia, and the four manuscripts are otherwise so uniform, it is not a clear indication that the text is an original part of the reading menologia. The evidence of its presence in the reading menologia thus probably does not contribute a great deal to the discussion of the origin of the text, unless it can be proven that it is an original part of the reading menologia.

An interesting July text lacking in the menologion tradition is the important and popular Life of Theodoros of Edessa. His life is known in Church Slavonic

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30 See, e.g., F. Thomson, A survey of the Vitae Allegedly translated from Latin into Slavonic in Bohemia in the tenth and eleventh century, in: *Atti del 8 congresso internationale di studi sull' alto medioevo.* Spoleto 1983, 331–348.

31 L. Taseva/M. Jovčeva, Мчението на св. Аполинарий Равенский. *Monumenta linguae Slavicae dialecti veteris*, 49. Freiburg 2006, 153–198.

32 *AASS Iul.* V, 344–350.

translation in several manuscripts[33] as a translation of BHG 1744. Ehrhard presumed this text to have been a standard part of the July menologion,[34] but since it is not found in the context of a July menologion in the Slavonic tradition, and there is another saint commemorated under July 19th, one cannot automatically assume that this text was once part of the Greek archetype of the July menologion. This may however have been the case.

The Slavonic July menologion does not present texts on saints completely unknown in the Byzantine tradition However, they yield important versions of martyria, and lives of saints presumed lost or only preserved in fragments in the Greek original. The Slavonic versions of the Life of the Prophet Eliah and the Tomos of Leo of Rome seem particularly important and deserve a detailed study of their own. The life of Christina is almost certainly the pre-metaphrastic version of the life. Unfortunately, I have not had the opportunity to compare the Slavonic version with the early papyrus fragment BHG 301y, nor with the unpublished BHG 302b, so the Slavonic version may correspond to one of those texts. The life of Konon the Gardener is only known in one Greek version (BHG 361), a text also found in the pre-metaphrastic menologion trandition.[35] It is reasonable to assume that the Slavonic version is an additional pre-metaphrastic menologion version of his rather brief martyrion.

The Slavonic menologia most interestingly do not contain any reference to Paraskeve the Elder (of Rome), celebrated on July 26 in the Byzantine tradition. The Slavonic reading menologion tradition preserves the memory of the two other saints with that name, Paraskeve of Ikonion (Oct 28) and Paraskeve of Epibatis (Oct 14), also known as Petka Trnovska. Paraskeve the Elder is however known in the Slavonic tradition, the oldest manuscript containing her Vita is probably Bdinski Zbornik, written in 1359–60, although strangely enough under October 14, the feast day of Paraskeve of Epibatis.[36]

As is the case with many of the other months, there is one text that can be ascribed to Gregory Camblak: the encomium written for the feast of the transfer of the protecting veil of the Theotokos. This is a sign that a volume of the Slavonic menologion tradition is linked to this ecclesiastic, and it may indeed have been transmitted to Russia together with at least some of the other volumes of the remaining menologion cycle through his Kiev metropolia in the 15th century.

33 See Tvorogov (as footnote 27 above) 222. However, this saint is normally celebrated on July 19th rather than July 9th as Tvorogov maintains.
34 Ehrhard (as footnote 1 above) I 665.
35 Ehrhard I (as footnote 1 above) 360.
36 J. L. Scharpe/F. Vyncke, Bdinski zbornik, An Old-Slavonic menologium of Women Saints. Bruges 1973, 88–101.

ARCHÄOLOGISCHE FORSCHUNGEN IM BYZANTINISCHEN HADRIANUPOLIS IN PAPHLAGONIEN

ERGÜN LAFLI / İZMİR UND ALEXANDER ZÄH / FRANKFURT AM MAIN

Mit 9 Abbildungen im Text und 41 Abb. auf Tafel XIII–XXVI

1. Einleitung

Seit 2005 werden von der Dokuz-Eylül-Universität İzmir archäologische Untersuchungen in Hadrianupolis und seiner *Chora* im nordwestlichen Kleinasien durchgeführt. Der frühbyzantinische Stadtkern befindet sich in der Ebene von Viranşehir, 3 Kilometer westlich von Eskipazar (südlich von Karabük) im zum Dorf Budaklar gehörenden Gebiet.

Die Untersuchungen bestehen zum einen aus Geländebegehungen, die im Stadtkern sowie in der *Chora* selbst durchgeführt werden, zum anderen aus Ausgrabungen im Stadtterritorium selbst, die eine Rettungsgrabungskampagne fortsetzen, die vom Museum von Ereğli bereits im Jahre 2003 an der unten näher besprochenen Kirche 'B' begonnen wurde. Dabei wurden bisher nun weiter die sog. Kirche 'A', in der bedauerlicherweise Raubgrabungen stattgefunden hatten, und ein Thermengebäude teilweise ausgegraben. Deswegen sind nun bedeutende Funde aus der frühbyzantinischen Epoche zu Tage getreten, die hier in einem vorläufigen Bericht kurz vorgestellt werden sollen; eine Fortsetzung soll in *BZ* 102/2 (2009) folgen. Die archäologische Erforschung der gesamten Gegend im altchristlichen und byzantinischen Zusammenhang war schon seit langem ein Desiderat[1] und ist ein wichtiger Beitrag zur

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Abbildungsnachweis: Alle Fotos auf den Tafeln und die Fotos im Text stammen von E. Laflı. Die Zeichnungen wurden von A. Zäh auf Grundlage der Aufnahmen von E. Laflı angefertigt.

[1] V. SCHULTZE, Altchristliche Städte und Landschaften, II.1/2, Gütersloh 1926. 228: „An den nordöstlichen Hängen der mächtigen Bergzüge, welche sich Krateia vorlagern, zieht nicht weit von der paphlagonischen Grenze eine schmale, längliche Ebene, welche ein Flüßchen durchläuft, Viranschehr. An ihrem südlichen Ende ragt mitten ein hoher Felsen auf. Auf diesem stand einst die Akropolis der nördlich davon gelegenen Stadt Hadrianopolis. Wahrscheinlich durch Erdbeben zerstört, dann von den Türken als Steinbruch benutzt, ist sie fast gänzlich verschwunden. Nur die Nekropole, die sich zwischen Fluß und Akropolis ausbreitete, ist, natürlich im Zustande der Verödung, noch da. Felsenkammern mit Arkosolien, Sarkophage, Freibauten, Bodengräber, Stelen bezeichnen sie noch in ihrer ganzen Ausdehnung. Sie harrt noch genauerer Untersuchung … Grabungen oder auch nur sorgfältige Aufnahmen der antiken Reste um Eskipazar selbst wurden seither [das ist: G. MENDEL, Inscriptions Bithynie. *BCH* 25 (1901) 5–52, hier 6 f.] nicht vorgenommen". CH. MAREK, Stadt, Ära und Territorium in Pontus-Bithynia und Nord-Galatia. *Istanbuler Forschungen*, 39. Tübingen 1993, 117 mit Anm. 845.

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Textabb. 1: Lage von Kaisareia-Hadrianupolis (nach Schultze, S. 195)

Kenntnis einer weiteren kunsthistorisch und archäologisch nahezu unbekannten kleinasiatischen Region.[2]

2. Ortsname, historische Topographie und Ortslage

Genau genommen ist der Ortsname Hadrianupolis nur eine Ergänzung zum schon bestehenden und ursprünglich verbürgten antiken Ortsnamen Kaisareia, denn durch die epigraphische Überlieferung wird deutlich, daß sich die Einwohner als *Kaisareïs Hadrianopoletai* bezeichneten. Vor dem zu Ehren von Kaiser Hadrian (117–138), der die Gegend und Klaudiupolis im Jahre 123 besuchte,[3] eingeführten Attribut nannten sich die Einwohner unter Kaiser Nerva (96–98)[4] nämlich noch *Kaisareïs Proseilemmeneïtai* – „die Hinzuge-

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2 A. Zäh, Warum Kleinasien ein Neuland der Kunstgeschichte geblieben ist? Entwicklung, Aktuelle Ergebnisse und Perspektiven der christlichen Kunstgeschichtsschreibung in Anatolien. *Acta Historiae Artium* 47 (2006) 228–235. Vgl. zu anderen Fundgruppen nun auch E. Lafli, A Roman rock-cut cult niche at Paphlagonian Hadrianoupolis. 24. *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı.* 29 Mayıs–2 Haziran 2006, Çanakkale. 2. Cilt, Ankara 2007, 43–66.

3 Schultze, Altchristliche Städte II/1 (wie oben Fußnote 1) 221 f.

4 Zu Nerva und Hadrian vgl. auch D. Kienast, Römische Kaisertabelle. Grundzüge einer römischen Kaiserchronologie. Darmstadt 1996, 120 f.; 128–133.

nommenen“,[5] was wohl als Anspielung auf die Verbesserung oder eine Veränderung des politischen bzw. administrativen Status der Siedlung Kaisareia in der frühen römischen Kaiserzeit verstanden werden mag. Kaisareia taucht in der frühbyzantinischen schriftlichen Überlieferung allerdings nicht mehr auf und die genuine Bezeichnung wurde wohl zu Gunsten von Hadrianupolis fallen gelassen.[6] Während der Ort zunächst zu den römischen Provinzen Galatien und Paphlagonien gehörte, wurde Hadrianupolis ab der christlichen Spätantike – unter Kaiser Theodosios I. (379–395) – Teil der neugeschaffenen, weltlichen und kirchlichen, Provinz Honorias,[7] die von Bithynien und Paphlagonien abgespalten wurde, und unterstand als Suffraganbistum deren Metropole Klaudiupolis.[8] Die Kirchenprovinz Honorias blieb im Gegensatz zu den weltlichen Verwaltungseinheiten, die fortlaufend territorial umarrangiert wurden, bis in die mittelbyzantinische Zeit dauerhaft erhalten. Bis in das 8. Jh. ist die regelmäßige Teilnahme von Bischöfen aus Hadrianupolis an den großen Kirchenkonzilien gesichert nachzuweisen. Der erste bezeugte Bischof namens Theophilos wirkte zu Zeiten des Konzils von Chalkedon im Jahre 451, im Jahre 681 Bischof Platon, der nach Konstantinopel reiste[9] – wenig später ist allerdings kein Bischof auf dem Konzilium Quinisextum im Jahre 692 anwesend[10] – der letzte gesichert nachgewiesene Bischof war Niketas, der das 7. ökumenische Konzil von Nikaia im Jahre 787 besuchte.[11] In den kirchlichen Listen wird der Ort bis ins 12. Jh. hinein aufgeführt.[12] In der weltlichen Provinzeinteilung gehörte der Ort dagegen zunächst zur römischen Provinz Galatien, dann zu Paphlagonien, wurde darauf Bestandteil der Provinz Honorias, um danach zeitweise wieder der Provinz Paphlagonien zugeschlagen zu werden und war schließlich, seit der früheren mittelbyzantinischen Epoche, erst Bestandteil des

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5 Marek, Stadt (wie oben Fußnote 1) 116 f.

6 Hierokles, Synekdemos, § 695.3. Georg von Zypern, § 265.

7 Vgl. *Der Neue Pauly* 5 (1998), 56 s.v. Hadrianopolis (K. Strobel). Schultze, Altchristliche Städte II/1 (wie oben Fußnote 1) 194. Hierokles; Georg von Zypern, ebd.

8 Klaudiupolis trug seinerseits zu Ehren von Kaiser Claudius (41–54, vgl. auch Kienast, wie oben Fußnote 4, 90–95) einen neuen Namen und hieß zuvor Bithynion. Um das Jahr 130 wurde diese Stadt ebenso zu Ehren Kaiser Hadrians in *Bithynion Hadriana* umbenannt. Im Gegensatz zu Kaisareia blieb dieses Attribut allerdings nicht an der Stadt haften und sie hieß in byzantinischer Zeit wieder Klaudiupolis, was wiederum eine bessere Unterscheidung der beiden Orte sicher stellte. Vgl. K. Belke, Paphlagonien und Honōrias. *TIB*, 9. Wien 1996, 235–237, s.v. Klaudiupolis. Schultze, Altchristliche Städte II/1 (wie oben Fußnote 1) 221 f.

9 Belke, Paphlagonien, ebd. 156. Schultze, ebd. 222.

10 Dafür aber der Metropolit Kyprianos der Provinz aus Klaudioúpolis/Bolu. Vgl. H. Ohme, Das Konzilium Quinisextum und seine Bischofsliste. Studien zum Konstantinopeler Konzil von 692. *Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte*, 56. Berlin 1990, 292 f.

11 E. Lamberz, Die Bischofslisten des VII. ökumenischen Konzils (Nicaenum II). *Bayerische Akad. Wiss., Philos.-hist. Kl., Abh. N.F.* 124 (München 2004) 65 f.

12 Belke, Paphlagonien, ebenda.

Themas Opsikion und dann der daraus hervorgegangenen Themen Paphlagonia, bzw. Boukellarion-Paphlagonia.[13] Durch die epigraphische[14] und kirchengeschichtliche Überlieferung ergibt sich ein lebendiges Bild dieser – auch dem archäologischen Befund nach, vor allem vom 5. bis zum 7. Jh. – prosperierenden Polis und ihres gesamten Umlands. So ist literarisch die Existenz eines bis in die Regierungszeit des Kaisers Herakleios (610–641) in der Nekropole von Hadrianupolis lebenden Säulenheiligen Alypios sowie eines benachbarten Männer- und Frauen-Klosters sowie einer Einzelkirche, die der Heiligen Euphemia geweiht war, verbürgt.[15]

Die weitflächige *Chora* der Stadt dehnte sich, wohl in ost-westlicher Richtung, entlang der antiken Strasse zwischen Gangra-Germanikupolis (heute Çankırı) und Mengen, nördlich von Gerede (dem antiken Krateia) gelegen, aus (vgl. Textabb. 1).[16] Der Stadtkern lag entlang des Göksu-Tals und damit wurde der südliche Rand der Stadt vom Göksu-Fluß begrenzt, obwohl ein Teil der römischen Nekropole am südlichen Ufer des Göksu befindlich ist. Damit ist die vermutliche Stadtgrenze der frühbyzantinische Periode kurz beschrieben. Des weiteren werden die heutigen Dörfer Hacıahmetler (Hacımatlar), Eleler und Çaylı des Dorfes Budaklı mit zum eigentlichen Stadtkern und der näheren *Chora* gehört haben. Die Ausweitung des Stadtterritoriums, in ost-westlicher Richtung, beträgt damit ca. 10 km. Die byzantinischen Stadtmauern, die noch nicht wissenschaftlich bearbeitet wurden, umschließen nur wenige Gebäude der byzantinischen Zeit: Die Kirche 'B', zwei Thermen, ein römisches Gebäude mit Sitzstufen (Exedra, Theatron, monumentalem Bouleuterion?), die gesamte Nekropole, sowie mehrere profane Gebäude mit

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13 Belke, Paphlagonien, ebd. 82–100. J. Karayannopulos, Die Entstehung der byzantinischen Themenordnung. *BA*, 10. München 1959, Karte III. H. Gelzer, Die Genesis der byzantinischen Themenverfassung. *Abh. der philol.-hist. Cl. der Königl. Sächs. Gesellschaft der Wiss.* 18 (1899), 100 ff., Karte. Vgl. auch Th. Riplinger u. a., Kleinasien. Das Byzantinische Reich (7.–9. Jh.). *Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients*, Blatt B VI 8 (1988). C. Naumann u. a., Das Byzantinische Reich, die Salǧūqen und Kreuzfahrer (1081–1204), ebd. Blatt B VII 19 (1988). *ODB* 3 (1991) 2034 f. s. v. Theme (A. Kazhdan).

14 Vgl. (wie oben Fußnote 1) 187–210 (Katalog der Inschriften von Kaisareia/Hadrianopolis). In den Jahren 2005 und 2008 wurden insgesamt 12 frühbyzantinische Inschriften aus dem Stadtkern und der Chora von Hadrianupolis aufgefunden. Diese Inschriften sowie weitere dokumentierte römische Inschriften wurden von E. Lafli in zwei Aufsätzen behandelt: E. Lafli, Inschriften aus Hadrianopolis in Paphlagonien I: Die in den Feldkampagnen 2005–2008 dokumentierten Inschriften aus dem Stadtkern von Hadrianopolis. *EA* 41 (2008), im Druck, sowie ders., Inschriften aus Hadrianopolis in Paphlagonien II: Die in den Feldkampagnen 2005–2008 dokumentierten Inschriften aus der Chora von Hadrianopolis. *EA* 42 (2009), im Druck.

15 Belke, Paphlagonien, ebd. Schultze, Altchristliche Städte II/1 (wie oben Fußnote 1) 229.

16 Vgl. ebenso Marek, Stadt, ebd. 3.

bisher unbekannten Nutzungszweck wurden ebenso von dieser Befestigung umgrenzt. Wenigstens fünf von den bisher gefundenen Gebäuden sind mit Mosaikböden ausgestattet worden. Östlich, außerhalb der Stadtmauern, befindet sich eine weitere frühbyzantinische Kirche, die sog. Kirche ‘A’, sowie dazu gehörige Gebäudeanlagen. Die Zugehörigkeit zum Stadtkern von Hadrianupolis und der Status dieser Gebäudegruppe (Klosteranlage?) ist noch nicht eindeutig geklärt. Im westlichen Bereich hören die an der Oberfläche auffindbaren Ruinen im Viertel von Hacıahmetler auf; d.h. also das Dorf muss genau über den Ruinen entstanden sein. Im nördlichen Bereich wird die Ausdehnung der Siedlung von Berghängen begrenzt.

2.1 Wirtschaftliche Verhältnisse der Gegend

Die ersten Ergebnisse der systematischen Untersuchungen haben ergeben, daß das römische und frühbyzantinische Hadrianupolis wirtschaftlich gesehen mit den paphlagonischen Küstenmetropolen, insbesondere Amastris, Sinope sowie Herakleia Pontike, verknüpft war. Spätestens seit dem 4. Jh. v.Chr. bis in die byzantinische Periode scheint man sich an der paphlagonischen Küste vor allem mit dem internationalen Weinexport und der Amphoraproduktion beschäftigt zu haben.[17] Ein Grund für die wirtschaftlichen Beziehungen mit dem paphlagonischen Küstenland war offenbar der intensive Weinanbau in Hadrianupolis und in seiner *Chora.* Der Wein wurde dann in das Küstengebiet geliefert und von dort weiter exportiert. Hadrianupolis hatte eine infrastrukturiell wichtige Lage zwischen der Küste und Galatien und spielte damit ebenso auch eine wichtige landwirtschaftliche Rolle für den Acker- und Weinbau des unmittelbaren paphlagonischen Küstenhinterlandes. Bei den Prospektionen wurde nämlich deutlich, daß innerhalb eines Radius von ca. 20 km, außerhalb des Stadtzentrums, zahlreiche Weinpressen sowie Weinproduktionsanlagen aufgefunden werden konnten. Auch antike Spuren von Terrassierungen für den Weinanbau, in den sehr weitläufigen Hügeln, sowie auf den Feldern im Gebiet von Hadrianupolis sind bis heute noch nachweisbar.

[17] E. Laflı, Hellenistic and Roman ceramic archaeology on the southern Black Sea coast: an overview of the Turkish archaeological literature related to ceramic archaeology of Paphlagonia and Pontus, in B.D. Erciyas/E. Kopraman (Hrsg.), Studies in the Black Sea region symposium. Istanbul 2006, 191–192 (mit weiterer Literatur zur Wein- und Amphorenproduktion im südlichen Schwarzmeerraum) sowie N. Savvonidi, Wine-making on the northern coast of the Black Sea in antiquity, in M.-C. Amouretti/J.-P. Brun/D. Eitam (Hrsg.), La production du vin et de l’huile en Méditerranée de l’Age du Bronze à la fin du XVIème siècle: Symposium international, 20-21-22 novembre 1991, Aix-en-Provence-Toulon. Pré-Actes (1991) 129–138. Die Weinproduktion im südlichen Schwarzmeerraum wurde bislang nicht systematisch untersucht.

Viele Siedlungen in der hadrianupolitischen *Chora*, wie z. B. Örenarkası, eine frühbyzantinisches Dörfchen ca. 6 km nordöstlich von Hadrianupolis, wurden unmittelbar neben Weinbergen und -feldern errichtet. Die römische Sakralkunst der Gräber, Sarkophage, Grabältere usw. zeigt ebenfalls, daß der Weinbau das Hauptverdienst der Stadt und seiner ganzen Umgegend war und dieser für die Bürger von Hadrianupolis eine wichtige Rolle spielte.[18] Dafür mag hier neben seiner allgemeinen Bedeutung lediglich das fragmentarisch erhaltene Bild eines Weinkorbs mit einer Weinrebe, im westlichen Ende des südlichen Seitenschiffs der Kirche 'B' stehen (vgl. Abb. 34).

3. Die Monumente der Stadt

Bisher wurden an drei architektonischen Komplexen archäologische Untersuchungen durchgeführt. Es sind dies die sog. Kirchen 'A' und 'B' sowie eine nicht minder beeindruckende Thermenanlage, die sog. Therme 'A'.

Kirche 'A'

Ortslage

Die Kirche 'A' stellt den östlichsten bisher bekannten Siedlungspunkt außerhalb der Stadt dar und ist *extra muros* gelegen. Die Kirche liegt ca. 2.5 km östlich des Ost-Tors der byzantinischen Stadtmauer. Die Kirche befindet sich 500 m nördlich des Göksu-Tals und liegt auf der Kuppe eines Hügels, namens "Yerebatan" (Abb. 1). Westlich dieser Kirche gibt es die Überreste einer winzigen Siedlung, die wahrscheinlich nur aus wenigen Gebäuden mit Weinpressen bestand, deren Funktion (Weingut?) noch unklar ist. Neben diesen Ruinen findet man auch einige Gräber in einer kleiner Sencke – östlich der Kirche. Möglicherweise ist dieser isoliert angelegte Einzelbautenkomplex als Klosteranlage zu interpretieren.

Beschreibung der Architektur

Die Kirche ist eine dreischiffige Basilika mit einem Narthex im Westen und schloß einst mit einer weiten, auch außen halbrunden, Apsis ab (Abb. 2). Die Eingänge befinden sich im Westen. Die Kirche war aber ebenso durch eine Tür im Zentrum der Südfassade erschlossen, die den Zugang ins südliche Seitenschiff ermöglichte. Der Grundriß der Kirche misst 15, 84 x 20, 28 m und ist besonders dem der Kirche 'B' (Abb. 24) ähnlich, die 4 km weiter westlich im Stadtkern liegt. Das Apsismauerwerk erscheint heute allerdings bis auf das

18 z. B. Belke, Paphlagonien (wie oben Fußnote 8), Abb. 105 (Safranbolu, Kıranköy, Giebel eines röm. Grabbaues).

Fundament ausgebrochen. Ebenso ist auch das aufgehende Mauerwerk zum größten Teil abgetragen und schlecht erhalten. Zudem wurden hier bedauerlicherweise Raubgrabungen durchgeführt. An der gesamten Nordwand ist ein durchgehendes dreilagiges Ziegelband im Mauerwerk erkenntlich, das ansonsten aus Bruchsteinen besteht (vgl. Abb. 3). Dieses Band wurde ursprünglich wohl auf allen Mauerabschnitten der Kirche ausgeführt. Aufgrund des niedriger anstehenden übrigen Mauerwerks ist dies, vor allem auch an der Südmauer der Kirche im Befund nicht mehr nachzuvollziehen. Sehr wahrscheinlich folgten im aufgehenden Mauerwerk einst weitere Ziegellagen. Diese Technik ist seit dem 5. Jh.s in der byzantinischen Baukunst verbreitet[19] und des weiteren auch ein besonderes Merkmal der iustinianischen Architektur. Am östlichen Ende des nördlichen Seitenschiffs wurde möglicherweise in einer späteren Bauphase in die gerade abschließende Ostwand ein kleines kreisrundes Becken im Fußboden eingelassen. Auffällig ist hier auch in der Nordwand eine dezente Wandnische. Diese Modifikationen könnten auf eine gesonderte liturgische Nutzung dieses Raumteils als Baptisterium oder Pastophorion hindeuten.[20] Lediglich bei der nödlichen Säulenstellung hat sich ein Postament der Kirche *in situ* feststellen lassen (Maße 65 × 65 cm; Durchmesser 50 cm; Höhe 28 cm). Es ist das Postament der – von Westen gezählt – vierten Säule (Abb. 8). Das Interkolumnium lag damit bei genau 1.5 m (nach M. Vitruvius P. *diastylos* – weitsäulig?,[21] was hier durch den errechneten Restbefund exakt dem Verhältnis von ca. 3 Säulendurchmessern entspräche), und jede Säulenstellung bestand damit aus jeweils 5 Säulen. Die Säulen trugen einst einfach stilisierte Palmenblatt-Kämpferkapitelle. Von diesen Kapitellen konnte eines in Sturzlage im westlichen zentralen Bereich des Naosmosaiks festgestellt werden. Insgesamt wurden sieben Exemplare dieses Typs gefunden, zu denen auch ein komplett erhaltenes Exponat zählt (vgl. Abb. 5–6). Ein weiteres Exponat, das in der Umgegend in Budaklar gefunden wurde, gehörte möglicherweise ebenso einst zu dieser Kirche (vgl. unten 4.1.4, Abb. 38). Anders als bei Kirche 'B', wurden im Bereich der Kirche 'A' zahlreiche Fragmente weiterer interner Architekturteile, z. B. Fragmente von Säulen gefunden. Besonders bemerkenswert mutet der Fund eines fragmentierten Türsturzes aus Marmor an (Abb. 7). Dieser zeigt in der Mitte ein fein herausgearbeitetes 'lateinisches' Kreuz. Es handelt sich dabei aufgrund seiner Ab-

[19] Vgl. W. Müller-Wiener, Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls. Tübingen 1977, 147–152, 287–295. (Abb.)

[20] Ganz ähnlich ein dezentes Baptisterium am östlichen Ende des nördlichen Seitenschiffs in der Tempelkirche von Diokaisareia, vgl. S. Westphalen, Die Monumente aus byzantinischer Zeit, in D. Wannagat, Neue Forschungen in Uzuncaburç 2001–2004. Das Zeus-Olbios-Heiligtum und die Stadt Diokaisareia. *AA* 2005, 149 ff., Abb. 56–58.

[21] Vitruv, Zehn Bücher über die Architektur, III. 9–11; übers. C. Fensterbusch, Darmstadt 1964, 149–151.

messungen (Maße: Breite 54 cm; Länge 117 cm; Dicke 27 cm) um einen der beiden zentralen Türen im Westen, – nämlich um den der Narthex- oder Naostür). Einige Fragmente wurden schon durch die bisherigen illegalen Grabungen an dem Gebäude von den Bewohnern der Dörfer nach Budaklar verschleppt und wieder verwendet.

Ausstattung

Im Narthex sowie in den drei Schiffen wurden sehr beeindruckende Fußbodenmosaike angelegt, die sich zu einem großen Teil in einem guten Erhaltungszustand befinden. Eine annähernd komplette Wiederherstellung des ursprünglichen Fußboden-Ausstattungskonzepts ist damit möglich (vgl. Grundriß Abb. 2). Das Mosaik im Narthex besteht aus einem geometrischen Endlos-Muster, das zwischen Rhomben und kleinen quadratischen Kästchen, in denen Kreuze angegeben sind, variiert (vgl. Abb 9). Gerahmt wird die Komposition von einem polychromen Flechtbanddekor (vgl. Abb. 4). Das Hauptschiff ist durch ein großzügig angelegtes Mosaik mit diversen Bildfeldern ausgelegt worden (Vgl. Abb. 1–3). Dieses große Mosaikfeld des Naos wurde durch einen dreifachen Rahmen eingefaßt, der nach Innen aus einem Ornamentband, dem sog. 'laufenden Hund' (eigentlich ein Wellenkammornament) besteht, nach Außen gefolgt von einem weißgrundigen und einem schwarzgrundigen polychromen und floralen Girlanden-Ornamentband (Abb. 10). Im östlichen Bereich des Naosmosaiks wird diese dreifache Rahmung nach innen nochmals um ein zusätzliches, schmales polychromes und schwarzgrundiges Ornamentband erweitert (vgl. Abb. 14). Auch die große zentrale Bildfläche im Westen des Naosmosaiks ist auf der Grundlage der Wiederholung der einzelnen Kompositionselemente, die teilweise aus kleinen gleichgroßen Kreisscheiben bestehen, teppichartig angelegt. Im Hauptschiff gibt es im nordwestlichen Bereich in, komplett erhaltenen, langrechteckigen Bilderrahmen die Darstellungen von zwei Rehen (R1 und R2), im südwestlichen die von einem springendem Leopard (L) und im weiter westlich erhaltenen Rahmen, die eines Greif (γρύψ,[22] *griffon*[23]– G). Alle diese in Bilder-

[22] Mythologisches orientalisches Wesen mit einem Löwenkörper und einem Adlerkopf. Vgl. bes. W. H. Roscher (Hrsg.), Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie. Leipzig 1886–1890 (Nachdruck 1965), 1742–1777, s.v. Gryps (A. Furtwängler). A. Dessenne, Le griffon créto-mycénien: inventaire et remarques, *BCH* 81 (1957) 203–215 ; J. Trilling, The soul of the empire: style and meaning in the mosaic pavement of the Imperial Palace at Constantinople. *DOP* 43 (1989) 27–72, hier Fig. 21. S. D. Campbell, Roman Mosaic workshops in Turkey. *AJA* 83 (1979) 287–292. Fig. 17. – Vgl. zu den langjährigen Restaurierungsarbeiten nun auch W. Jobst/R. Kastler/V. Scheibelreiter (Hrsg.), Neue Forschungen und Restaurierungen im byzantinischen Kaiserpalast von Istanbul. Akten der Internationalen Fachtagung vom 6.–8. November 1991 in Istanbul. Wien 1999.

[23] Engl. Begrifflichkeit; antiquiert *gryphon.*

rahmen angegebenen Tierdarstellungen sind Einzelmotive und diese sind perspektivisch vor einem landschaftlichen Hintergrund angegeben, der ausschnittsweise an Paradiesgärten und -landschaften erinnert. Die Tiere erscheinen von diesem Hintergrund aber völlig losgelöst und darüber gelegt, ohne in diese Landschaften wirklich eingebunden zu sein.[24] Die Rahmen erscheinen wiederum perspektivisch über der fortlaufenden Ornamentgrundlage, die an diesen Stellen aus Kreisscheiben besteht, gelegt. Dazwischen finden sich dem Grundriß von tetra-apsidialen Baptisterien ähnelnde Bildfelder[25] in dem Einzelvögel (z.B. V1) und Vögelpaare (z.B. V2) mit Sträuchern, Bäumchen, Blütenzweigen und kleinen Wiesenblumen angegeben sind (vgl. Abb. 16, 17). Ausgerichtet sind die Motive auf den Blick des Besuchers, der die Kirche über den Narthex, von Westen her, betritt. Weiter östlich ist die Mosaikfläche mehr zerstört. Hier wird nun deutlich, daß ein Ornamentwechsel auf dem Boden des Naos stattfand. Fragmentarisch kann hier nur noch ein größeres Rautenfeld nachgewiesen werden. Westlich der Inschrift, vor den Fundamenten der Bemaschranke – unmittelbar auf die ornamentale Rahmung folgend – ist ein Paar von Wasservögeln (V3) angegeben, die aus einem Brunnen zu trinken scheinen (Abb. 15).[26] Die Ausrichtung dieses Motivs ist diesesmal auf den nach Westen blickenden Betrachter gerichtet. Betritt man das ebenso komplett ausmosaizierte nördliche Seitenschiff, so sind hier zunächst zwei Kreisscheiben nach der Türschwelle auffällig. Weiter gegen Osten ist nun eine Folge von sieben quadratischen Kästchen, in einem polychromen geometrischen Muster angelegt worden, in der sieben verschiedene Vogelarten dargestellt wurden (Vo1–Vo7, Abb. 2). Diese Kästchen erscheinen im Gegensatz zu den Mosaiken des Naos in die Ornamentkomposition mit eingebunden und wirken verflochten und liegen damit nicht perspektivisch über einem gedachten suggestiven Ornamentteppich.[27] Gerahmt wird dies ebenso wieder mit

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24 Vgl. zu dieser Darstellungsart insbesondere A. M. Schneider, The Church of the Multiplying of the Loaves and Fishes at Tabgha on the Lake of Gennesaret and its mosaics. London 1937, 66 f.

25 Solche Designs sind auch aus Nordafrika bekannt. Vgl. F. Baratte, Catalogue des mosaïques romaines et paléochrétiennes du musée du Louvre. Paris 1978, 60 ff., Fig. 48 (oben links). Vor allem: Mosaikenmuseum in Tunis, aus: Thurburbo-Majus (IV. Siècle), Inv. Nr. 2816. Vgl. hier Textabb. 4, unten.

26 Vgl. zu solchen Motiven besonders das Theodoulos-Mosaik aus Sousse (Tunesien), Textabb. 3. D. Parrish, The mosaic of Theodoulos from Sousse (Tunisia). Hommages à Jean Lassus III. *Antiquités africaines* 16 (Paris 1980) 229–239. In dieser Art ganz ähnlich an Blüten zupfende Pfauen, vgl. Schneider, The Church (wie oben Fußnote 24) Tables A, 18.

27 Besondere Parallelen mit ganz ähnlichem Dekor und diversen Vogelarten in Kästchen im nördlichen Seitenschiff der Basilika Hagios Stephanos auf der Insel Kos. Vgl. D. Parrish, An early Byzantine mosaic workshop based on Kos: architectural context and pavement design. *Antiquité tardive* 9 (2001) 331–349, hier Figs. 20–21. Aber auch im

einem polychromen Flechtbandmotiv (Abb. 18). Leider ist das fünfte Vogelmotiv – von Westen gezählt – ausgeschlagen und verloren. Nach dieser Darstellung folgt ein Ornamentwechsel und wir erkennen wiederum anders angeordnete kleine Kästchen in dem wiederum Vögel angegeben sind. Von diesen Kästchen haben sich lediglich vier erhalten, in denen ebenso verschiedene Vögelarten dargestellt wurden. Hinter den Bemaschranken-Fundamentplatten, vor der Apsis, sind die Tier-Repräsentationen in einem anderen geometrischen Konzept angelegt worden: Hier befanden sich einst konzentrische Medaillons mit Vögeln[28] und antiken Gefäßtypen eingefasst von Flechtbandornamenten (Abb. 19). Auch dieses Mosaik ist bedauerlicherweise hier nicht komplett erhalten, sondern größtenteils zerstört. Die Reste erlauben aber eine zukünftige genaue Konzeptrekonstruktion. Vor den Fundamentplatten der Bemaschranke wurden die Überreste und der Anfang einer langen Mosaik-Stiftungsinschrift gefunden, welche dem Mosaikrahmen östlich vorgelegt ist (vgl. Abb. 14). In südlichen Seitenschiff trifft man auf die – ebenso in quadratischen Kästchen ausgeführten – Einzeldarstellungen von einem Elefant, einem Pfau, einem Löwen, einem Reh und einem Pferd (T1–T5, vgl. Abb. 20, 21), die bis in die südöstlichste Ecke des Schiffs hinein erhalten geblieben sind. Wie schon im Narthex und im nördlichen Seitenschiff werden die Darstellungen auch hier von einem polychromen Flechtband eingerahmt. Am Ende dieses Schiffes befindet sich noch einmal eine Stiftungsinschrift (Abb. 22). Beide Inschriften nennen die Stifter dieses Mosaiks. Direkt über dem Fußbodenniveau des südlichen Seitenschiffs wurde eine byzantinische Silbermünze aus der Regierungszeit des Kaisers Leon III. (717–741) gefunden (Textabb. 2), die eine Nutzung des Gebäudes mindestens bis weit in das 8. Jh. hinein nahelegt.[29]

nördlichen Baptisterium der Basilika Hagios Ioannes ebenso auf Kos. Ebenda, Figs. 22–23.

28 Ein fast identisches Vogelmedaillon in Afrika: S.T. Stevens, A new Christian structure on the outskirts of Carthage: a preliminary report on the 1994 excavations at Bir Ftouha. *DOP* 50 (1996) 375–378, fig. 7.

29 Ph. Grierson, Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection. Leo III. to Michael III. (717–867), Vol. 3.1, Washington 1973, 225 ff., Pl. 3 (AR 22).



Textabb. 2: Silberfundmünze von Kaiser Leon III. aus dem südlichen Seitenschiff.

Kunsthistorische Einordnung und Interpretation

Die Kirche weist sich als eine Basilika mit einer fünfer Säulenstellung aus. Diese mittelgroße Kirchenvariante erfreute sich innerhalb aber auch gerade außerhalb urbaner Zentren in der christlichen Spätantike großer Beliebtheit. Gerade auf dem Balkan[30] und in Kleinasien[31] sind Bauwerke dieser Variante häufig anzutreffen, ebenso in Syrien, Jordanien und dem Heiligen Land.[32] Der annähernd quadratische Grundriß scheint gerade für den frühen byzantinischen kleinasiatischen Kirchenbau ein besonderes Charakteristikum zu sein, das mit zahlreichen Beispielen dokumentiert ist.[33] Die kunsthistorische Zuordnung und Bearbeitung der außergewöhnlich anmutigen Fußbodenmosaike steht noch am Anfang. Die Mosaike weisen jedoch in einen eindeutigen Kontext, der vor allem fest im 6. Jh. etabliert war. Dies wird auch über die vielen anmutigen einzelfigürlichen Tierdarstellungen in Rähmchen und Medaillons einerseits,[34] andererseits aber auch über die Art der Ausführung der

30 R. F. Hoddinott, Early Byzantine churches in Macedonia and southern Serbia. A study of the origins and the initial development of east Christian Art. London 1963, 168 f., Fig. 95.

31 A. Zäh, Eine unbekannte Säulen-Basilika auf dem Territorium von Bargylia. *OCP* 73 (2007) 417–432. Zu den Abmessungen und Proportionen kleinasiatischer Basiliken vgl. besonders H. Buchwald, Notes on the Design of Aisled Basilicas in Asia Minor, in B. Borkopp/B. Schellewald/L. Theis (Hrsg.), Studien zur Byzantinischen Kunstgeschichte. Festschrift Horst Hallensleben. Amsterdam 1995, 19–30.

32 N. Duval, L'architecture chrétienne et les pratiques liturgiques en Jordanie en rapport avec la Palestine. Recherches nouvelles, in K. Painter (Ed.), Churches built in ancient times. Recent studies in Christian archaeology. London 1994, 149–212, 155 ff., Fig. 4. H. Glück, Der Breit- und Langhausbau in Syrien. Auf kulturgeographischer Grundlage bearbeitet. *Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Architektur, Beiheft* 14. Heidelberg 1916, Taf. III.

33 Vgl. etwa A. Zäh, Die Akropolis von Aigai in spätantiker und byzantinischer Zeit, *Quaderni friulani di archeologia* 14 (2004) 149–151, Fig. 5–6; A. Zäh, Zur Typologie kirchlicher Architektur im südwestlichen Kleinasien. ^{2}Maintal 2004, Faltplan 2.0, Nr. 10–11, 14, 16, 18.

34 Zu den ähnlichsten Beispielen aus Kos, vgl. Parrish, Early Byzantine mosaic workshop (wie oben Fußnote 27) Figs. 20–23. Weiters besonders Beispiele vom Balkan aus Caričin

polychromen geometrischen Füllornamente des nördlichen und südlichen Seitenschiffs und der Flechtbänder vor der Apsis deutlich, die genauso in Kirchen auf dem Balkan und der Ägäis in Kos und Knidos anzutreffen sind.[35] Etliche Einzelmotive, wie auch der springende Leopard, sind aus der römischen Reichskunst – und hier speziell den beliebten Jagd- und Zirkuszenarien – entlehnt[36] und prägen damit ebenso die frühbyzantinische Bildsprache, die allerdings in einem völlig neuen christlichen Kontext zu verstehen ist. Der springende Leopard begegnet in besonders ähnlicher stilistischer und kunsthandwerklicher Darstellungform in der, bisher bekannten, kleinasiatischen byzantinischen Kunst etwa bei den bisher schlecht dokumentierten Baptisteriumsmosaiken der Kirche im Asklepieion von Milet[37] sowie auch in profanen Zusammenhängen, wie in einer frühbyzantinischen Thermenanlage bei Bodrum.[38] Die Tatsache, der vielen hier nachweisbaren Vogel- und Tierarten, zu denen auch der Elefant (T1, vgl. Abb. 20) zählt,[39] lässt assoziative Gedanken an alttestamentarische Erzählmotive, wie die Tierarche des Noah, wach werden, indem darüber hinaus die Kirchenschiffe allegorisch als belebtes und bewohntes Schiff aufgefasst werden könnten. Die Kirche selbst ist nun als Schiff und sicherer, solidarischer Aufenthaltsort für die Gemeinde aufzufassen. All diese Gedanken waren bezüglich des Gemeinwesens auch in der weiteren

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Grad und Stobi nun besprochen bei I. Popović, Les mosaïques de la basilique à transpet de Caričin Grad: Quelques éléments du système ornemental. *Hortius Artium Mediaevorum* 9 (2003) 273–278, fig. 1–3. Weitere Besipiele aus Afrika, Palästina und vom Balkan bei R. Miles, British excavations at Bir Messaouda Carthage 2000–2004. The Byzantine basilica. *Bulletin Antieke Beschaving* 81 (2006) 199–226 (fig.). Stevens, New Christian structure (wie oben Fußnote 28) fig. 7. A. Fradkin, Animal figures in the basilical building mosaics at Roman Sepphoris, Lower Galilee, Israel. *Near Eastern Archaeology* 62 (1999) 233–239, bes. 235 (figs.). Hoddinott, Early Byzantine churches (wie oben Fußnote 30) Pl. 52 g–h.

35 Vgl. etwa die Mosaiken der Basilika des Bischofs Philipp in Stobi, Makedonien: Hoddinott, 161 ff., Pl. 41.a (oben), 41.c. und vor allem bei Hagios Stephanos auf Kos Parrish, Early Byzantine mosaic workshop, ebd. Campbell, Roman Mosaic workshops (wie oben Fußnote 22) Figs. 11, 14, 18.

36 Vgl. etwa B. Collins/A. Zäh, Byzantinische Thermen in Karien: Eine frühbyzantinische Thermenanlage im unteren Gerekuyu Dere bei Bodrum. *Quaderni friulani di archeologia* 16 (2006) 291–307, hier Fig. 13.1. Trilling, Soul (wie oben Fußnote 22) Figs. 60, 77.

37 O. Wulff, Altchristliche und Byzantinische Kunst. Berlin 1918, I, Abb. 294 (Hirsch und Hirschkuh). Schultze, Altchristliche Städte II/1 (wie oben Fußnote 1) 156, Abb. 55 (springender Leopard). O. Feld, Zur kunstgeschichtlichen Stellung der großen Kirche. *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 23/24 (1973–1974), Taf. 39 (Lamm). Parrish, Early Byzantine mosaic workshop (wie oben Fußnote 27) figs. 31, 32, 34, 35 (gerissenes Reh).

38 Vgl. Collins/Zäh, Byzantinische Thermen (wie oben Fußnote 36), figs. 3, 7–10, 15.

39 Eine ebenso reichhaltige Darstellung von Tierarten in Medaillons, u. a. mit Elefanten, in der Kirche des Heiligen Christophoros in Qabr Hiram bei Tyros im Libanon: vgl. Baratte, Catalogue (wie oben Fußnote 25) 132 ff., figs. 141, 143–145.

Antike allgemein fest etabliert, so etwa bei M. T. Cicero, der die Schiffs-Metapher häufig auch für den Staat und die Politiker als dessen Steuerleute (*gubernatores*) verwendete.[40] Das Schiff steht hier zudem für das Bewahren der göttlichen Artenvielfalt durch den Schutz vor äußeren Bedrohungen und Naturgewalten und ist damit als ein Garantieort und als Refugium für den Glauben und damit der Schöpfung anzusehen. Die zahlreichen sehr liebenswürdig gestalteten idyllischen Einzelmotive, wie das Vogelpaar (V2 – Taubenpaar mit Blütenzweig) übertragen und übermitteln dem Betrachter, sinnbildlich, einfache christliche Grundwerte und Gedanken, wie treue, friedliche zwischenmenschliche und sich produktiv gestaltende Zuneigung auf der Basis der christlichen Liebe und diese könnten damit auch für die Ehe stehen. Der springende Leopard (L) mag für das Kraft erfüllte dynamische Leben symbolisieren. Die hier anzutreffende Vielfalt der Arten (etwa: Vo1–Vo7; T1–T5, vgl. Grundriß Abb. 2, 18, 20–21) dokumentiert die Kraft und den Ursprung der göttlichen Schöpfung des Lebens. Der Ursprung all dieser Dinge ist damit in dem einen Gott zu sehen und wird durch Gott gegeben und garantiert. Die Tier- und hier vor allem die zahlreichen in Kirche ‘A’ belegten Vogelmotive sind anderswo in großzügigen Paradieslandschaften, Gärten und im Rankenwerk anzutreffen (vgl. vor Ort auch den Pfau im Weinranken in der Apsis der Kirche ‘B’, Abb. 29) – diese entstammen eigentlich dem hellenistisch-römischen Stilleben[41] – und sind in ihrer Adaption ein prägender und elementarer Baustein der frühchristlichen Mosaikkunst.[42]

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40 Etwa M. T. Cicero, *De re publica.* Vom Gemeinwesen I 40 (62), V 6 (8); lat./dt. K. Büchner, Stuttgart 1979 (^{2}2004) 160–161, 322–323.

41 Vgl. Baratte, Catalogue ebd. 99 ff., 123 f., 126 ff., figs. 101–107, 131, 135–136. Schneider, The Church (wie oben Fußnote 24) Ill. 16. Trilling, Soul (wie oben Fußnote 22) Figs. 49, 51. *Der Kleine Pauly* 5 (1975) 823 s. v. Tiergarten (W. Richter). J. Murr, Die Pflanzenwelt in der griechischen Mythologie, Innsbruck 1890 (Ndr. Groningen 1969).

42 Vgl. Baratte, Catalogue ebd. 122 f., Figs. 129–130. Hoddinott, Early Byzantine churches (wie oben Fußnote 30) Pl. 52 g–h. Schneider, The Church, ebd. Tables A–B, 2–8, 23, 30. Fradkin, a. a. O., *Near Eastern Archaeology* 62 (1999) bes. 235 (Figs.). Miles, British excavations (wie oben Fußnote 34). Stevens, New Christian structure (wie oben Fußnote 28) fig. 7. Parrish, The mosaic of Theodoulos (wie oben Fußnote 26) ebd.



Textabb. 3: Das Theodoulos-Mosaik aus einem frühbyz. Haus aus Sousse, Tunesien (6. Jh.).

Interessant sind ebenso die Kapitelle, die durch ihr Design der Kirche einen besonders orientalischen Innenraumeindruck verliehen haben, da sich diese nicht einer der genuinen, klassisch griechischen Bauordnungen oder der römischen Bauordnung zu ordnen lassen.

Kirche 'B'

Ortslage

Die Kirche 'B' liegt ca. 350 m nordöstlich vom großen Thermenkomplex 'A' (siehe unten) und befindet sich etwa 500 m nördlich vom Göksu-Tal, auf einer Terrasse an einem steilen Hang über dem Fluß (Abb. 23).

Beschreibung der Architektur

Kirche 'B' stellt sich ebenso als der bauliche Überrest einer etwas größeren dreischiffigen Basilika – als Kirche 'A' – mit einem westlich vorgelagerten Narthex dar (vgl. Abb. 24). Die Breite der Kirche ist etwas geringer, als die der Kirche 'A', dafür ist diese in ihrer Ausdehnung aber wesentlich länger. Die Maße der Kirche betragen 14,85 x 23,49 m. Die Kirche war von Westen her erschlossen. Am östlichen Ende des nördlichen und südlichen Seitenschiffs befindet sich je eine zusätzliche Tür in der Kirchenmauer. Im Narthex konnte ein Grabstein festgestellt werden, unter dem wahrscheinlich ein noch erhaltenes Grab zu vermuten ist. Die Kirche erfuhr während ihrer Nutzungszeit diverse bauliche Modifikationen, die heute allerdings nur noch in Spuren nach zu vollziehen sind. Ursprünglich war der Bau wohl eben, wie Kirche 'A', eine Säulenbasilika gewesen. Leider haben sich weder Säulen, noch das ursprüng-

liche Stylobat erhalten. Zu einem unbekannten Zeitpunkt entschloß man sich, den Kircheninnenraum, anstatt mit einer Säulenstellung, mit größeren quadratischen Pfeilern auszustatten. Von diesen haben sich zwei korrespondierende Exemplare erhalten, die sich etwa im Zentrum des Naos befinden. Es ist bisher nicht geklärt, ob diese starken Pfeiler möglicherweise einer späteren Kuppelkonstruktion als Auflager dienten. Dies wäre gut vorstellbar und der spätere, frühmittelbyzantinische Umbau einfacher Basiliken zu Kuppelkirchen, die sich an hauptstädtischen Vorbildern orientierten, ist etwa im phrygischen Amorium bei Emirdağ gut nachgewiesen. Dort hat man eine Basilika in eine Kreuzkuppelbasilika umgebaut.[43] In einer weiteren späteren Bauphase entschloss man sich, das Konzept des Innenraums weiter zu verändern. Dies wird an einer zweiten Türschwelle, die im ursprünglichen Naos verlegt wurde, deutlich. Diese kündet davon, daß der Naos zugunsten eines weiteren inneren Narthex verkleinert wurde und der ursprüngliche Narthex nun damit zu einem sog. Exonarthex wurde und die Kirche damit über zwei Vorräume verfügte.

Ausstattung

Eine der wichtigsten Entdeckungen in der Kirche ‘B’ sind zweifelsohne die herausragenden Fußbodenmosaiken mit der allegorischen Darstellung der vier biblischen Flüsse Euphrat und Tigris, Phison und Geon (Aufzählung von Nord nach Süd, Abb. 25–28), eingebettet und umgeben von weiteren Mosaikfeldern mit Tieren, floralen und geometrischen Mustern. Diese Darstellungen befinden sich ganz im Osten des Hauptschiffs und erscheinen als dessen Abschluß vor der Apsis. Die Antlitze der Figuren sind anmutig und auf den in den Naos, von Westen her, eintretenen Besucher ausgerichtet. Die Flußfiguren tragen jeweils Füllhörner und orientalische Kappen in Art der Nichtrömer und scheinen den eintretenden Betrachter freundlich zu grüßen. Weiter östlich davon befand sich die, heute nicht mehr erhaltene, Bemaschranke. Gerahmt war die ehemalige Gesamtdarstellungsfläche des Naos von einem polychromen Girlandenband (Abb. 30). Leider hat sich im Zentrum und im Westen des Hauptschiffs so gut wie keine größere zusammenhängende Mosaikfläche erhalten, so daß die Art der Darstellung hier etwas unklar bleibt, diese aber in diesem Bereich durchgehend von geometrischen Mustern geprägt war, die unter anderem in quadratischen Kästchen dargestellt wurden. Im westlichen Bereich begegnet man Endlos-Flechtwerk in Kästchen (vgl. Abb. 31). In der Apsis – östlich der anzunehmenden und verlorenen Bemaschranke – befand sich die Mosaikdarstellung von Vögeln in Weinranken und Weinreben. Davon

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[43] Vgl. R. Ousterhout, Masterbuilders of Byzantium. Princeton 1999, 86–127: “Buildings that change”. Vgl. ebenso H. Buchwald, Retrofit – hallmark of Byzantine architecture?, in ders., Form, style and meaning in Byzantine church architecture. Aldershot 1999, VIII 1–22.

ist nur eine kleiner fragmentarischer Abschnitt mit einem kleinen Vogel und einem Pfau, der vermutlich aus einem Weinkorb nascht oder einem Krater trinkt (vgl. Abb. 29). Ebenso, wie der Naos, waren das nördliche, wie auch das südliche Seitenschiff einst komplett ausmosaiziert. Vom nördlichen Seitenschiff hat sich lediglich ein kleiner Abschnitt, im westlichen Bereich erhalten. Dieses Mosaikfragment zeigt Medaillons, die und von einem Girlandenband gerahmt sind. Am Ende des nördlichen Seitenschiffs befinden sich die fragmentarisch erhaltenen Überreste einer Inschrift, die sich auf einer kleinen kreuzförmigen Marmorplatte befindet (IS 1). Das südliche Seitenschiff hingegen zeigt einen wesentlich besseren Erhaltungszustand. Der polychrome Dekor besteht aus einem teppichartigen geometrischen Muster (Darstellungsgrund: weiß) mit Kreisscheiben, das von einem rot-orangen Herzblatt (Weinblattdekor) – in einem rotem Wellenband eingelegt – eingerahmt erscheint. Die Weinblätter des Wellenbands erscheinen auf der weißgrundigen Seite rot-orange, auf der rot-orange grundigen Seite im Farbwechsel in weiß dargestellt. Nachdem man das Seitenschiff von Westen her betritt, so befindet sich hier – am Anfang des Schiffs – ein langrechteckiges Bildfeld, das ein stilisierten Korb und Weinreben zeigt. Weiter östlich im südlichen Seitenschiff wurde ein größeres Einzelmotiv in einem langrechteckigen Rahmen dargestellt. Die Komposition wirkt wie über den Ornamentteppich gelegt. Diese zeigt das Abbild eines Wasser-Büffels (WB, vgl. Abb. 33) oder Stiers[44] beim Trinken in einem Fluß oder an einer Wasserstelle. Die Anmutigkeit der Komposition wird durch die Angabe des Spiegelbilds des Kopfes des trinkenden Tiers noch erhöht. Ganz am Ende des Schiffs befindet sich eine Inschrift, die Himerios und Valentina als Stifter nennt (IS 2, vgl. Abb. 32):

ΥΠΕΡ ΕΥΧΗϹ
ΙΜΕΡΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ
ΚΑΘΟϹΙΩΜΕ [-]
ΝΟΥ ϹΧΟΛΑΡ [-]
5 ΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΟΥΑ [-]
LENTINAϹ Τ [-]
ΗϹ ΚΟϹΜΩΤϹ [= κοσμ(ι)ωτ(άτη)ς]
ΚΑΙ ϹΕΜΝΟΠΡ [-]
ΕΠΕϹΤΑΤΗϹ

Außer diesem Mosaikboden hat man bei den Rettungsgrabungen von 2003 einen weiteren, 30 cm tiefer gelegenen, Mosaikboden entdeckt. Spuren von diesem konnten im nördlichen und südlichen Seitschiff ermittelt werden. Der Boden hat weitaus einfachere Muster mit geometrischen Designs besessen. Zusätzlich hat man im Boden der Kirche noch einfache Gräber entdeckt,

44 Vgl. *Der Kleine Pauly* 1 (1964) 962 f. s. v. Büffel (W. Richter); 4 (1972) 1429–1434, s. v. Rind (ders.).

deren ethnische und chronologische Zugehörigkeit noch nicht eindeutig terminiert werden konnte.

Kunsthistorische Einordnung, Interpretation

Bis jetzt sind nur recht wenige Beispiele byzantinischer Fußbodenmosaike mit der Darstellung personifizierter Flüsse auf uns gekommen. Im übrigen stammt keines der Vergleichsbeispiele aus Kleinasien. Das bisher sicher wichtigste Beispiel im Fundzusammenhang des 6. Jhs. findet sich in Olbia – Theodorias in der Kyrenaika (heute Qasr Lebia/Libya, Libyen). Hier wurden die vier Flußpersonifikationen – wenn auch in grundlegend anderem Darstellungsstil – als Vollportrait angelegt. Dies geschah anlässlich der in diesem Mosaik angesprochenen grundlegenden Erneuerung der Stadt („ΠΟΛΙC ΝΕΑ ΘΕΟΔωΡΙΑC", „ΑΝΑΝΕΩCIC") durch Kaiser Iustinian zu Ehren des Aufenthalts seiner Frau Theodora in ihrer Jugend, im Narthex einer der beiden Kirchen des Ortes durch Bischof Makarios im Jahre 539. Hier stellen diese allerdings nur 4 von 50 weiteren allegorischen und tierfigürlichen Bildkästchen dar.[45] H. Maguire bezieht sich in seinem Buch auf die irdischen Aspekte der byzantinischen Kunst und kommt dabei auf die Darstellung personifizierter Flüsse aus dem 5. Jh. zu sprechen.[46] Belegt ist etwa das Beispiel des Flusses Jordan, wiedergegeben als alter Mann mit Bart, wie er häufig auch in Taufdarstellungen der byzantinischen Kunst dargestellt wird. Die hingegen hier gemeinten vier biblischen alttestamentarischen Paradiesflüsse, werden von Kosmas Indikopleustes in seiner Weltchronik aus dem 6. Jh. als Flüsse beschrieben, die alle einem einzigen Quellpunkt oder Brunnen entspringen.[47] In der spätantiken christlichen Geographie hat man allgemein, neben den bekannten Flüßen des biblischen Zweistromlands Euphrat und Tigris, Phison mit dem Ganges und Geon mit dem Nil gleichgesetzt.[48] Diese irdischen Flüsse waren somit, seit jeher, Bestandteil des biblischen Paradieses und sollten, hier in dieser Kirche, offenbar dem sterblichen Betrachter im Angesicht des letzten Gerichts damit die Perspektive und die Vorstellung eines transzendenten, zu erwartenden, fruchtbaren, und den Gläubigen belohnenden, himmlischen Pa-

45 Zur Lage des Ortes vgl. E. M. Ruprechtsberger, Die römische Limeszone in Tripolitanien und der Kyrenaika Tunesien – Libyen. *Schriften des Limesmuseums Aalen* 47 (1993) 41, Karte 14 „Die Eroberungszüge und Einfälle der Araber 642 und 645". Die Moasaiken publiziert online auf http://www.livius.org/a/libya/qasr_libya/theodorias.html.

46 H. Maguire, Earth and ocean: the terrestrial world in early Byzantine art. University Park/London 1987.

47 H. Maguire, Paradise withdrawn, in A. Littlewood/H. Maguire/J. Wolschke-Bulmahn (eds.), Byzantine garden culture. Washington 2002, 23–35, 25 f. [auch Internet]. Als weiteren ikonographischen Beleg für den einen Quellpunkt vgl. in der Mosaikkunst nun besonders Stevens, New Christian structure (wie oben Fußnote 28) 377, Fig. 9.

48 R. M. Grant, Early Christian topography. *Vigiliae Christianae* 46 (1992) 105–111, 109 f. Maguire, Paradise withdrawn, ebd.

radieses erleichtern helfen. Das Füllhorn zudem, das kompositorisch jeder der Flußpersonen beigegeben ist – und das ebenso zusätzlich für Fruchtbarkeit steht – ist so auch in der abstrakten Darstellung als Ziermotiv bereits seit der klassischen und hellenistischen Zeit in der darstellenden Kunst fest etabliert.[49] Ein Motiv einer ein Füllhorn tragenden Figur findet sich auf einem typisch syrischen Mosaikbodenfragment des 6. Jh.s, das sich im Metropolitan Museum of Art befindet.[50] Die Figuren selbst, mit ihren freundlich und gemütsbewegt dargestellten Gesichtszügen (vgl. Abb. 25–28), erinnern besonders an eine vor allem im nordsyrisch-osrhoënischen Bereich nachweisbare und etablierte spätantike lebhafte, gesichstausdrucksreiche, figürliche Darstellungstradition.[51] Die Mosaikbeischrift im südlichen Seitenschiff kann wie folgt übersetzt werden „Ein Geschenk des Himerios, dem ergebenen *Scholarios* [σχολαρίου] (Mitglied der kaiserlichen Palastwache in Konstantinopel?),[52] und der ehrbaren und hochgeschätzten Valentina". Prosopographisch ist der Name Himerios im 6. Jh. gut belegt[53] und es erscheint sehr wahrscheinlich, daß Himerios und Valentina möglicherweise ein Ehepaar waren. Die Mosaike im Naos und im nördlichen Seitenschiff (IS 1) stammen sehr wahrscheinlich von anderen Stifterpersonen. Rahmende große Weinblätter, die den Darstellungsraum des südlichen Seitenschiffs begrenzen, wurden soeben bei einem frühbyzantinischen Fußbodenmosaik in einer Thermenanlage bei Bodrum (2. H. 5. – 6. Jh.) festgestellt.[54] Proportional etwas kleiner ausgeführte Weinblattbänder, dienten ebenso als Begrenzung der Mosaikfelder, die in der frühbyzantinischen Hafenbasilika 'E' von Knidos freigelegt wurden[55]. Recht frühe Beispiele solcher Rahmungen bei Fußbodenmosaiken von Kirchen sind durch die frühe Basilikalkirche in Stobi auf dem Balkan im heutigen Makedonien belegt (wohl Ende

49 K. Bemmann, Das Füllhorn in der klassischen und hellenistischen Zeit. Frankfurt am Main 1994.

50 H. C. Evans, The art of Byzantium. *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 58 (2001), 16 f. (fig.)

51 J. Balty, La mosaïque de Sarrîn (Osrhoène). *Bibliotèque archéologique et historique*, 140. Inventaire des mosaïques antiques de Syrie, 1. Paris 1990, pl. 36, 37; bes. pl. E (Fig. 3).

52 *ODB* 3 (1991) 1851 f., s. v. *Scholae Palatinae* (A. Kazhdan). J. F. Haldon, Byzantine praetorians: an administrative, institutional, and social survey of the Opsikion and Tagmata, C. 580–900. Bonn 1984. R. I. Frank, *Scholae Palatinae.* The palace guards of the later Roman empire. *Papers and monographs of the American Academy in Rome*, 23. Rome 1969.

53 Etwa auch in völlig profanen Zusammenhängen auf einem Transportamphora-Fragment aus dem paphlagonischen Pompeiupolis, hier als Ἡμερίου. Lafli, Hellenistic and Roman ceramic archaeology (wie oben Fußnote 17) 187, Fig. 3.

54 Collins/Zäh, Byzantinische Thermen (wie oben Fußnote 36), figs. 3, 7, 10. Vgl. dazu ein weiteres Beispiel aus Bodrum, bei Parrish, Early Byzantine mosaic workshop (wie oben Fußnote 27) Fig. 33.

55 I. C. Love, Excavations at Knidos 1972. *AJA* 77 (1973), 417 f., Ill. 3, Figs. 5–6.

4. Jh.).[56] Symmetrische gezirkelt angelegte Kreisscheiben als Dauerornamentmuster und Dekorationsgrundlage sind in spätantiken Kirchen auch auf dem Balkan,[57] motivisch auch in Afrika[58] ungemein verbreitet. Pfauen und Vögel in Weinlaub, Weinranken und -Reben begegnen im 5.–6. Jh. in Afrika, Syrien und Palästina[59] – ebenso recht ähnliche Girlandenschmuckbänder.[60] Die Kirche legt aufgrund ihrer zahlreichen, bisher festgestellten, baulichen Modifikationen, etwa a) dem Nachweis von 2 Mosaikstraten, b) möglicherweise Reste von zwei Vierungspfeilern die einen Umbau zu einer Kuppelbasilika oder Kreuzkuppelbasilika oder Kreuzkuppelkirche[61] nahelegen würden und schließlich c) der Erweiterung zu einer Kirche mit Eso- und Exonarthex eine sehr lange Nutzungszeit als sakrales Bauwerk nahe. Diese erscheint damit wohl vom 5. Jh. bis weit in den mittelbyzantinischen Zeitraum hinein zu reichen. Chronologisch geht der Befund nun jedenfalls weit über den Befund der Kirche ‘A’ hinaus, die an eine Nutzung – zumindest nur – bis in das 8. Jh. hinein denken lässt.

Die Thermenanlage ‘A’

Ortslage

Die Therme ‘A’, die 2005 während der Geländebegehungen entdeckt worden ist, befindet sich, ebenfalls im Stadtkerngebiet, also *intra muros.* Die Kirche ‘B’ ist ca. 350 m südwestlich von Therme ‘A’, gelegen. Bei den Grabungen 2006–2008 wurden bisher 15 Räume dieser großen Anlage freigelegt. Die komplette Ausdehnung des Gebäudes ist bisher noch nicht ganz ermittelt worden. Diese Anlage liegt 500 m nördlich des Göksu-Tals, an einem steilen Hang zu diesen Fluß hin gelegen. In diesem Bereich trifft man häufiger auf weitere byzantinische Gebäudereste und Ruinen. Es sieht topographisch nun so aus, als daß man die Therme ‘A’ mit diesen Siedlungsresten zum eigentlichen Stadtkern zuzurechnen hat. Schon durch diese wenigen bisher ermittelten und hier vorgestellten bescheidenen Fakten sollte man einsehen, daß während

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56 R. E. Kolarik, Mosaics of the Early Church in Stobi. *DOP* 41 (1987) 295–306, 297, Figs. 1–3.

57 Hoddinott, Early Byzantine churches (wie oben Fußnote 30) 103, colourplate II, Pl. 12.a („*Extra muros* basilica, Philippi“).

58 Vgl. Baratte, Catalogue (wie oben Fußnote 25), 59, Fig. 47.

59 Parrish, Early Byzantine mosaic workshop (wie oben Fußnote 27) 229–239 (Theodoulos-Mosaik aus Sousse, vgl. Textabb. 3). Baratte, Catalogue ebd. 121 f., Figs. 129–130. Schneider, The Church (wie oben Fußnote 24) Tables A, 18. Fradkin, a. a. O., *Near Eastern Archaeology* 62 (1999), 235 (Figs.).

60 Baratte, Catalogue ebd.

61 Ousterhout, Masterbuilders (wie oben Fußnote 43).

der frühbyzantischen Periode Hadrianupolis einen besonderen urbanen Charakter aufweist.

Beschreibung der Architektur

Die ab dem Jahre 2006 ausgegrabenen Teile der Therme 'A' sind die zwei Hauptflügel des Komplexes. Der Bau wurde zudem auf zwei verschiedenartig nivellierten Terrassen in den Hang hineingesetzt. Das Gebäude ist in ostwestlicher Richtung orientiert, während die Terrassen in nord-südlicher Orientierung und Abstufung angelegt wurden (Abb. 35). Die Südmauer des Gebäudes ist nicht weniger als ca. 26 m lang; damit ist das Gebäude auf jeden Fall ein besonders monumentaler Komplex. Dieser Komplex hat mehrere Bauphasen und es wurde ständig an ihm renoviert und es wurden zahlreiche Um- und Einbauten durchgeführt. Dieses Phänomen wird insbesondere durch zahlreiche Spolienfunde bewiesen, die bisher häufig in dem Komplex dokumentiert werden konnten. Die Raumanordnung des Gebäudeteils auf der zweiten, höher gelegenen nördlichen Terrasse, ist großzügiger als auf der ersten, denn hier treffen wir bisher lediglich 5 benachbarte kleinere langrechteckige Räume an. Auf der nördlichen Terrasse wurden dagegen, bisher, 10 Räume in Abfolge aufgedeckt. Möglicherweise waren einst einige dieser Räume mit Gewölben eingedeckt,[62] da es an den westlichen und östlichen Wänden Mauerreste gibt, die möglicherweise als Pendentifs anzusprechen sind. Auf der nördlichen Terrasse befindet sich auch der größere der sog. 'Hauptraum 11', der möglicherweise als das *Caldarium* der Thermenanlage zu begreifen ist.[63] Im 'Raum 11' konnten in seiner Westwand drei sehr gut erhaltene Türdurchgänge festgestellt werden. Geschlossen wurden diese Durchgänge durch Türstürze, von denen sich lediglich einer erhalten hat. Zusätzlich wurden über den Türöffnungen Entlastungsbögen aus Ziegeln gemauert (Abb. 36). Gerade an dieser Stelle wird deutlich, daß auch hier eine Wandmauertechnik mit einer dreier Ziegellage angewendet wurde, wie dies schon an Kirche 'A' festgestellt wurde. Diese Türen stellen die Verbindung zum 'Raum 8' und 'Raum 10' her. 'Raum 11', der mit einem großen und gut erhaltenen Mosaikboden ausgestattet ist (Abb. 37) wurde des weiteren noch durch je einen Türdurchgang im Norden und Osten erschlossen. Unter diesem Mosaikfußboden befindet sich, nach dem Befund, ein Hypokaustsystem. Mit solchen Fußbodenheizungssystemen wurden sowohl das *Caldarium* aber auch das *Tepidarium* einer antiken und byzantinischen Therme ausgestattet.[64] In einer späteren Bauphase wurde dieser Raum durch eine etwas nördlich der

[62] A. Berger, Das Bad in der byzantinischen Zeit. *Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia*, 27. München 1982, 86 f.

[63] ebd. 85 f., 102 f.

[64] Zu den technischen Aspekten und der Heizungsfunktion vgl. Berger ebd. 102–107.

Raummitte aufgeführte Trennmauer in zwei Räume unterteilt (nämlich in 'Raum 11.a' und 'Raum 11.b').

Die Lage der Thermen 'A' bedingt in der Nähe eine – möglicherweise auch thermale – Quelle, da diese Thermen für ihren dauerhaften Betrieb auf eine ständig frische Wasserzuleitung angewiesen waren.[65] Wichtig ist es auch darauf hinzuweisen, daß die Therme auf zwei Terrassen angelegt wurde, was einen guten Abfluß des Wassers ins Göksu-Tal ermöglichte. Die Hanglage war auch für die Wasserzirkulation innerhalb des Komplexes sehr von Nutzen. Möglicherweise ist auch an der Thermenarchitektur vor Ort eine unterschiedliche Entwicklung in der Anlage von Thermenarchitektur zwischen der römischen und frühbyzantinischen Zeit zu erkennen, in dem Sinne, daß römische Thermen zunächst hauptsächlich auf flachem Terrain, spätere frühbyzantinische Thermen nun, aus besagten Gründen, auch besonders gerne auf Terrassen gebaut wurden. Gut vergleichbar sind zumindest von der Hanglage her die frühbyzantinischen Thermen von Anemurion (Anamur) an der kleinasiatischen Südküste. Besonders auffällig ist hier ebenso die dichte Häufung mehrer dieser Anlagen auf recht kleinem Siedlungsareal.[66]

Ausstattung[67] – Kunsthistorische Einordnung

Der gut erhaltene langrechteckige polychrome Mosaikboden des Raumes '11' ist der bisher spektakulärste Fund in dieser Anlage (Abb. 37). Er gehört wohl noch in das 5. Jh. n. Chr. und weist mit seinem zentralen großen Bildfeld ein geometrisches, dreidimensional wirkendes Zickzack-Muster auf, das mit Schatten unterlegt ist. Es wird von einem doppelten Flechtbandornament eingefaßt, das seinerseits von einem in rot ausgeführten Ornament, dem sog. 'laufenden Hund' – oder besser einem Wellenkammornament – auf weißem Grund gerahmt wird, wie ganz ähnliche Dekors auch in Kirchen dokumentiert sind.[68] Bemerkenswert erscheint dadurch die Tatsache, daß in den Thermen von den Künstlern damit prinzipiell dieselben Dekorationsmuster und auch Bildinhalte wiedergegeben wurden, die so auch bei den Kirchenfußböden begegneten. Diese scheinen allerdings bei den bisher bekannten Beispielen in den Thermen jedoch ganz auf profane dekorative Zusammenhänge wie Muster und Tierdarstellungen beschränkt zu bleiben.[69] Und dies, obwohl viele Thermen literarisch bekannt waren, die durchaus besonders in einem religiösen

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65 Vgl. Berger ebd. 72–78, 105 f.

66 J. Russell, Anemourion, in A. E. Laiou (ed.), The economic history of Byzantium. From the seventh to the fifteenth century. *DOS*, 39. Washington 2002, I 221–228 [auch Internet].

67 Vgl. dazu auch Berger ebd. 108–113.

68 Eine ganz ähnliche Rahmung wieder in der Kirche von Qabr Hiram bei Tyros im Libanon. Vgl. Baratte, Catalogue (wie oben Fußnote 25) Figs. 141–142

69 Vgl. dazu nun auch Collins/Zäh, Byzantinische Thermen (wie oben Fußnote 36) a. a. O.

Zusammenhang benutzt wurden und die neben den allen Ortens anzutreffenden Baptisterien und heiligen Quellen (den sog. Hagiasmata) von den Byzantinern als sog. heilige Bäder (Hagia Lusmata) bezeichnet wurden.[70]

Die bisher ergrabene Architektur zeugt hier von einem in Ansätzen für das römische und frühbyzantinische Kleinasien erforschten und schon herausgearbeiteten sog. 'Reihen'- und 'L-Typus', dessen charakteristisches Merkmal agglutinierende, langrechteckige Räume sind, die auf unterscheidlichste Arten angeordnet wurden.[71] Hier liegt wohl eine reine Doppelreihenform vor. Die frühbyzantinischen aber auch die verwandten frühomajadischen Bautypen lassen sich nun leicht aus der schon bestehenden kleinasiatischen und generell der reichsrömischen Thermenarchitekturtypologie ableiten.[72] Die neugebauten frühbyzantinischen Thermenanlagen erscheinen jedoch weniger ausgedehnt und erreichen nur selten, wie möglicherweise hier im Falle, der noch nicht erforschten Thermen 'B', die baulichen Ausmaße ihrer noch wesentlich monumentaleren und größeren römischen Vorläufer und sind sogar teilweise Überformungen römischer Bauten.[73]

Die Kleinfunde aus den Therme 'A' – Grabungen 2006

In den Grabungen 2006 wurden nur wenige Keramikscherben vom 5. bis zum 8. Jh. geborgen. Die Keramik ist allgemein verzierungslos und wurde offenbar lokal hergestellt. Es ist dabei auffällig, daß eine große Anzahl von Küchenkeramik, speziell Küchentöpfe gefunden wurde, deren Verwendungszweck in diesem Fundkontext bisher nicht klar zu definieren ist. Die meisten Keramikfunde sind grobe Küchenwaren weniger verschiedener Typen, es liegt also eine sehr begrenzte Keramiktypologie und -ware vor. Es ist noch auffälliger, daß es bisher scheinbar im frühbyzantinischen Hadrianupolis keine Importkeramik oder feine Waren gibt. Man bekommt damit den Eindruck, daß die täglich benutzten Waren weniger qualitätsvoll waren, als die in hoher Kunstfertigkeit hergestellten Mosaiken. Fast überhaupt keine Tonlampenfragmente wurden gefunden – auch keine glasierten. Neben der Keramik wurden allerdings zahlreiche Glasfragmente gesammelt, vom denen wir den Eindruck bekommen, daß das Fensterglas im byzantinischen Hadrianupolis

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70 Zur Beleuchtung der Thermen vgl. auch Berger ebd. 79–84.

71 Vgl. G. Huber, Hamaxia. Veröffentlichungen der Kleinasiatischen Kommission, 17. *Anzeiger der philos.-hist. Kl. der österr. Akad. Wiss.* 140 (2005) 50–51 (Typologische Übersicht). G. Huber, Syedra (Veröffentlichungen der Kleinasiatischen Kommission Nr. 6), *Anzeiger der philos.-hist. Kl. der österr. Akad. Wiss.* 129 (1992), 66 ff., Ab. 32–41. Russell, Anemourion (wie oben Fußnote 65) figs. 1, 4.

72 Vgl. nun auch Collins/Zäh, Byzantinische Thermen (wie oben Fußnote 36), figs. 14.1–5. Berger ebd., Pläne 1–3, 6.

73 Vgl. auch die West-Thermen auf Kos: Parrish, Early Byzantine mosaic workshop (wie oben Fußnote 27) Fig 5.

sehr intensiv Verwendung fand. Auch haben wir Öllampen aus Glas gefunden.[74]

Die Bronzefunde sind ebenso sehr zahlreich; ein Stück eines Kandelabers ist bisher das wichtigste bronzene Fundobjekt. Es sieht so aus, als daß es im frühbyzantinischen Hadrianupolis auch eine Werkstatt für Metalobjekte gegeben haben könnte.

Chronologie

Der Bau dieses Gebäudes könnte aufgrund des archäologischen Befundes im 5. Jh. begonnen haben. Der Grundriss dieser Anlage weist eindeutige spätrömische Charakteristika auf. Auch die Hypokaust-Anlage deutet auf eine recht frühe Entstehungszeit des Gebäudes. Die Münzfunde aus der Therme 'A' zeigen, daß die Therme mindestens bis zum Ende des 7. Jh.s durchgehend benutzt wurde.[75] Das Gebäude wurde dann möglicherweise im 8. Jh. nicht mehr weiter genutzt. Der Grund dafür konnte bislang nicht ermittelt werden. Bei den Grabungen wurden einige Kleinfunde wie Keramik, Glas, Metal, Münzen usw. gemacht, die bald publiziert werden sollen.

3.1 Die kunsthistorische Stellung der bisher gefundenen Mosaikböden

Es ist anzunehmen, daß diese herausrageneden Mosaiken mit zum Teil bisher ikonoraphisch einzigartigen Motiven von Meistern angefertigt wurden, die nicht aus Paphlagonien stammten. Die Frage möglicher Werkstattzusammenhänge anatolischer Mosaikböden der römischen und frühbyzantinischen Zeiten wurde erstmals von Sheila D. Campbell, ausgehend von den bedeutenden Funden in Kilikien u. a. aus Anemurion, aufgeworfen.[76] Diese Idee wurde nun wieder von David Parrish aufgegriffen, der aufgrund rein stilistischer Beobachtungen nachzuweisen glaubt, eine definitive und einflußreiche, frühchristliche 'Mosaikschule' hätte sich, im ägaischen Bereich, auf der Insel Kos befunden.[77]

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74 Vgl. zur Beleuchtung der Thermen Berger ebd. 107 f.

75 Zur langen Nutzungszeit der frühbyzantinischen Thermen bis in die mittelbyzantinische Zeit hinein und dem dauerhaften Bestehen der prominenten byzantinischen Badeorte, vgl. Berger ebd. 72–84. Vgl. auch die Fortsetzung der Verf. in *BZ* 102/2 (2009).

76 Campbell, Roman Mosaic workshops (wie oben Fußnote 22) 287 f. hebt den schlechten Kenntnisstand, auch besonders unserer Region, für die Kunstgeschichtsschreibung hervor und unterstreicht die Vorläufigkeit ihrer Aussagen.

77 Parrish, Early Byzantine mosaic workshop (wie oben Fußnote 27), ebd. Vgl. dazu auch J. Balty, Mosaïques antiques du Proche-Orient: Chronologie, iconographie, interprétation. *Annales littéraires de l'Université de Besançon/Centre de recherches d'histoire ancienne.* Paris 1995.



Textabb. 4: Mosaikenmuseum in Tunis aus: Thurburbo – Majus (4. Jh.).

Folgen wir diesem Gedanken unvoreingenommen, so könnte man durch die oben gemachten Vergleiche, besonders für Kirche 'A', eben gerade an ägäische (Kos, Knidos, Milet), aber auch an afrikanische Künstler (Tunesien, vgl. Textabb. 4) – für Kirche 'B' hingegen an eine nordsyrische Werkstatt oder Künstler gedacht werden, die in den dortigen frühchristlichen künstlerischen Zentren (etwa in der Provinz Osrhoëne mit seiner Hauptstadt Edessa ?) ausgebildet wurden und die zur Gestaltung der Mosaiken auf ihre traditionellen Musterbücher zurückgriffen. Gestiftet und in Auftrag gegeben wurden diese Arbeiten aber zu einem großen Teil von den Bürgern einer Stadt, wie es auch die Stiftungsinschriften zu verbürgen scheinen (vgl. Abb. 34).[78] Die Mosaiken aus Kirche 'A' und 'B' sowie aus den Therme 'A' zeigen jedoch weiterhin, daß die religiösen und öffentlichen Gebäude der Stadt Hadrianupolis während der frühbyzantinischen Epoche offenbar generell besonders reichhaltig und mit hochqualitativen und vor allem künstlerisch absolut gleichwertigen Fußbodenmosaiken ausgeschmückt waren. Man bediente sich des im ganzen Reich verbreiteten und immer wiederkehrenden Dekorationsrepertoires, das akribisch aus dem Formenkanon – und gewissermaßen dem Baukasten – der hellenistisch-römischen Ornamentvielfalt und Designvorstellungen[79] schöpfte und wählte Gesamtkompositionen, die allerdings inhaltlich im

[78] Ganz ähnlich wie im frühbyzantinischen Knidos an der türkischen Westküste. Hier stiftete eine gewisse Kleopatra die Mosaikausstattung der Hafenbasilika 'E'. Vgl. Love, Excavations (wie oben Fußnote 54) 418 mit Anm. 14, Ill. 3.

[79] Vgl. dazu nun auch besonders die neugefundenen Mosaike von Pergamon aus dem sog. Bau 'Z': W. Radt, Pergamon. Abschlußbericht über die Kampagnen 1999–2004. *AA* 2005, 86–87, Abb. 5–6, sowie die allegorischen Monats- und Jahreszeitendarstellungen aus Argos: G. Åkerström-Hougen, The calendar and hunting mosaics of the Villa of the

neuen Zusammenhang vor dem Hintergrund biblischer und alttestamentarischer Erzählmotive zu sehen sind[80] und offenbar – für die hier belegten Kompositionen – bewußt neu arrangiert wurden. Daß die, sicherlich nicht nur ausschließlich in Hadrianupolis belegte, frühbyzantinische Mosaikkunst Paphlagoniens und der Honorias, eine so hohe Perfektionsstufe erreichte, die durchaus an die des Heiligen Landes und anderer frühchristlicher Zentren in Syrien, Afrika der Ägäis und vor allem auch auf dem Balkan heranreichte und diese möglicherweise durch Werkstätten und an ihnen ausgebildete Künstler noch eine weit gößere regionale Verbreitung erfuhr, als dies bisher nur durch diese Funde belegt zu sein scheint, war bislang völlig unbekannt. Dies hat aber sicher mit der Bedeutung des Ortes als kirchliches Zentrum zu tun, die schon durch die kirchengschichtliche Überlieferung klar wird[81] und die den Ort nun, mit seinen neugefundenen Denkmälern, womöglich als ein Pilgerzentrum erscheinen läßt. An wirklich imperiale Monumentalmosaike, wie diese im Kaiserpalast von Konstantinopel belegt sind, reichen diese Arbeiten qualitativ jedoch nicht heran.[82] Möglicherweise rückt die Provinz Honorias-Paphlagonia dadurch, zumindest was die frühbyzantinische Mosaikkunst anbelangt, nun auch zukünftig in eine wichtige Brückenposition zum Balkan, der bisher diesbezüglich kunstgeographisch doch recht isoliert da stand.

Die Gebäude hätten ab der Mitte des 5. Jh.s oder in der ersten Hälfte des 6. Jh.s errichtet werden können. Die großflächigen Mosaikböden stammen wohl vom Ende des 5. oder aus dem 6. Jh.[83] Kirche ‘B’ weist durch die gefundenen zwei Mosaikstraten eine noch frühere Nutzungsphase (wohl eindeutig 5. Jh.) als Kirche ‘A’ auf. Zumindest Kirche ‘A’ wurde möglicherweise bis zum Anfang des 8. Jh.s genutzt, da eine Münze aus der Regierungszeit des – im übrigen – bilderfeindlichen Kaisers Leon III. im südlichen Seitenschiff gefunden wurde (Textabb. 2). Ob eine absichtliche Aufgabe der überreich mit Fußbodenbildern geschmückten Kirche ‘A’ vielleicht im Zusammenhang mit der ikonoklastischen Krise unter Kaiser Leon III. zu sehen ist, wäre denkbar, läßt sich aber nicht beweisen.

Außer diesen Kirchengebäuden findet man zahlreiche Kirchenarchitekturspolien in den umliegenden Dörfern. Es ist wegen diesen Fundstücken anzunehmen, daß in Hadrianupolis und seiner *Chora* noch zahlreiche andere Kirchen gelegen haben müssen, als bisher bekannt ist.

Falconer in Argos. Stockholm 1974; J. Ginouvès, La mosaïque des mois à Argos. *BCH* 81 (1957) 216–268.

80 Vgl. bes. Maguire, Paradise withdrawn (wie oben Fußnote 46).

81 Vgl. auch Belke, Paphlagonien (wie oben Fußnote 8) 118 f.

82 Vgl. bes. Trilling, Soul (wie oben Fußnote 22) 54–72.

83 Datierung ähnlicher Böden in Zaričin Grad und Stobi jetzt: 1. Viertel des 6. Jh.s, vgl. Popović, Mosaïques (wie oben Fußnote 34) 275.

4. Die *Chora*

Die *Chora* von Hadrianupolis wurde noch nicht genau erforscht und ihre genauen Grenzen, insbesondere in der frühbyzantinischen Epoche sind unbekannt, obwohl diese von Marek – relativ verbindlich – für die römische Epoche schon dargestellt wurden.[84] Bislang kennt man auch in Paphlagonien generell die Siedlungsausdehnung frühbyzantinischer Städte nicht. Es sieht jedoch so aus, daß das Umland von Hadrianupolis dicht besiedelt war, aber die einzelnen Siedlungen und Kritallisationspunkte von Siedlungen, genau wie im eigentlichen Stadtkern selbst, weit von einander entfernt gelegen haben. Im weiten Gebiet um die Polis scheint Hadrianupolis selbst die grösste Siedlung gewesen zu sein; die nächst größeren städtischen Nachbarorte von Hadrianupolis waren wahrscheinlich erst das südwestlich gelegene Kreteia-Flaviupolis, das südöstlich gelegene Gangra-Germanikupolis sowie das nordöstlich gelegene Pompeiupolis[85] (vgl. Textabb. 1).

Außer Hadrianupolis scheinen die ganzen weiteren Siedlungen in der *Chora* sehr klein gewesen zu sein, sodaß deren Siedlungscharakteristiken (Kleinstadt, Dorf, Dörfchen, Klöster und Weiler) noch nicht genau bestimmt werden konnten. Das Charakteristikum dieser Region in Südwestpaphlagonien ist, daß diese schon seit der hellenistischen Periode, ein dichtes aber gestreutes Siedlungsbild hat. Das heißt, zwischen den einzelnen Siedlungen lagen immer größere Entfernungen. In der frühbyzantinischen Epochen scheint sich dieses Bild nicht wesentlich verändert zu haben.

Wie schon oben erwähnt, könnte die Hauptwirschaftsquelle vieler dieser kleinen Siedlungen bei Hadrianupolis im Weinanbau gelegen haben, da wir bei den Prospektionen zahlreiche Weinpressen usw. gefunden haben. Die wichtigste dieser Siedlungen ist Örenarkası, eine frühbyzantinische Hügelsiedlung, ca. 5 km nordöstlich von Hadrianupolis. Hier wurden zahlreiche Weinproduktionsanlagen und profane Gebäude entdeckt.

Nur in wenigen umliegenden Siedlungen wurden bisher Reste von Kirchen gefunden. So auch in Haslı, in einem Dorf ca. 10 km nordöstlich von Hadrianupolis fanden wir sehr qualitätsvolle Teile einer sehr monumentalen frühbyzantinische Kirche, deren Reste in der Ortsmoschee sehr gut erhalten geblieben sind. Das Mauerwerk der Kirche hat sich bis heute unter der modernen Moschee erhalten.

Außer den Kirchen, Thermen und frühbyzantinischen Landhäusern (*villae*) findet man an der Oberfläche kaum eine nenneswerte monumentale Archi-

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[84] Marek, Stadt (wie oben Fußnote 1), Beilagen.

[85] Zu weiteren Orten der Umgebung, wie Safranbolu, Sora, Kimista, Karza, Endeira, Pelitçik, Potomia Cepora, Pazarköy, Karza, Burunsuz usw. vgl. besonders Belke, Paphlagonien (wie oben Fußnote 8) s.v. (auch die Karte).



Textabb. 5: Stadtkern, Hacıahmetler. Ambonplatte

tektur in der *Chora* von Hadrianupolis. Bemerkenswert ist insbesondere das Fehlen weiterer frühbyzantinischer Befestigungen in dem Gebiet, obwohl Hadrianupolis selbst starke Befestigungsmauern hat, deren genauer Errichtungszeitraum bisher unbekannt ist (7./8. Jh. n. Chr.?). Da in der *Chora* offenbar viele profane Gebäude mit Lehmziegeln und mit Holz gebaut wurden, sind deren Reste heute meistens verschwunden.

4.1 Architekturfundstücke und Funde vom Siedlungszentrum sowie aus der *Chora*

Bei den Geländebegehungen wurden diverse Funde dokumentiert, von denen die wichtigsten Funde hier kurz vorgestellt werden sollen.

4.1.1 Ambonplatte, Stadtkern – Hacıahmetler. Fundort: Eingang eines Dorfhauses in Hacıahmetler, ca. 2 km westlich von Kirche 'B'.

Maße: Länge: 130 cm; Breite: 65 cm; Dicke: 15 cm.
Material, Erhaltungszustand: rötlicher Porphyr; sehr gut erhalten.
Bemerkungen: In Hacıahmetler werden die kirchlichen Architekturteile häufiger; das ist ein möglicher Hinweis darauf, daß es in diesem Stadtteil des byz. Hadrianupolis noch weitere religiöse Gebäude zu finden wären. Vielleicht gehören diese Architekturteile, aber auch – aufgrund deren Nähe – in die erste Phase der Kirche 'B'.

4.1.2 Ionisches Kämpferkapitell (Abb. 39), Stadtkern – Hacıahmetler

Fundort: Hacıahmetler, in der südöstlichen Seite des Fundaments eines grossen türkischen Konaks eingemauert.
Maße: Länge: 79 cm; Höhe: 24 cm; Breite: 38 cm.
Material, Erhaltungszustand: Lokaler Kalkstein; sehr gut erhalten.
Beschreibung: Einfach gearbeitetes pronvinzielles Kämpferkapitell mit zwei Volutenspiralen.



Textabb. 6: *Chora*, Kapıcılar, Palmetten-Kapitell

Bemerkungen: Ein besonders ähnlich gearbeitetes Kämpferkapitell mit zwei Spiralvoluten war einst dem Atrium, der sog. *'crypt basilica'* von Caričin Grad zugehörig.[86] Damit 6. Jh. Hier ggf. noch später also 7. Jh. Mit dieser einfachen Art der Ausführung kann man davon ausgehen, daß das übrige Kunstschaffen in Hadrianupolis – im Gegensatz zur Mosaikkunst – spätestens mit dem 7. Jh. doch einen sehr prinziellen Charakter angenommen hat.

4.1.3 Schrankenplatte (Abb. 40), aus dem Stadtkern verschleppt – Beytarla

Fundort: Unbekannt; heute in Beytarla, 5 km südlich von Hadrianupolis, als Brunnenstein vor einem privaten Haus wieder verwendet (wahrscheinlich aus Kirche 'B' verschleppt).
Maße: Dicke: 21 cm; Breite: 78 cm; Höhe: 78 cm.
Material, Erhaltungszustand: Lokaler Marmor; sehr gut erhalten.
Bemerkungen: Mit Stiftungsinschrift: † ΥΠΕΡ ΕΥΧΗC ΚΟΜΗΤΟΥΔΟC.
Bemerkung: 6. Jh.

4.1.4 Palmetten-Kämpferkapitell (Abb. 38), aus dem Stadtkern verschleppt – Kapıcılar

Fundort: Unbekannt; heute in Kapıcılar, 4 km nördlich von Hadrianupolis, in Moscheegarten (wahrscheinlich aus Kirche 'A' verschleppt).
Maße: Breite: 48 cm; Höhe: 35 cm; Durchmesser: 30 cm.
Material, Erhaltungszustand: Wie die üblichen Architekturteile von Kirche 'A', lokaler marmorisierter Kalkstein; sehr gut erhalten.
Bemerkungen: Stilisiertes Blattdekor an der Kämpferzone (dieses Dekorationsmuster wurde auch bei einigen Kapitell-Fragmenten aus der Kirche 'A' ebenfalls festgestellt). Erstes Viertel des 6. Jh.s

86 Hoddinott, Early Byzantine churches (wie oben Fußnote 30) 209–211, Pl. 58.d.



Textabb. 7a: *Chora*, Kirche in Haslı. Ionisches Kämpferkapitell



Textabb. 7b: Dasselbe

4.1.5 Palmetten-Kapitell, *Chora* – Kapıcılar

Fundort: Unbekannt; heute in Kapıcılar, 4 km nördlich von Hadrianupolis, in einem Garten eines privaten Dorfhauses.
Maße: Höhe: 44 cm; Breite: 54 cm; Breite der Rillen: 8 cm; Durchmesser: 32 cm.
Material, Erhaltungszustand: Wie die üblichen Architekturteile, marmorisierter Kalkstein; sehr gut erhalten.
Bemerkungen: Eine zweites Kapitell, mit genau denselben Maßen und gleicher Dekoration steht neben diesem Fundstück. Wahrscheinlich aus Hadrianupolis verschleppt. Erste Hälfte des 7. Jh.s

4.1.6 Schrankenplatte (Abb. 41), *Chora* – Kirche in Haslı.

Fundort: Gefunden bei der Umbauarbeiten 1980 unter dem heutigen Dorfmoschee von Haslı, etwa 10 km nordöstlich von Hadrianupolis; heute am Dorfhauptplatz.
Maße: Länge: 140 cm; Breite: 97 cm; Dicke: 23 cm; Durchmesser des Medallions: 30 cm; Länge des Rahmens: 67 cm.
Material, Erhaltungszustand: Lokaler Kalkstein; sehr gut erhalten.
Bemerkungen: Diese Blöcke sind gute Hinweise auf die Existenz einer frühbyzantinischen Basilika in Haslı. Erste Hälfte des 6. Jh.s



Textabb. 8: *Chora*, Dorf Boncuklar, Viertel Yahyalar. Kämpferkapitell



Textabb. 9: *Chora*, Örenarkası. Weinpresse

4.1.7 Ionisches Kämpferkapitell, *Chora* – Kirche in Haslı.

Fundort: Gefunden bei Umbauarbeiten, im Jahre 1980, unter der heutigen Dorfmoschee von Haslı, etwa 10 km nordöstlich von Hadrianupolis; heute am Dorfhauptplatz.
Maße: Länge: 76 cm; Breite: 53 cm; Höhe: 35 cm
Material, Erhaltungszustand: Lokale Kalkstein; sehr gut erhalten.
Bemerkungen: s. o. 4.1.6.

4.1.8 Ionisches Kämpferkapitell, *Chora* – Dorf Boncuklar, Viertel Yahyalar.

Fundort: Auf der Tür einer Dorfhaus von Ali Yaman in Dorf Boncuklar (etwa 15 km östlich von Hadrianupolis), Viertel Yahyalar eingemauert. Gefunden am Ort.
Maße: Tiefe: 52 cm; Breite: 80 cm; Höhe: 26 cm. Breite der Plinthen: 9 cm.
Material, Erhaltungszustand: Lokaler Kalkstein; sehr gut erhalten.
Bemerkungen: Interessant die unerklärlich weit vorstehenden langrechteckigen Ausarbeitungen oberhalb des Volutenpaars. In Yahyalar befand sich einst auch eine frühbyz. Siedlung. Erste Hälfte des 7. Jh.s.

4.1.9 Schraubgewicht für eine Weinpresse,[87] *Chora* – Örenarkası.

Fundort: In Örenarkası, in der Nähe eines antiken Weinguts; – *in situ.* Bei einer Raubgrabung ausgegraben und vor Ort gelassen.

Maße: L.: 74; Breite (variierend): 35 bis 38 cm; Höhe: 71 cm. Lochdurchmesser: 30 cm; Lochtiefe: 8 cm.

Material, Erhaltungszustand: Lokaler Kalkstein; sehr gut erhalten.

Beschreibung: Achteckiges Werkstück. Auf jeder Seite ein Verzierungsmuster u.a.: 1. Lateinisches Kreuz; 2. Drei Rosetten (in zwei Reihen) mit vier Blättern; 3. Zwei schematisierte Blumen in Vasen; 4. Helezonen; 5. Rosette mit sechs Blättern.

Bemerkungen: Erste Hälfte des 6. Jh.s.

5. Zusammenfassung, Ausblick und Perspektiven

Die bedeutenden Mosaikfunde machen deutlich, wie sehr die Region kunsthistorisch in der Spätantike entwickelt war und wie sehr, hier offenbar, ein etablierter *Code* und die Motivsprache einer einheitlichen spätantiken Reichskunst angewendet wurden – die eine weite Verbreitung gerade in die Provinzen erfuhr – und die offenbar in der Provinz Honorias-Paphlagonia auf einen fruchtbaren Boden fiel. Die Vergleiche ergaben nun bei dieser ersten Untersuchung große Parallelen im großsyrischen und afrikanischen, dem balkanischen, aber auch im kleinasiatischen Kunstraum selbst (Baptisteriumsmosaiken der Kirche im Asklepieion von Milet, Thermen bei Bodrum). Aus Honorias-Paphlagonia sind bisher nur geringe Kenntnisse der frühbyzantinischen Kunst auf uns gekommen, was den kunsthistorischen Wert der Mosaike noch erhöht. Zusammen mit der recht guten epigraphischen Forschungslage ergibt sich ein Bild eines überaus prosperierenden spätantiken und frühchristlichen Gemeinwesens, dessen genaue Ausdehnung noch nicht genau bestimmt ist und dessen topographische und archäologische Erforschung gerade erst begonnen hat. Besonders interessant erschiene die Unterscheidung und Identifizierung einzelner Örtlichkeiten innerhalb der *Chora*, auch im Sinne der begrifflichen Unterscheidung einzelner Siedlungspunkte, die zunächst als Kloster (μοναστήριον), kleines Kloster (μοναστηρίκιον[88]), Dorf (κώμη) und Weiler (χωρίον) galten. Später, in mittelbyzantinischer Zeit, wurde die Begrifflichkeit κώμη wohl durch den einst untergeordneten Begriff χωρίον

[87] Engl. *screw weight.* Vgl. M.-C. Amouretti/J.-P. Brun/D. Eitam, Production (wie oben Fußnote 17) 41, Fig. 1, Type 3; C. S. Lightfoot, Stone screw press weights, in C. S. Lightfoot (ed.), Amorium reports II: research papers and technical reports. *BAR International Series*, 1170. Oxford 2003, no. 4, 73–74, 78, Pl. V/10; und J. G. C. Anderson, A journey of exploration in Pontus. *Studia Pontica*, 1. Brüssel 1903, Abb. 1.

[88] Nur eine von zahlreichen nachweisbaren Varianten für den Namen dieser Klein-Siedlungsform, darunter findet sich z.B. auch die Bezeichnung τὸ μοναστηρίδιον. Vgl. E. Trapp (Hrsg.), Lexikon zur Byzantinischen Gräzität besonders des 9.–12. Jh.s. Wien 2005, 1037.

abgelöst.[89] Besonders wichtig erschiene in diesem Zusammenhang auch der zukünftige Nachweis mittelbyzantinischer Denkmäler.[90]

Es sieht so aus, daß Hadrianupolis – als Hauptort der ganzen *Chora* – während der frühbyzantinischen Epoche den Charakter einer bedeutenden lokalen frühbyzantinischen Polis hatte. Es ist durch die archäologischen Funde und Befunde nun jedenfalls absolut gesichert, daß die Stadt neben zahlreichen Kirchen über eine weitere noch monumentalere Architekturgattung mit den großen Thermenanlagen 'A' und 'B' verfügte. Von einer welkenden Stadt oder gar einem 'heruntergekommenen' Bild des Gemeinwesens in der Spätantike, und einer sog. 'Verländlichung', d.h. einer anderen, günstigeren kunsthistorischen Entwicklung ländlicher Regionen, wie dies Philipp Niewöhner für Aizanoi und dessen *Chora* in Phrygien, für diesen Zeitraum, aufgrund weniger Funde, mit einer wohl nicht haltbaren und verallgemeinbaren Theorie annehmen will,[91] kann in Stadt und *Chora* von Hadrianupolis, jedenfalls, schon aufgrund des bisher festgestellten außergewöhnlichen archäologischen Befunds, nicht die Rede sein. Dabei gilt es zu bedenken, daß die planmäßige Erforschung des riesigen Areals nun bisher erst an einem Anfange steht. Die Polis – wie die vor den Toren der Stadt gelegenen Siedlungen und Klosteranlagen (Kirche 'A' ?) weisen gleichermaßen, besonders von der Ausstattung her, eine hohe künstlerische Qualität auf, die das Niveau der im gesamten Imperium etablierten frühbyzantinischen Reichskunst erreichte. Es ergibt sich vielmehr für diesen Zeitraum der Eindruck eines blühenden Gemeinwesens

[89] Vgl. F. Hild, Appendix: Das Chorion Pidera. *JÖB* 56 (2006) 289–290.

[90] Eine der wenigen in dieser Region bekannten mittelbyzantinischen Kirchen ist die Kreuzkuppelkirchenruine bei Çeltikdere, vgl. Belke, Paphlagonien (wie oben Fußnote 8) 183, Abb. 22–23. R. Ousterhout/Y. Ötüken, The Byzantine church at Çeltikdere, in Borkopp/Schellewald/Theis, Studien (wie oben Fußnote 31) 85–92, figs. 1–11.

[91] Ph. Niewöhner, Welkende Städte in blühendem Land? Aizanoi und die Verländlichung Anatoliens im 5. und 6. Jh. n.Chr. Vorbericht über eine Untersuchung im Umland Aizanois. *AA* 2003, 221–228, vgl. besonders 222 (unten), 227 (unten). Nun erneut ausgebreitet in Ph. Niewöhner, Aizanoi, Dokimion und Anatolien. Stadt und Land, Siedlungs- und Steinmetzwesen vom späteren 4. bis ins 6. Jh. n.Chr. Wiesbaden 2007, 68, 105 f., 135 f. Die dort (S. 89) aufgestellte Behauptung, in frühbyzantinischen Städten hätten keine neu errichteten öffentlichen Bäder mehr und nur noch kleinere *balnea* existiert, ist m.E. obsolet. Thermen, wenn auch nicht mehr in monumentaler Größe, gehörten zum essentiellen Bestandteil dieser und vieler im 5. u. 6. Jh. neu gegründeter städtischer und sogar klösterlicher Siedlungen. Auch in Ala Kilise (Anastasiupolis?, Karien) existiert neben einem Kleinbad ein besonders stattlicher Thermenneubau des 6. Jh.s. Ein gut dokumentiertes Beispiel, das bis in die *dark ages* hinein benutzt und sogar erweitert wurde, findet sich in Amorium (Galatien), vgl. bes. E.A. Ivison, Amorium in the Byzantine Dark Ages (seventh to ninth centuries), in J. Henning (ed.), Post-Roman towns, trade and settlement in Europe and Byzantium, II: Byzantium, Pliska, and the Balkans. *Millennium-Studien* 5.2. Berlin 2007, 37–39 (Lit.), Figs. 7, 9. Vgl. ebenso Collins/Zäh, Thermen (wie oben Fußnote 36).

mit dessen Umland, das völlig stimmig inmitten der allgemein prosperierenden altchristlichen Kunstlandschaft des gesamten frühbyzantinischen Imperiums eingebettet war. Dieses kann genauso auch für andere kleinasiatischen Regionen, wie etwa für den kilikischen, karischen und lykischen Küstenbereich mit einer hohen Siedlungsdichte[92]und besonders auf dem Balkan nachgewiesen werden. Hier – wie dort – wurden besonders zahlreiche Siedlungen und Stadtanlagen in der Spätantike *ex novo* gegründet.[93]

Es ist erscheint nach den bisherigen Grabungsbefunden bewiesen, daß ab dem Anfange des 8. Jh.s die Besiedlung von Stadt und Umland schwächer wurde.[94] Dem Grund dafür soll auch in den kommenden Grabungskampagnen nachgegangen und ein besonderes Augenmerk geschenkt werden. Es bleibt weiterhin eine wichtige zukünftige Aufgabe, den Siedlungscharakter des spätrömischen sowie des byzantinischen Südwestpaphlagonien besser zu erschliessen. Hierbei muß ebenso an die Dokumentation einer möglicherweise nachweisbaren frühbyzantinischen, aber auch mittelbyzantinischen Wohnbebauung der einzelnen Stadtviertel und Siedlungspunkte gedacht werden.

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92 A. Zäh, Ergebnisse einer kunsthistorischen Forschungsreise in Anatolien. Nachträge zu den Bänden 4, 7 und 8 der Tabula Imperii Byzantini (Akrotērion, Leontópolis, Kalabatia, Apollōnia). *JÖB* 57 (2007) 225–287, 246 ff. Zäh, Säulen-Basilika (wie oben Fußnote 31). Collins/Zäh, Byzantinische Thermen (wie oben Fußnote 36); A. Zäh, Zur Entwicklung byzantinischer Küstensiedlungen im südwestlichen Kleinasien. *Quaderni friulani di archeologia* 13 (2003) 175–233. Huber, Hamaxia, und Huber, Syedra (wie oben Fußnote 70).

93 Etwa Iustiniana Prima (Zaričin Grad) für den Balkan: J.-P. Sodini, La contribution de l'archéologie à la connaissance du monde byzantin (IVe–VIIe siècles). *DOP* 47 (1993) 139–184. *ODB* 2 (1991) 1085, s.v. Justiniana Prima (A. Kazhdan u.a.). Hoddinott, Early Byzantine churches (wie oben Fußnote 30) 204–214. Zu Kleinasien vgl. besonders K. Belke, Prokops *de Aedificiis* (Buch V) zu Kleinasien. *Antiquité tardive* 8 (2000) 115–125, 122 f. In Nordafrika (Kyrenaika) erfolgt die Neugründung von Olbia als Theodorias durch Kaiser Iustinian zu Ehren des Jugend-Aufenthaltsortes seiner Gemahlin Theodora (vgl. oben, Kirche 'B', kunsthistorische Einordnung).

94 Zur städtebaulichen Stagnation, die anderen Ortes vor allem ab dem 7. Jh. zu beobachten ist, und der damit verbundenen Problematik vgl. auch M. Waelkens, Sagalassos und sein Territorium. Eine interdisziplinäre Methodologie zur historischen Geographie einer kleinasiatischen Metropole, in K. Belke/F. Hild/J. Koder/P. Soustal (Hrsg.), Byzanz als Raum. Zu Methoden und Inhalten der historischen Geographie des östlichen Mittelmeerraumes. *Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für die TIB*, 7. Wien 2000, 261–288, bes. 273–275: „Die Stadtentwicklung von Sagalassos". Zur Entwicklung in Amorium im 7.–8. und 9. Jh. vgl. jetzt besonders Ivison, Amorium (wie oben Fußnote 90) 25–60; C.S. Lightfoot, Trade and industry in Byzantine Anatolia – the evidence from Amorium. *DOP* 61 (2007) 269–286.

PSELLO DISCEPOLO DI STETATO

FREDERICK LAURITZEN / VENEZIA

Michele Psello (1018–1081?)[1] fu un seguace fedele del celebre Niceta Stetato (XI secolo),[2] mentre Giovanni Italo (XI secolo)[3] fu uno studente capace, ma distratto dalla sua autostima. Questi tre personaggi assurgono ad un ruolo imponente nella vita intellettuale di Bisanzio, dove si considerava che la realtà trascenda sia la teologia che la filosofia. Proprio per questo motivo, infatti, teologi e filosofi bizantini collaborarono e si confrontarono sulla corretta interpretazione della verità. Il detto del contemporaneo occidentale Pier Damiani (1007–1072), *philososophia ancilla theologiae*, non è appropriato per interpretare il rapporto tra queste discipline nella Costantinopoli dell'undicesimo secolo.[4] La scissione tra metodo e obbiettivi delle materie offuscherebbe uno dei principali dibattiti intelletuali a Bisanzio, di cui Psello è un esponente di spicco. Egli indica chiaramente che bosogna allineare la speculazione teologica e filosofica:

> Ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστιν ἡμᾶς, οἷς τὸ τῆς φιλοσοφίας ὄνομα κέκληται, φιλοσόφως τῷ λόγῳ προσβῆναι καὶ τὸν ἐγκεκρυμμένον τῇ θεολογίᾳ διερευνήσασθαι νοῦν. φιλοσοφίας γὰρ κορυφαιότατον ἡ θεολογία μέρος (Psello, Theologica 75.8–11 Westerink).
>
> Noi, a cui appartiene il termine di filosofia, dobbiamo affrontare la questione filosoficamente e ricercare il significato segreto insieme alla teologia. Infatti la parte principale della filosofia è la teologia.

Psello afferma che la teologia fa parte della filosofia, e che le due materie sono unificate dall'oggetto di analisi. In questo senso non è possibile subordinare una materia all'altra, mentre è necessario indirizzare l'attenzione al fine della ricerca. Nella critica moderna sono sorte posizioni apparentemente inconciliabili nel tentativo di definire il ruolo di Psello, tuttavia escludendone il contesto culturale specifico. Perikles Ioannou lo ha definito 'weiblich' (femminile) in contrasto a Giovanni Italo, considerato quale esempio di filosofo

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1 Le edizioni di Psello adoperate per questo lavoro sono quelle di D. J. O'Meara, Michael Psellus Philosophica Minora vol. II. Lipsia 1989; L. G. Westerink, Michaelis Pselli Theologica vol. II. Lipsia 2002, e S. Impellizzeri, Imperatori di Bisanzio, La Cronografia di Michele Psello. Milano 1984. Per una bibliografia generale si veda l'ormai indispensabile P. Moore, Iter Psellianum. Toronto 2005.

2 L'edizione di Stetato adoperata è quella di J. Darrouzès, Nicétas Stéthatos, Opuscules et Lettres. Paris 1961.

3 L'edizione di Italo adoperata è quella di P. Ioannou, Questiones Quodlibetales. Ettal 1956. Si veda anche l'edizione di N. Ketschakmadze, Ioannis Itali Opera. Tbilisi 1966.

4 A. Cantin, Pier Damiani De Divina Omnipotentia. Paris 1972.

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non asservito all'autorità ecclesiastica.[5] D'altro canto Christian Zervos ha esaltato quello di Psello come un chiaro esempio di un pensiero che prende spunto dall'ortodossia e che lascia tracce importanti nella cultura bizantina successiva.[6] Entrambe queste analisi omettono di indentificare e studiare la natura del rapporto intelletuale tra Psello ed il massimo teologo contemporaneo, Niceta Stetato. Scilitza testimonia l'importanza di quest' ultimo agli inizi del regno di Costantino IX Monomaco (1042–1055):

> Παλλακευομένης γὰρ τῆς θυγατρὸς τοῦ Σκληροῦ τῷ βασιλεῖ οὐκ ὀλίγος ἦν γογγυσμὸς τοῦ τε δήμου καὶ τῆς συγκλήτου καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν καὶ δεσποινῶν. ὃν καὶ ὁ τηνικαῦτα ἐν μοναχοῖς διαπρέπων ὁ οὕτω Στηθάτος λεγόμενος ἐκώλυε μέν, ἤνυε δὲ οὐδέν. πάντῃ γὰρ ἥττητο τῆς ὥρας αὐτῆς ὁ βασιλεύς. ἦν δὲ ὁ Στηθάτος οὗτος ἀρετῆς εἰς ἄκραν ἐπιμελούμενος καὶ νηστείᾳ καὶ σκληραγωγίᾳ καὶ πάσῃ ἄλλῃ ἀρετῇ ἐντήκων τὸ σῶμα ἑαυτοῦ, ὡς καί ποτε τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας ἄσιτος διατελέσαι, μηδενὸς τὸ παράπαν ἐν τῷ μέσῳ γευσάμενος (Ioannes Scylitzes Synopsis Historion, Const. 9.7.28–34 Thurn).
>
> Si sparse una voce insistente tra il popolo, il senato, i monaci e le signore a proposito della figlia di Sclero, amante dell'imperatore. Il monaco più famoso di allora, soprannominato Stetato, lo contrastava, ma non lo condannava. Infatti l'imperatore era travolto dalla bellezza della donna. Stetato era estremantente virtuoso e metteva alla prova il suo corpo con il digiuno, una condotta rigorosa e con ogni altra virtù, tali che una volta rimase senza cibo per quaranta giorni senza gustare alcunchè nel frattempo.

La fama di Stetato non era dovuta solo al suo rigorismo etico, la sua abilità speculativa è illustrata dalla nomina a principale rappresentante della posizione di Costantinopoli contro l'emissario di Papa Leone IX (1049–1054), il cardinale Umberto, nel dibattito del 1054 che risulterà nella scissione tra chiesa ortodossa e cattolica.[7] Tali date confermano un *floruit* del teologo che coincide con la prima fama di Psello, nominato console dei filosofi nel 1047.[8] La concomitanza risulta importante per un ulteriore motivo. L'opera filosofica di Psello si trova nella scia della teologia di Stetato, come si può costatare nel *Philosophica Minora II.*[9] Gli opuscoli ivi contenuti trattano temi di psicologia, demonologia e teologia e sono di natura filosofica piuttosto che dogmatica. Per questo è ancora più sorprendente che una volta accostati Stetato ed Italo alle idee contenute nei trattati di Psello, la posizione ed il metodo di argomentazione si trovano allineati al pensiero del teologo e non a quello del suo discepolo. I tre trattati dove questa tendenza è più marcata sono: il 27, il 47, ed il 26.

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5 P. Ioannou, Christliche Metaphysik in Byzanz. Ettal 1956, 16.

6 Ch. Zervos, Michel Psellos un philosophe neoplatonicien du Xie siècle. Paris 1920, 221–251.

7 A. Michel, Humbert und Kerullarios. Quellen und Studien zum Schisma des XI. Jahrhunderts. Paderborn 1930.

8 J. Lefort, Rhétorique et politique: trois discours de Jean Mauropous en 1047. *TM* 6 (1976) 265–303.

9 O'Meara, Pselli Philosophica Minora II (sopra nota 4).

Il primo trattato (27) risponde ad un quesito riguardante il luogo in cui si troverà l'anima dopo la morte del corpo.[10] L'interlocutore si domanda se l'anima rimanga con il corpo dopo il decesso o se si trasferisca altrove.[11] Psello risponde che l'anima si stacca immediatamente dal corpo.[12] In questo si trova in sintonia con Stetato che polemizza contro quelli che credono che l'anima sia ancora collegata al corpo dopo la morte.[13] Il passo è sufficientemente complesso che un lettore (potrebbe trattarsi anche di Stetato stesso) ha aggiunto la seguente nota a margine:

Κατὰ θνητοψυχητῶν αἱρετικῶν λεγόντων συγκαθεύδειν τρόπον τινὰ μετὰ θάνατον σώματι τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ μηδὲ τῶν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς γενομένων ἐνταῦθα ἢ τῶν ἐκεῖθεν ἀνιαρῶν καὶ ἄλλως ἐχόντων αἰσθάνεσθαι, ὡς ὁ νέος ἀπομάντης καὶ σαγοπῶλός φησι, ὁ καλούμενος ψευδονύμως φιλόσοφος (Codex Angelicus fol. 249).

Contro gli eretici tnetopsichici che affermano che l'anima rimane in qualche modo con il corpo dopo la morte e che non coglie le cose che avvengono su di essa o che percepisce ciò che proviene dal corpo od in un'altra maniera, come dice il nuovo ciarlatano e venditore di sacchi, quello che falsamente si chiama filosofo.

In questo modo Psello e Stetato offrono lo stesso punto di vista sulla separazione del corpo e dello spirito dopo la morte. Dallo scolio al trattato del teologo, secondo Darrouzès, risulta che l'opinione alternativa era quella di Giovanni Italo.[14] Tale supposizione sembra confermata dal fatto che il sinodo del 1077, convocato per condannare le idee di Italo, proclamò tra gli altri anche il seguente anatema:[15]

Τοῖς τὴν μωρὰν τῶν ἔξωθεν φιλοσόφων λεγομένην σοφίαν προτιμῶσι καὶ τοῖς καθηγηταῖς αὐτῶν ἑπομένοις καὶ τάς τε μετεμψυχώσεις τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ψυχῶν· καὶ ὁμοίως τοῖς ἀλόγοις ζῴοις ταύτας ἀπόλλυσθαι καὶ εἰς τὸ μηδὲν χωρεῖν δεχομένοις, καὶ διὰ τούτων ἀνάστασιν καὶ κρίσιν καὶ τὴν τελευταίαν τῶν βεβιωμένων ἀνταπόδοσιν ἀθετοῦσιν, ἀνάθεμα (Synodikon Orthodoxiae 193–197 Gouillard).

Sia anatema a quelli che preferiscono la cosidetta saggezza vacua dei filosofi pagani ed anche a quegli insegnanti che li seguono e che credono nella metempsicosi delle

10 Un quesito simile si trova anche nel trattato 22, 23, 24. Problemi simili sono espressi nel trattato 14 dove si tenta di stabilire il ruolo dell'anima in relazione al corpo. Per una discussione generale dei problemi relativi all'anima si veda il 12.

11 Ἠπάτησαι καὶ αὐτὸς μετὰ τῶν πολλῶν οἰόμενος τὴν ψυχὴν ἐν τῇ τοῦ συνθέτου λύσει κατὰ βραχὺ τοῦ σώματος ὑπαναχωρεῖν (Psello Philosophica Minora II.27.102.18–19 O'Meara).

12 Ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἀχρόνως ἐπιλάμπει τῷ σώματι δίκην ἡλίου ἐξάπινα τὸν ἀέρα καταφωτίζοντος, κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον ἐκεῖθεν ἀφίπταται (Psello Philosophica Minora II.27.102.24–103.2 O'Meara).

13 Εἰκότως οὖν ὁ λόγος ἀπέδειξε μνημονεύειν μετὰ θάνατον τὴν ψυχὴν τῶν ὑπ' αὐτῆς πραχθέντων μετὰ σώματος ἐν παρούσῃ ζῶ καὶ νοερῶς ἐπαισθάνεσθαι τῶν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς γινομένων ἐνταῦθα παρά τινων καὶ μάρτυς ὁ ἐν φλογὶ τηγανιζόμενος πλούσιος, μεμνημένος τῶν αὐτοῦ ἀδελφῶν καὶ παρακαλῶν ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων τὸ αβραάμ (Stetato Trattato sull'Anima 74.6–12 Darrouzès).

14 Darrouzès, Nicétas Stéthatos (sopra nota 2) 21.

15 Edito da J.Gouillard, Le Synodikon de l'Orthodoxie. *TM* 2 (1967).

> anime umane o che queste finiscano allo stesso modo negli animali irrazionali e che poi proseguano nel nulla, ed anche a quelli che rifiutano la resurrezione dei corpi ed il giudizio e la ricompensa finale dei vivi.

Più di mezzo secolo più tardi, Anna Comnena conferma l'accusa rivolta a Italo di credere nella metempsichosi.[16] Sia Stetato che Psello credono che l'anima si separi immediatamente dalla corporeità. Italo invece propone uno schema per cui l'anima è forma pura, mentre il corpo è talmente inferiore che qualsiasi materia può essere adoperata dall'anima fino alla resurrezione finale. Italo propone la metempsicosi, come si evince da un suo ragionamento:

> Τοῦτό μοι νόει καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ῥηθείσης ἀπορίας· οὐ γὰρ τὸ ἡμέτερον εἶδος εἰς λέοντα μεταβαλεῖν ἢ κύνα ἢ εἰς ἕτερόν τι τῶν ἄλλων θηρίων, ἀλλ' ἡ ὕλη ἴσως, ἣν οὐκ ὂν ὁ λόγος ἀπέδειξεν· ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ εἶδός ἐστι τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ ἔσται τότε, οὔσης καὶ ὕλης τινὸς προσφόρου εἴδει τούτῳ, φανερὸν ὡς οὐκ ἂν εἴη ἕτερον διὰ τὴν τῆς ὕλης μεταβολὴν, ἐπεὶ μὴ ὂν ἐδείχθη, τὸ δὲ εἶδος ὄν, καὶ τὸ μεταβάλλον ἄρα μὴ ὂν ἔσται, τὸ δὲ ὂν οὐδαμῶς· καὶ τοῦτό ἐστι ἑκάστου ἡ οὐσία καὶ ὀντότης, ὡς εἴρηται· ἀναστήσεται ἄρα τὰ ἡμέτερα σώματα, καὶ οὐδὲν ἔσται τὸ κωλῦον διὰ τὸ μὴ ὡρισμένην τὴν ἐν αὐτοῖς ὕλην ὑπάρχειν (Italos Questiones Quodlibetales 86.135 Ioannou).
>
> Considera questo per me a proposito dell'aporia enunciata: infatti non è la nostra forma che si tramuta in leone, cane od un altro degli animali, ma forse è la materia, la quale il ragionamento ha dimostrato essere un non ente. Siccome la forma rimane uguale e tale rimarrà successivamente, se una materia è legata a questa forma, è chiaro che non sarebbe diversa a causa del mutamento della materia. Siccome si è dimostrato che [la materia è un] non ente, mentre la forma è un ente, ciò che muta sarà dunque un non ente, ed in nessun modo un ente. Questa è la sostanza e sussistenza di ciascuno, come è stato detto. Infatti i nostri corpi risorgeranno, e non ci sarà alcun ostacolo perchè ci sia una materia indefinita dentro di loro.

Un tale punto di vista non è accettato né da Psello né da Stetato che indicano che l'anima può essere collegata con un corpo solo.[17] Perciò quando questo muore l'anima vi si stacca immediatamente.

Il secondo trattato (47) si occupa del concetto di limite (*ὅρος*), collegato con il problema della morte. Sembra che il monaco che aveva posto il quesito lo abbia fatto in termini generici, mentre Psello ha risposto con una terminologia che richiama specificatamente Stetato. Il punto di convergenza principale è il presupposto che definisce il trattato:

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16 Quando Italo dovette ritrattare le sue credenze la scrittrice afferma: Ἠρνεῖτο δὲ καὶ τὰς μετεμψυχώσεις (Anna Comnena Alessiade 5.9.7.12 Leib).

17 In Psello la condanna è chiara: Ὥσπερ οὖν ἡ ἐνταῦθα διάφορος τῶν φιλοσοφησάντων κατάστασις τῆς ψυχῆς οὐκ ἠλλοίωσε τὴν φύσιν τοῦ σώματος, οὕτως οὐδὲ ὁ μέλλων αἰὼν ἀλλοιώσει τὸ ὄργανον, οὐδὲ ἡ ψυχὴ ἀκαταλλήλως ἕξει τῷ ἐξ ἀρχῆς οἰκείῳ αὐτῆς πλάσματι καὶ σκηνώματι, ἀλλ' ἀναλλοιώτως μὲν ἕξει τὸ σῶμα τοῦ σχήματος, προσφυὲς δὲ τῇ ψυχῇ ὄχημα ἔσται πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἀρρητοτάτων κατανόησιν (Psello Philosophica Minora II.15.76.9–14 O'Meara).

Οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀόριστον τῷ θεῷ, οὔτε ζωὴ οὔτε θάνατος, οὐ γένεσις, οὐκ οὐσία, οὔτε τῶν ὄντων οὔτε τῶν γινομένων οὐδέν. εἰ γὰρ δὴ τὸ θεῖον ὅρος ἐστὶ τοῦ παντός, πῶς δή τι τῶν πάντων ἐκείνῳ ἀοριστήσειε; (Psello, Phil. Min. II. 160.8–10 O'Meara).

Nulla è indefinito per Dio, né la vita, né la morte, né la generazione, né la sostanza, nessuno degli enti che sono e divengono. Infatti, se il divino è il limite di tutto, come potrebbe risultargli indefinito qualcosa?

Il nodo centrale è che Dio è il limite di tutto, presupposto espresso anche nel trattato *Limiti della Vita* di Stetato.[18] Psello e Stetato sono uniti su questo punto centrale, come lo è anche Giovanni Italo, che pur condividendo un tale principio, spiega che Dio non può essere la causa senza intermediari di tutto:

Ἔστω οὖν παρὰ θεοῦ πρότερον· καὶ ἡ ἀμέσως παρ' αὐτοῦ ἢ διὰ μέσων ἑτέρων· καὶ πᾶν τὸ ἐκ πλειόνων παρηγμένον αἰτίων εἶναι σύνθετον, καὶ ἁπλοῦν τὸ μὴ ἐκ τοιούτων. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἀμέσως παράγεσθαι φήσουσιν, εἰπάτωσαν πῶς ἔσται χεῖρον τῶν ὄντων· τὸ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου ἀμέσως, ὅθεν ὂν ἔστι καὶ αὔταρκες, ἢ δὲ ὕλη μὴ ὂν ἅμα καὶ ἔνδεια καὶ πενία παντελὴς καὶ στέρησις ὡς ἀληθῶς· εἰ οὖν τὸ ἀμέσως παραγόμενον, ὅμοιον ὂν πρὸς τὸ παράγον κακὸν, ἔσται καὶ ἀφ' οὗ παρῆκται κακὸν, καὶ τὸ πρώτων ἄρα τῶν ὄντων ὡσαύτως, καὶ ἔσχατον τὸ κάλλιστον· φανερὸν ἄρα ὡς οὐκ ἀμέσως ἡ ὕλη παρὰ θεοῦ παρῆκται, τοσούτων τῶν λόγων ἀκολουθούντων ἀτόπων. (Italos, Quaestiones Quodlibetales 145.6–14 Ioannou)

Si suppongano due possibilità per la derivazione da Dio: o deriva da Dio senza intermediari o tramite altre entità mediatrici. Si supponga che tutto ciò che è causato da cause molteplici è composto, e che è semplice ciò che non deriva da tali cause. Dunque se affermeranno che è causato senza intermediari, che spieghino come sarà l'inferiore degli enti. Infatti ciò che deriva dal Primo senza intermediari, è dunque ente e autosufficiente, però la materia è allo stesso tempo non ente, necessità, penuria completa e vera mancanza; dunque se ciò che è causato senza intermediari, sarà simile al male che lo causa e dal quale è reso malvagio, e perciò lo saranno anche i primi enti allo stesso modo e alla fine il migliore; dunque è palese che la materia non è causata senza intermediari da Dio, poichè assurdità derivano dal ragionamento.

Questo punto di vista non è condiviso né da Stetato né da Psello che adottando lo stesso principio, lo sviluppano in un altro senso e si preoccupano di come rendere autonoma la volontà e liberarla dalla causalità di Dio. Infatti sia Stetato che Psello hanno un unico obbiettivo: scardinare le argomentazioni a favore della predestinazione. Il problema è se Dio definisce ogni limite, allora definisce anche le azioni della vita umana ed il limite di essa. Psello propone la seguente soluzione:

Ἃ πάντα οἶδε μὲν ὡρισμένως ὁ θεός, ἐκεῖνα δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτῶν φύσιν τὴν ἐνέργειαν ἔχουσιν. (Psello Philosophica Minora II.162.27–29 O'Meara).

Tutto quello che Dio conosce per definizione, opera secondo la propria natura.

[18] Οὗτος ἄρα μόνος ἀόριστος, ὁρίζων τὰ πάντα ἐν ἑαυτῷ καὶ ὑπερεκπίπτων πᾶσαν κατάληψιν (Niceta Stetato, Limiti della Vita 2.10–12 Θ).

Per Psello la natura umana è autonoma ma non indipendente da Dio.[19] Con una tale risposta pensa di aver evitato la trappola della predestinazione. Anche Stetato risponde alla domanda se i limiti della vita umana siano fissati da Dio, spiegando che ciò che deriva direttamente da Dio è oltre la comprensione umana.[20]

> Εἴ τι οὖν ἐμοὶ πείθῃ, ὁ τὰ ὑπὲρ κατάληψίν σου νοεῖν ἐκζητῶν καὶ εἰς οὐδὲν κενεμβατῶν χρήσιμον, τοὺς παραχαράκτας τῆς ἀληθείας καταλιπών, τοὺς τὰ θεῖα παρεξηγουμένους λόγια νοῒ ἀφανεῖ καὶ στρεβλοῦντας τὰ τῆς θείας γραφῆς, ἕπεσθαι προθυμότερον σπεῦδε τοῖς θείοις πατράσι καὶ διδασκάλοις τῆς ἐκκλησίας χριστοῦ. (Stetato Limiti della Vita 47.1–6 Darrouzès)
>
> Se credi a me in qualcosa, tu che tenti di comprendere ciò che è al di sopra della tua comprensione e divaghi verso ciò che è inutile, lascia perdere quelli che deformano la verità, interpretando i testi sacri con un pensiero oscuro e stravolgendo il significato della Bibbia. Sbrigati a seguire con ardore maggiore i santi padri e dottori della chiesa di Cristo.

Sia Stetato che Psello indicano la compresione e l'azione umana legata all'autonomia della natura dell'uomo. È notevole che Stetato indichi che il problema della predestinazione trae origine da falsificatori della verità.[21] Costoro prendono spunto dalla lettera della Bibbia e ne derivano conslusioni errate.[22] Tale critica appare in un anatema rivolto a Italo nel Synodikon dell'Ortodossia:[23]

> Τοῖς μὴ πίστει καθαρᾷ καὶ ἁπλῇ καὶ ὁλοψύχῳ καρδίᾳ τὰ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν καὶ Θεοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀχράντως αὐτὸν τεκούσης δεσποίνης ἡμῶν καὶ θεοτόκου καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἁγίων ἐξαίσια θαύματα δεχομένοις, ἀλλὰ πειρωμένοις ἀποδείξεσι καὶ λόγοις σοφιστικοῖς ὡς ἀδύνατα διαβάλλειν, κατὰ τὸ δοκοῦν αὐτοῖς παρερμηνεύειν καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν γνώμην συνιστᾶν, ἀνάθεμα. (Synodikon Orthodoxiae 209–213 Gouillard)
>
> Sia anatema a quelli che non accettano con fede pura e semplice e con cuore sincero gli straordinari miracoli del Salvatore nostro e di Dio e della nostra Signora che immacolata lo partorì, ma tentano di scardinarli dicendo che sono impossibili con dimostrazioni e argomenti sofistici o cercano di mistificarli contro l'opinione accettata e di stabilirli secondo il proprio criterio.

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19 La stessa soluzione è proposta nei trattati 44, 46 specificatamente dedicati al problema. Un problema analogo è presente nel trattato 45 che però tratta della preveggenza dei demoni.

20 Pier Damiani nella Divina Comedia risponde allo stesso modo: La mente che qui luce in terra fumma; / onde riguarda come può là giùe | quel che non pote perchè 'l ciel l'assumma. (Dante, Divina Commedia, Paradiso, XXI 100–102).

21 Παραχαράκτας τῆς ἀληθείας (Niceta Stetato Limiti della Vita 47.2–3 Darrouzès).

22 Τούς τε θεῖα παρεχηγουμένους λόγια νοῒ ἀφανεῖ καῖ στρεβλούντας τὰ τῆς θεῖας γραφῆς (Niceta Stetato Limiti della Vita 47.3–4 Darrouzès).

23 Tale critica è ripetuta da Anna Comnena contro Giovanni Italo: Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀπαιδευσίαν κρύπτειν οὐχ οἷός τε ἦν, κἀκεῖσε ἔκφυλα τῆς ἐκκλησίας δόγματα ἐξηρεύξατο καὶ εἰς μέσους τοὺς τῆς ἐκκλησίας λογάδας κωμῳδῶν οὐκ ἐπαύετο καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ ποιῶν ἤθους ἀπαιδεύτου καὶ βαρβαρικοῦ (Anna Comnena, Alessiade 5.9.5.7–11 Leib).

Il passo sopra citato di Giovanni Italo è un chiaro esempio di elaborazione logica di una supposizione. Ciononostante la divergenza tra Italo da una parte e Stetato e Psello dall'altra non è formale ma è di sostanza e dovuta alla diversa concezione del limite dell'attività divina. Per Italo questa è confinata negli ambiti superiori della realtà. Stetato e Psello non pongono un limite all'attività divina[24], ma tentano solamente di difendere la loro posizione dalla trappola della predestinazione.

Il terzo trattato (26) indica che il male non ha sussistenza propria. Psello spiega che nulla di ciò che viene dal creatore è negativo.[25] A questo punto di vista Stetato dedica la conclusione del trattato sui limiti:

> Τί δέ σοι προσέστη σοφῷ ὄντι το οὐ κακὸν τὸ κακὸν περὶ οὗ ἐν περὶ προνοίας μοι λόγῳ πεφιλοσόφηται; κακοῦ γὰρ μὴ ὄντος ἐν ὅλοις τοῖς ποιήμασι τοῦ θεοῦ, ποῦ κακὸν; κακὸν οὐδὲν οὖν καὶ ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ποιήμασι τοῦ θεοῦ, ἵνα τὸ κακὸν ὡς κακὸν θεωρῆται, ἀλλὰ καλὰ τὰ πάντα λίαν· καὶ ὁ μάρτυς ἐν οὐρανοῖς πιστὸς. εἰ δὲ τὰ πάντα καλὰ φύσει, κακοῦ ἐν τοῖς οὖσι μὴ ὄντος, οὐ κακὸν τὸ κακόν, ἀλλὰ κακὸν τὸ παρὰ τὴν ἰδίαν φύσιν κινούμενον. ἄρα φύσει τὰ πάντα καλὰ καὶ οὐδαμοῦ τὸ κακὸν, οὐδὲ κακὸν τὸ κακὸν (Stetato Limiti della Vita 46.1–10 Darrouzès).
>
> Perchè ti ha offeso, tu che sei saggio, l'idea che ho elaborato nel mio trattato sulla provvidenza che il male non è male? Visto che non esiste il male tra tutte le creature di Dio, dov'è il male? Dunque nessun male esiste tra tutte le creature di Dio, in modo che si consideri il male male, ma è estremamente buono sotto ogni punto di vista. E ne è testimone il fedele in paradiso. Se tutto è buono per natura e non c'è male in ciò che esiste, il male non è male, ma il male è ciò che si muove per natura propria. Dunque tutto è buono di natura ed il male non esiste in alcun luogo, né il male è male.

Psello segue la traccia di Stetato indicando che il male deriva dalla mescolanza scorretta degli elementi i quali non sono malvagi in sè. Italo è perplesso da un tale punto di vista e vi dedica una breve analisi:

> Πῶς οὖν εἰ τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἀντικεῖται τῷ κακῷ, ἔστι δὲ οὐσία τὸ ἀγαθὸν, οὐχὶ καὶ τὸ ἀντικεῖμενον; εἰ γὰρ ἔστι μὲν τὸ ἀγαθὸν, τὸ δὲ κακὸν οὐ, πρός τι δύναται ἀντικεῖσθαι, τοῦ ἀντιδιαιρουμένου αὐτοῦ μήτε ὄντος, μήτε πρὸς τοῦτο λέγεσθαι δυναμένου; τοῦτο γὰρ ἄτοπον; πῶς δὲ ἡ ἀντιδιάρεσις ἀληθὴς ἔσται, τὸ ἀντικεῖσθαι τὸ ἀγαθὸν τοῦ κακοῦ, τοῦ μὲν ὄντος, τοῦ δὲ μὴ ὄντος; (Italos Questiones Quodlibetales 59.80–81 Ioannou).
>
> Allora se il bene è opposto al male, ed il bene è un ente, come è possibile che non sia un ente il suo opposto? Infatti se il bene esiste, ed il male non esiste, a cosa si può oppore, se non esiste per definizione l'opposto, né ci si può referire a questo? Non è strano? Come può essere vera l'opposizione, l'opporre il bene al male, tra una cosa che esiste e qualcosa che non esiste?

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[24] Tale principio in filosofia si chiama "la regola di Proclo". Si veda A.C. Lloyd, The Anatomy of Neoplatonism. Oxford 1988, 106–107.

[25] Οὐ τοίνυν παρὰ τῷ δημιουργῷ ἡ κακία, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τὰς τῆς ψυχῆς ἡμῶν αἱρέσεις τὴν ἀνύπαρκτον, ἵν' οὕτως εἴποιμι, ὕπαρξιν εἴληχε (Psello Philosophica Minora II.102.14–16 O'Meara).

Italo crede all'esistenza assoluta del male e sembra identificarlo con ciò che è irrazionale. Psello non condivide questo punto di vista[26], mentre Italo lo elabora chiaramente:

> Τὸν δὲ λογισμὸν τίς οὐκ ἂν ἐπιστήσειε τῶν συνετῶν ὡς ἀγαθόν τι χρῆμα καὶ θαυμαστὸν; τῶν γὰρ ἀρχομένων δεδειγμένων ἀγαθῶν, θυμοῦ τε λέγω καὶ ἐπιθυμίας, ἀνάγκη καὶ τὸν τούτων ἄρχοντα ἀγαθὸν ἀποφαίνεσθαι καὶ μακάριον· οὕτω γὰρ αἱ τῆς ψυχῆς δυνάμεις τοῦ λογισμοῦ ἐπιστασί ῥυθμιζόμεναι, ἀρετὰς ἔχειν λέγονται ὑπὸ τῶν παλαιῶν. καὶ εἰ μέχρι τούτου ἡ τούτων αὐτῶν ἔστη κίνησις, οὐδ' ἂν ἦν ὅλως ἐν ἡμῖν τὸ κακὸν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ διφυής ἐστι ἡμῶν ἡ φύσις καὶ δισπρόσωπος καὶ τὴν ἐπ' ἄμφω ῥοπὴν κεκτημένη, οὐ μόνον καθ' ἃς ἔδει καὶ πολιτεύεσθαι δυνάμεις ἐνήργησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἀντικειμένας· διὸ καὶ ἀρετῆς ἡμῖν ἐδέησε τοῖς τὰ τοιαῦτα πάθουσιν ἢ μᾶλλον εἰπεῖν καθ' ἕκαστον πάσχουσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ μοχθηροῦ καὶ ἀπίστου σώματος (Italos Questiones Quodlibetales 63.72–83 Ioannou).
>
> Chi non potrebbe essere a conoscenza del ragionamento dei saggi che il bene è qualcosa di meraviglioso? Infatti avendo dimostrato che i principi sono positivi, intendo la mente e la volontà, è necessario dimostrare che anche il loro principio è buono e benedetto. Infatti le attività dell'anima sono scandite in tal maniera dalla conoscenza del ragionamento che gli antichi dicono che hanno virtù. E se la loro attività si fosse limitata solo fino a questo punto, il male non sarebbe stato affatto tra noi. Poichè la nostra natura è duplice e ha due aspetti ed è equilibrata da entrambe, essa agiva non solo secondo quelle attività necessarie per vivere, ma anche secondo quelle opposte. Per questo motivo ci fu necessaria la virtù per noi che abbiamo subito tali eventi o per meglio dire che soffriamo per ciascuna cosa a causa di un corpo commiserevole e inaffidabile.

Mentre il concetto della sussitenza autonoma del male è stata difesa in diversi momenti della storia della filosofia e del cristianesimo, il relegare il male ad una posizione relativa è una tesi rara e perciò dimostra che Psello fu effetivamente un seguace di Stetato anche su questo punto.

Non deve sorprendere la comunanza di visione tra Stetato e Psello e la loro opposizione condivisa alle idee di Italo. Entrambi avevano preferito attingere le loro idee da letture molto simili. Il teologo ha una caratteristica di fondo che lo definisce e lo contraddistingue dal suo maestro, Simeone il nuovo Teologo (949–1022).[27] Legge e cita ripetutamente Dionigi l'Areopagita, il cui sistema, come è stato scoperto da Stiglmayr e Koch, è fondato su quello del neoplatonico Proclo[28], il filosofo prediletto da Psello.[29] Inoltre Psello aveva notato la comunanza delle idee dell'Areopagita e Proclo:

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26 Ἠρώτησας ἐν τίσιν ὑφέστηκε τὸ κακόν. ἄλλος μὲν οὖν εὐθὺς ἂν ἀπεκρίθη σοι ὡς ἐν τοῖς ἀλόγοις ἐν ἡμῖν πάθεσιν, οἷον θυμῷ καὶ ἐπιθυμίᾳ (Psello Philosophica Minora II. 101.24–25 O'Meara).

27 Si veda H. Alfeyev, Symeon the New Theologian and the Orthodox Tradition (Oxford 2000).

28 H. Koch, Proklus als Quelle des Pseudo-Dionysius in der Lehre vom Bösen. *Philologus* 54 (1895) 438–454; J. Stiglmayr, Der Neuplatoniker Proklos als Vorlage des sog. Dionysius Areopagita in der Lehre vom Übel. *Historisches Jahrbuch* 16 (1895) 253–273 and 721–748.

> Τοῦτο δὲ τὸ κεφάλαιον πρότερον μὲν τῷ Ἀρεοπαγίτῃ Διονυσίῳ πλατύτερον διερμήνευται, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ τῷ Λυκογενεῖ Πρόκλῳ συλλογιστικῇ μεθόδῳ ἠκρίβωται. (Psello Philosophica Minora II 35.118.30–119.3 O'Meara)
>
> Questo principio fu spiegato più ampiamente prima da Dionigi l'Areopagita, successivamente è stato affinato col metodo sillogistico da Proclo Licio.

D'altro canto Giovanni Italo sembra più interessato a discussioni di pura logica, perciò si riferisce spesso ad autori come Ammonio.[30] Inoltre sembra avere una preferenza per Damascio il che spiegherebbe la sua difesa della sussitenza del male[31] ed il suo interesse per la mediazione del potere divino.[32]

Dunque i tre trattati discussi dimostrano che Psello segue le tracce stabilite da Stetato e che allo stesso tempo sia il teologo che il filosofo si trovano in disaccordo con Giovanni Italo. Per quanto riguarda la metodologia, Psello si avvicina al suo discepolo. Entrambi utilizzano l'autorità della filosofia classica per raggiungere le proprie conclusioni, mentre Stetato si riferisce ad un'autorità esclusivamente cristiana. D'altra parte Stetato e Italo hanno in comune l'abilità di partire da presupposti condivisi e di sviluppare idee nuove. Nel caso di Italo ciò sfociava nella creazione di nozioni eretiche[33], mentre Stetato ha dato fondamento a sviluppi successivi in teologia.[34] Psello invece si trova a partire da presupposti condivisi per giungere a conclusioni anch'esse condi-

29 Ἐντεῦθεν οὖν ὁρμηθεὶς αὖθις ὥσπερ περίοδον ἐκπληρῶν ἐς Πλωτίνους καὶ Πορφυρίους καὶ Ἰαμβλίχους κατῄειν, μεθ' οὓς ὁδῷ προβαίνων εἰς τὸν θαυμασιώτατον Πρόκλον ὡς ἐπὶ λιμένα μέγιστον κατασχὼν, πᾶσαν ἐκεῖθεν ἐπιστήμην τε καὶ νοήσεων ἀκρίβειαν ἔσπασα (Psello Cronographia 6.38.1–5 Impellizzeri).

30 Ioannou ha trovato i seguenti riferimenti ad Ammonio di Ermia (5° secolo) In Isagogen 1.1, 2.1, 4.2, 6.1, 7.4–7, 8.10–13, 9.7, 11.5–1–4–5, 14.3–4, 15.2–5, 17.2. 20.1, 26.3, 29.1, 31.6, 38.1–2–3, 39.6, 47.1, 79.1, 81.3, 82.11, 85.2, 93.26, 98.4, 101.1–2, 126.2, 133.2; in Interpretationem 6.3, 35.22, 55.2, In Analytica Priora 17.2, 17.3, 18.4–6.

31 Πᾶσα γὰρ ἡ ἀπουσία καὶ ἡ τοιαύτη στέρησις ἐν ὕλῃ ἐστὶν ἢ ἐν ψυχῇ· ἐν νῷ δὲ πῶς ἂν εἴη, ἐν ᾧ πάντα πάρεστιν; ἐν δὲ τῷ νοητῷ πώς ἐστι μᾶλλον, εἰ μίαν ἄρα στέρησιν καλοῖμεν κατὰ τὸ κρεῖττον, ὡς τὸ μὴ εἶδος, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ὑπερείδεον, καὶ τὸ μὴ ὄν, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ὑπερούσιον, καὶ τὸ μηδέν, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τὸ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἄγνωστον κατὰ τὴν πάντων ὑπεροχήν (Damascio, De principiis 1.13.11–15 Ruelle)

32 Διὰ τί γὰρ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων εἰσὶ πάντων μεσότητες κατὰ πρόοδον ὅλῳ γένει διαφερόντων, οὐχὶ δὲ καὶ ὑπερουσίου καὶ οὐσίας ἢ ἑνὸς καὶ ὄντος; ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ <Πλάτων>, ὡς ἔοικε, τοῦτο συνεωρακὼς ἐν <Παρμενίδῃ> κέκληκεν αὐτὸ οὔτε ἓν οὔτε ὄν, ἀλλ' ἓν ὂν τὸ ὅλον δὶ ἀπορίαν τοῦ προσρήματος οἰκείου, ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων τὸ μέσον παραστῆσαι βουλόμενος, ὡς καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν μέσην οὖσαν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐφ' ἑκάτερα παρακειμένων γνωρίζει, μεταξὺ λέγων αὐτὴν τῆς τε ἀμερίστου καὶ τῆς περὶ τὰ σώματα μεριζο μένης οὐσίας, καίτοι μία καὶ αὐτὴ φύσις, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων, ὡς δοκεῖ, συντιθεμένη (Damascio, De principiis 1.144.15–23 Ruelle).

33 Per una discussione generale del problema si veda L. Clucas, The trial of John Italos and the crisis of intellectual values in Byzantium in the eleventh century (Monaco di Baviera 1981). Per i documenti relativi si veda Gouillard, Le Synodikon (sopra nota 15).

34 A. Rigo, Il monaco, la chiesa e la liturgia, I capitoli sulle gerarchie di Gregorio il Sinaita (Firenze 2005) 38–43.

visibili. La sua abilità stava nella metodologia. Psello riuscì ad utilizzare argomenti inaspettati per raggiungere punti di vista entro i limiti stabiliti. Si pensi all'introduzione di strumenti concettuali nuovi ed eleganti, come gli oracoli caldaici. Infine, si aggiunga che Stetato fu l'unico dei tre realmente conosciuto all'epoca. Ci sono quattro indizi della fama del teologo. Lo storico Scilitza si riferisce a lui come 'ben noto',[35] e questo non può essere dovuto solo al suo rigorismo etico ma forse anche al fatto che era abate del monastero dello Studio.[36] Il trattato sulla *Gerarchia* di Stetato stesso sembra essere stato scritto per un ricevimento ufficiale da come si evince dal prologo dedicato al banchetto dei presenti.[37] La sua nomina a rappresentare la posizione Ortodossa nel 1054 illustra chiaramente il riconoscimento della sua fama speculativa.[38] Infine non bisogna sottovalutare il Synodikon dell'Ortodossia che fu modificato per la prima volta dalla sconfitta dell'iconoclasmo per incorporare le tesi esperesse dal teologo. Perciò Niceta Stetato era una figura pubblica e riconosciuta. Al contrario, i testi di Psello ed Italo sono indirizzati a singoli lettori, e perciò sembrano limitati ad una ristretta cerchia di intellettuali. Non bisogna credere troppo a Psello quando dice che la vita intellettuale era cambiata dai tempi di Basilio II:

> Ὅθεν καὶ θαυμάζειν μοι ἔπεισιν, ὅτι οὕτως τοῦ βασιλέως κατολιγωροῦντος τῆς περὶ τοὺς λόγους σπουδῆς, οὐκ ὀλίγη φορὰ φιλοσόφων καὶ ῥητόρων κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους ἐγένετο· μίαν δὲ λύσιν εὑρίσκω τῆς ἀπορίας μου καὶ τοῦ θαύματος ἀκριβεστάτην, ὡς εἰπεῖν, καὶ ἀληθεστάτην, ὅτι μὴ πρὸς ἄλλο τέλος τοὺς λόγους οἱ τότε ἄνδρες μετεχειρίζοντο, ἀλλ' ἐσπούδαζον περὶ αὐτοὺς ὡς αὐτοτελεῖς· ἀλλ' οἱ πολλοὶ παρὰ τὴν παίδευσιν οὐχ οὕτω βαδίζουσιν, ἀλλὰ τὸ χρηματίζεσθαι εἰς πρώτην αἰτίαν τῶν λόγων ἀναφέρουσι, μᾶλλον δὲ διὰ τοῦτο τὰ περὶ τοὺς λόγους σπουδάζουσι, κἂν μὴ εὐθὺς τὸ τέλος προσῄει, ἀφίστανται τῆς ἀρχῆς (Psello, Chronographia 1.29.14–25 IMPELLIZZERI)
>
> Perciò mi viene di meravigliarmi che, mentre l'imperatore disprezzava l'attività intellettuale, in quel tempo sorse una schiera non piccola di filosofi e retori. Trovo una

35 παλλακευομένης γὰρ τῆς θυγατρὸς τοῦ Σκληροῦ τῷ βασιλεῖ οὐκ ὀλίγος ἦν γογγυσμὸς τοῦ τε δήμου καὶ τῆς συγκλήτου καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν καὶ δεσποινῶν. ὃν καὶ ὁ τηνικαῦτα ἐν μοναχοῖς διαπρέπων ὁ οὕτω Στηθάτος λεγόμενος ἐκώλυε μέν, ἤνυε δὲ οὐδέν. πάντη γὰρ ἥττητο τῆς ὥρας αὐτῆς ὁ βασιλεύς. ἦν δὲ ὁ Στηθάτος οὗτος ἀρετῆς εἰς ἄκραν ἐπιμελούμενος καὶ νηστείᾳ καὶ σκληραγωγίᾳ καὶ πάσῃ ἄλλῃ ἀρετῇ ἐντήκων τὸ σῶμα ἑαυτοῦ, ὡς καί ποτε τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας ἄσιτος διατελέσαι, μηδενὸς τὸ παράπαν ἐν τῷ μέσῳ γευσάμενος (Ioannes Scylitzes Synopsis historiarum, Const. 9.7.28–34 THURN).

36 DARROUZÈS, Nicétas Stéthatos (sopra nota 2) 10 basato sulla professione di fede e la hypotyposis di Niceta.

37 σύνοδον ἱερὰν καὶ τράπεζαν ἀμβροσίας ἐξ ὑπερκοσμίων νόων καὶ ἐγκοσμίων, θνητῶν καὶ ἀθανάτων, συγκροτῆσαι καὶ ὑφαπλῶσαι φίλοις καὶ δαιτύμοσιν ὑμῖν βούλομαι εἰς πανδαισίαν καὶ μέθην ἀκήρατον, ἵν' εἰδῆτε οἷος ἐγὼ ἑστιάτωρ καὶ οἵα ἡ ἐμὴ ἑστιατορία καὶ σύνοδος, εὐφρυσύνης πεπληρωμένη καὶ θείας ἐκστάσεως, συνηδομένους ἀλλήλοις ἔχουσα τοὺς δαιτύμονας ἀμβρότους ἐπὶ τράπεζαν οὐράνιον ἐξ ἐπιγείων νόων καὶ θείων δυνάμεων ὑφ' ἑνὶ ταττομένων βασιλεῖ τε καὶ ἑστιάτορι (Niceta Stetato Sulla Gerarchia 1.1–9 DARROUZÈS).

38 Per lo scisma del 1054 si veda MICHEL (sopra nota 7).

> sola soluzione alquanto precisa e, per così dire, veritiera alla mia perplessità e meraviglia, che gli uomini di allora intrapresero gli studi per nessun altro scopo, se non studiare per beneficio personale. Tuttavia molti arrivano agli studi non in questo modo, ma attribuiscono la prima causa dello studio all'indaffararsi, e studiano specialmente per questo motivo, e se non raggiungono lo scopo immediatamente, vi si distaccano subito.

In questo senso si spiega il ruolo di Stetato, un pionere che è riuscito a sviluppare idee seguite da Psello e ha provocato l'antagonismo di pensatori come Giovanni Italo. Quest'ultimo sembra difendere posizioni logiche che ricordano il dibattito tra Pier Damiani e Desiderio, l'abbate del monastero culturalemente bizantino di Montecassino. Nell'opuscolo del *De Divina Omnipotentia* di Damiani si vede l'interesse di sottoporre la filosofia alla teologia, il ragionamento logico alla fede, mentre Desiderio mostra propensione alla logica che ricorda Giovanni Italo. Oltre ad essere conterranei sono anche contemporanei. Lo stesso vale per Pier Damiani e Niceta Stetato, entrambi considerati sia dai contemporanei che dai posteri all'avanguardia come rigoristi etici e teologi critici del sapere laico. Tale suddivisione in schieramenti netti, a favore della logica e contrari ad essa, evita di considerare la figura di Psello, un anello mancante senza paralleli nell'occidente contemporaneo che è la chiave di volta per interpretare la Bizanzio di quel periodo. Questo è chiaro anche semplicemente rivolgendo un pensiero ai manoscritti conservati. Pier Damiani è lo scrittore occidentale più prolifico del XI secolo oltre ad essere popolare. Sono conservati 700 suoi manoscritti. Michele Psello con 1176 scritti contenuti in circa 1790 manoscritti rappresenta per l'epoca una vetta culturale irraggiungibile a livello europeo.[39] La sua posizione di condivisione ed elaborazione delle idee espresse da Stetato in una veste classica ed umana viola la semplicità del detto *philosophia ancilla theologiae* con la sofisticazione tipica dell'effervescente dibattito culturale bizantino.

[39] P. Moore, Iter Psellianum 7–9.

BYZANTINE GLASS FINDS IN THE ROMAN THEATER AT İZNİK (NICAEA)

ÜZLIFAT ÖZGÜMÜŞ/İSTANBUL

With 2 tables in the text and 5 figures on table XXVII

İznik (ancient Nicaea) on the southern coast of the Sea of Marmara has been a major settlement since ancient times. The Roman Theater Excavations have been going on there since 1980 (fig. 1). The site has yielded a large amount of ceramic and glass fragments belonging to various periods.

The Roman theater dates from the 2nd century A. D. and was planned to hold 15,000 spectators, although it was never finished. After the mid-7th century when Arab raids threatened Asia Minor including the neighborhood of İznik, building material from the theater was reused for the construction of the city-walls and thereafter the theater was left in ruins.

During the excavations large quantities of human remains that probably belong to dead Byzantine soldiers were unearthed. They are buried in groups of six to eight individuals. The reason for these mass burials is uncertain and may be attributed to any one of a number of different causes – from war fatalities, to sufferers of epidemic fever, to massacre victims. In the theater much ceramic material of the Greek, Roman, Byzantine, Seljuk, and Ottoman periods was also found, together with a lot of glass fragments. The glass was widely distributed across the site but mostly dates to the early Byzantine period. The material includes lamps, goblets, bowls, bottles, bracelets, window glass, and wasters. In general their shapes and colors have many similarities to those found in Sardis, Anemurium, Amorium, and Myra.[1] Most are examples of utilitarian glass.

It is probable that the raw materials necessary for making glass could be acquired from the mineral sources in the surrounding area. Silica is obtainable from Balıkesir, Bursa, and Kocaeli, soda that facilitates melting of the batch from Eskişehir, calceous materials that provides the glass' hardness and manganese that is used as decolorizing agent from Balikesir and Kocaeli, another decolorizing element nickel from Balıkesir and Bursa, antimony and arsenic that are used as refining agents from Balıkesir and Bursa, and sulphur

I would like to express my special thanks to Dr. Bedri Yalman, Director of the Excavations, who allowed me to study the Byzantine glass finds from the İznik theater.

[1] A. von Saldern, Ancient and Byzantine Glass from Sardis. London 1980; E. M. Stern, Ancient and Medieval Glass from the Necropolis Church at Anemurium. *Annales du 9ème Congres International d'etude historique du Verre.* Liege 1985, 35–64; R. M. Harrison/N. Christie, Excavations at Amorium: 1992 Interim Report. *Anatolian Studies* 43 (1993) 143–147, 162; Y. Olcay, Cam Buluntular, in Y. Ötüken, 1995 Yılı Demre Aziz Nikolas Kilisesi Kazısı. *XVIII. Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı.* Ankara 1997, 477.

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from Balıkesir. Tin, which was used as one of the opacifier elements, is also obtainable from Bursa; another one is zinc from Balıkesir, Bursa, and Kocaeli, and lastly there is phosphate from Kocaeli. Coloring elements such as copper and iron are available from Balıkesir, Bursa and Kocaeli, silver from Bursa, and mercury from Balıkesir.

The glass varies in color from light aquamarine to bottle green. Red and cobalt blue are rarely represented. Brown, black, and opaque white glass is used for bracelets. Samples have same type weathering: dulling, pitting, iridesence, milky weathering, and enamel-like weathering. The main feature of the glass finds, however, is that they are all very fragmentary.

The glass shapes do not show radical changes and point a continuity of the principal forms and styles. The glass workshops have a restricted repertoire of common free-blown or mold-blown productions. However, some finds are worth special notice, for example the three pieces of gold-glass wall-plaques, a fragment of an enamelled bottle, and finally two pieces of filigree glass. These are likely to have come from other glass centers such as from Constantinople.

İznik is a city that is surrounded by the resources needed for glassmaking. The homogenity of the glass, the similarities of weathering, the variety and abundance of forms, and the numerous examples of production waste indicate that there must have been a lot of local glass workshops in the Byzantine period.

Fabrics of Nicaean Glass

The results of electronmicroprobe analysis of Byzantine glass finds from the theater at Nicaea are as follows:

1. Nicaean glasses are of soda glass.

2. Manganese and magnesium were used as decolorising agents. Purplish iridescence of the glass finds indicate the use of these two elements.

Table 1 (%)

Samples	1	2	3	4	5
SiO_2	63.6	71.3	69.0	68.8	69.4
Na_2O	14.5	18.4	16.0	16.5	16.8
K_2O	1.7	0.3	1.5	0.4	0.4
CaO	8.7	4.7	7.4	7.6	7.5
MgO	1.9	0.8	2.1	0.7	0.5
Al_2O_3	4.8	2.3	2.0	2.8	2.7
SO_3	0.3	0.4	0.7	0.4	0.2
Cl	0.4	1.1	0.2	0.9	0.9
FeO	1.7	0.2	0.8	0.3	0.3
MnO	2.7	–	–	1.1	1.2

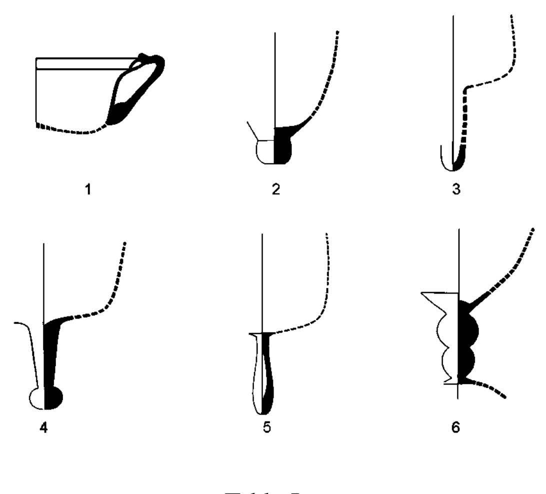


Table I

The finds may be classified as follows:

I. Lamps

The lamps have the typical forms of the early Byzantine period and were clearly in common use in Nicaea. Close parallels are provided by the finds at Sardis. The material, presented here in the form of selected examples, may be divided into six groups.

1. Bowl lamps with handles[2]

Each piece varies in diameter between 3.2–6 cm, in height between 2.4–3.7 cm, in height of the handles between 2–4.8 cm (fig. 2, Table I/1). They can be evaluated by comparing them with other similar pieces, leading to the conclusion that they must have had three handles attached to the rim and the top part of the body. Rims were folded inward or outward. The colors are different shades of green. This is a very common form in the early Byzantine period.

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[2] G. M. Crowfoot/D. B. Harden. Early Byzantine and later glass lamps. *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 17 (1931) Pl. XXX, no. 40; von Saldern ibid. 46–49; Harrison/Christie ibid. 161, fig. 4 f; G. Davidson Weinberg, A medieval mystery: Byzantine glass production. *Journal of Glass Studies* 17 (1975) fig. 25; Sh. Hadad, Glass lamps from the Byzantine through Mamluk periods at Bet-Shean, Israel. *Journal of Glass Studies* 40 (1998) fig. 1; M. A. V. Gill, Amorium Reports, Finds I: The Glass (1987–1997). Oxford 2002, 63 fig. 1/1; 169 fig. 2/1.

2. Lamps with knob bases[3]

Fragments of this kind are very rare in Nicaea (Table I/2). They are beaker-shaped and their rims must have been folded outward so that metal rings could be fitted to them. Similar pieces found in Sardis belong to the early Byzantine period.

3. Hollow-stemmed lamps[4]

These lamps have beaker-shaped cups and hollow stems or a projection at the base (Table I/3). They also have outward-folded rims like the ones in the second type. This shape was commonly used starting from later Roman time and became fashionable in the Byzantine and Islamic periods. It was also used in medieval Europe.

4. Lamps with twisted stem[5]

Only one example of a lamp with a twisted stem was found in Nicaea. It represents a transition between hollow-stemmed lamps and lamps with a knobbed stem.

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3 Crowfoot/Harden ibid. Pl. XXVIII, no. 11–12; von Saldern ibid. 52–53; S. Y. Ötüken, 1990 Yılında Antalya'nın Demre İlçesindeki Aziz Nikolaos Kilisesi'nde Yapılan Çalışmalar. *XIII. Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı.* Çanakkale 1991 (1992), 297.

4 E. Baumgartner/I. Krüger, Phönix aus Sand und Asche: Glas des Mittelalters. München (1988, 40, fig. 41; s. 63, fig. 4/5; Crowfoot/Harden ibid. Pl. XXIX, n. 24–26, 29–30, 36; M. Gough, Alahan: An early Christian monastery in southern Turkey. Toronto 1985, fig. 10, no. 17; A. Oliver Jr, Ancient glass in the Carnegie Museum of Natural History. Pittsburg 1980, 117, no. 200–202; von Saldern ibid. 49–52; Stern (as note 1 above) 45, fig. 3; D. Foy/G. Sennequier, À travers le verre du moyen âge a la renaissance. Rouen 1989, 348; Harrison/Christie ibid. 161, fig. 4 d; C. Steckner, Pharokantharoi und Kylikeia. *Annales du 11ème Congres de l'Association Internationale pour l'Histoire du Verre.* Amsterdam 1990, 258; J. Barrera/M. Petit, La verrerie medievale d'Etampes (Essonne), ibid. 344 no. 9–10; Ch. Alexander, 'Glass' in H. H. von der Osten, The Alishar Hüyük, 1930–32. Part III. Chicago 1937, fig. 265, no. 4–7; J. W. Hayes, Excavation at Saraçhane in İstanbul II. Princeton 1992, fig. 150, no. 14–31; fig. 151, no. 37–38; fig. 153, no. 77; M. Acara/Y. Olcay, Bizans Döneminde Aydınlatma Düzeni ve Demre Aziz Nikolaos Kilisesinde Kullanılan Aydınlatma Gereçleri. *Adalya* 2 (1998) 266 fig. 7; Hadad (as note 2 above) fig. 4; B. Y. Olcay, Lighting methods in the Byzantine period and findings of glass lamps in Anatolia. *Journal of Glass Studies* 43 (2001) 83; Gill (as note 2 above) 63, fig. 1/2.

5 Crowfoot/Harden ibid. Pl. XXIX no. 28; G. M. Fitzgerald, Beth-Shan Excavations 1921–1923: The Arab and Byzantine levels. Philadelphia 1931, Pl. XXXIX no. 29; Harrison/Christie ibid. 161 fig. 4 e.

5. Lamps with knobbed stem[6]

In general the height of the stems is between 1.5–3 cm and the diameter of the knob (s) is 2 cm. These are found in vast quantities in both the Byzantine and the Arab world. Some finds are with a single knob on a tip of the stem (Table I/4), sometimes as multi-knobbed. This kind of lamp was first made in the early Byzantine period but continued to be used throughout middle Byzantine times. Parallels can be found in Myra (St. Nicholas Church), İstanbul (Polyeuktos Church), and the Serçe Limanı wreck.

6. Lamps with drop-shaped stem

This is the first occurrence of the examples of this kind (Table I/5). Top of the hollow drop is covered.

II. Goblets

Goblet fragments are in sufficient quantity and diversity in order to provide sufficient information on the shapes and the dimensions of the goblets (fig. 3). The heights vary 1.5–4.5 cm, width 2.8–4.6 cm, foot diameter 2.2–5.3 cm. The colors are different shades of green, olive, and blue-green. Although the goblets have many different shapes, stems, and feet, we are going to make only three categories of them. Besides these there are cup and foot fragments belonging to goblets. All of the goblet types can be dated to the early Byzantine period according to their parallels.

1. Goblets with knobbed stem[7]

As the cups of the goblets are conical, U- or bell-shaped, the feet edges of them are folded or plain cut. Stems are one knobbed or multi-knobbed (Table I/6). As are understood from the finds the rims are unworked.

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6 Baumgartner/Krueger (as note 4 above) 24 no. 6; Crowfoot/Harden ibid. Pl. XXIX no. 21–23, 32; K. Holl-Gyürky, The use of glass in medieval Hungary. *Journal of Glass Studies* 28 (1986) 76 fig. 42; D. Whitehouse, Excavations at Siraf, Third Interim Report. *Iran* 8 (1970) Pl. XII b; Ch. Lightfoot, A catalogue of glass vessels in Afyon Museum. Ankara 1989, pl. 8 no. 4; Hayes (as note 4 above) fig. 152 no. 70–71; Acara/Olcay (as note 4 above) 266 fig. 7; Hadad (as note 2 above) fig. 2; Gill (as note 2 above) 64, fig. 1/3, no. 30–32; 169, fig. 2/2, nos. 37, 39.

7 H. P. Isler, Heraion von Samos: Eine frühbyzantinische Zisterne: Glas. *Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Mitteilungen, Athenische Abteilung* 84 (1969) 228 Abb. 59–60; J. Philippe, Le monde Byzantine dans l'histoire de la verrerie. Bologna 1970, 71 fig. 35 no. 10 c, g; von Saldern (as note 1 above) 58–59; Stern (as note 1 above) 45 fig. 3; Fitzgerald (as note 7 above) Pl. XXXIX n. 16; G. R. Davidson, Corinth XII. The minor Objects. Princeton 1952, 108 no. 720; Harrison/Christie (as note 1 above) 161 fig. 4 b–c; Hayes ibid. Ffig. 150 no. 18, 20; fig. 152 no. 57; Gill ibid. 64, fig. 1/4, nos. 44–47.

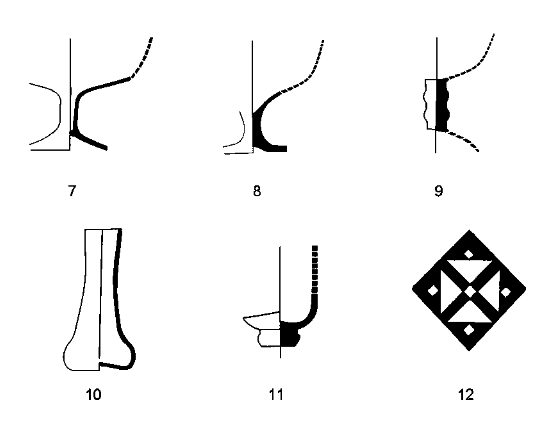


Table II

2. Goblets with plain stem[8]

The cup of these goblets is conical, U- or bell-shaped in general. We can say that the rims are unworked. Stems are cylindrical, concave, or conical (Table II/7–8). Only one stem is decorated with embedded red spiral threads[9]. Feet edges are plain or folded.

3. Goblets with profiled stem

Some goblets have a profiled stem, some a multi-ringed stem (Table II/9). They are not as common as other types.

III. Beakers

Some straight sided and ring-based glass fragments were also unearthed in Nicaea theater. Their ring-bases' diameters measure approximately 5 cm. We have no idea about their upper shapes. They probably belong to beakers.

8 Gough (as note 4 above) fig. 10 no. 20; Philippe ibid. 71 fig. 35, no. 10 a, 10 e, 10 f; 73 fig. 37; 97 fig. 50 n. 1, 6–7, 9, 12, 17; von Saldern ibid. 55–57, 59–60; Stern ibid. 45 fig. 3; M. T. Fortuna Canivet, Vetri del V–VI secolo trovati nell'Apamene (Siria). *Journal of Glass Studies* 12 (1970) 65 fig. 12–13; Davidson ibid. 108, no. 712–717; Harrison/Christie ibid. 161 fig. 4 a; Alexander (as note 4 above) fig. 342 no. 1–2; Hayes ibid. fig. 150 no9. 22–23; fig. 151 n. 40; fig. 152 n. 47, 49, 61; Gill ibid. 64, fig. 1/4, nos. 34–43; s. 170, fig. 2/3, nos. 46–59.

9 We cannot determine precisely whether this spiral line was made on purpose as a decoration or of impurities in fabric.

IV. Bottles

As we have only rim, neck, body, and base fragments of the bottles, it is not possible to give their complete forms. Small bottles, which are in shades of olive, were found in İznik (Table II/10). They relatively retained their shapes.[10] Base diameters of these bottles are around 1.5 or 2 cm. Tubular sherds which have 1 cm diameter, 5 or 6 cm long must be the necks of ampulae. Some of these pieces are ribbed.

The example that has a thick coil under its rim may belong to a large bottle with a wide mouth.

V. Bracelets

Among the finds from İznik there are many bracelet fragments. Most of them are plain and have circular cross-sections.[11] Their colors include blue, dark green, brown, black, purple, but the cobalt blue is the dominant color. The diameter of the available finds differs from 3.5 to 6.5 cm. A few of the bracelets are twisted.[12] One discolored rectangular cross-sectioned bracelet has enamel decoration on it.[13] Another one is embellished with an opaque white square applique on brown background.[14] If we compare these fragments with parallels elsewhere, we come to the conclusion that these belong to the middle Byzantine period.

VI. Window Glass[15]

The window glass fragments found in the theater are of various colors and thickness. One of the examples that was found in fragments has a rounded corner. This purple fragment measures 5 × 4.5 cm and has a thickness of 0.4 cm. In spite of being bubbly, it is of good workmanship on account of both its color

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10 von Saldern ibid. 78–79; Fitzgerald (1931) Pl. XXXIX, n. 2.

11 Ü. Canav, TŞCFAŞ Ancient glass collection. İstanbul 1985, 95 n. 167–169; von Saldern ibid. 100–101; M. Spaer, The pre-Islamic glass bracelets of Palestine. *Journal of Glass Studies* 30 (1988) fig. 1; Gill (2002) s. 107, nos. 325, 396.

12 Canav ibid. 92 no. 154–156; Philippe (as note 7 above) 184 fig. 91; von Saldern ibid. 99; Spaer ibid. fig. 11; Hayes (as note 4 above) fig. 152 n. 54; G. Köroğlu, Yumuktepe Höyüğü'nden Bizans Dönemi Cam Bilezikleri, in: Ortaçağ'da Anadolu. Prof. Dr. Aynur Durukan'a Armağan. Ankara 2002, 361; Gill (as note 2 above) s. 108, nos. 423–468; s. 230.

13 Canav ibid. 93 n. 160–161; Philippe ibid. 184 fig. 91; von Saldern ibid. 101 no. 779; Weinberg (as note 2 above) 140 fig. 31; Köroğlu ibid. 362–363.

14 von Saldern ibid. 100 no. 760–762.

15 D. B. Harden, New light on Roman and early medieval window-glass. *Glastechnische Berichte*, VIII 32K (1959) 8–16; von Saldern ibid. 91–92, 101; Stern ibid. 48–50.

and the treatment of its edges. The colors of the other window glass fragments are cobalt blue, shades of green, olive, colorless, yellowish, aquamarine. Most of them belong to the broad-glass category. The majority of this group are of the 'glossy-matt' type, in addition to the examples of the 'double-glossy' type. There are several huge bulbs that are so big that they cannot belong to any vessel. We accordingly classify them in the 'crown glass' group. They are fewer in number than the broad- glass finds. They are difficult to date because they come from mixed layers. It is uncertain which type is early and which is late.

VII. Wasters[16]

Wasters from the theater prove that there was a remarkable amount of glass production in İznik. There are deformed goblet fragments, drippings, ceramic pieces coated with glass, and plenty of lumps of cullet. All of this glass material signifies the production of glass in the city. If we consider that there are many unexcavated areas in the theater, we shall have much more examples of the glass than we have, when the site is fully excavated.

VIII. Enamelled Bottle Fragment

This enamelled cobalt blue bottle fragment has a height of 2.7 cm. It bears a leaf decoration. A blue-green contour line surrounds the leaves. Enamelled bottles similar to this sherd are found in İstanbul (Polyeuktos Monastery), in Yümüktepe (Southern Anatolia), in Novgorod (Russia), in Corinth (Greece), in Paphos (Cyprus), and in Tarquinia and Otranto (Italy).[17] They belong to the 12th century. Their decoration is usually arranged in horizontal bands that contain medallions. These medallions generally include animal motifs. The triangles that remain between the medallions are filled with scrolls and vegetal motifs. These medallions are similar to the decorations of Sasanian and Byzantine textiles.

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16 J. Russell, Anamur 1971. *Anatolian Studies* 22 (1972) 35; von Saldern ibid. 94–97; Alexander (as note 4 above) 340.

17 A. H. S. Megaw, More gilt and enameled glass from Cyprus. *Journal of Glass Studies* 10 (1968) 88; D. Whitehouse, Medieval glass in Italy. Some recent developments. *Journal of Glass Studies* 28 (1983) 118; Hayes (as note 4 above) 405; Philippe (as note 7 above) 207; J. Philippe, Glass: history and art. Liège 1982, 66; Weinberg (as note 2 above) 132; J. Henderson/M. Mundell Mango, Glass at medieval Constantinople: preliminary scientific evidence', in C. Mango/G. Dagron (ed.), Constantinople and its Hinterland. Oxford 1993, 342; D. Whitehouse, Byzantine gilded glass, in R. Ward (ed.), Gilded and enameled glass from the middle East. London 1998, 5; Köroğlu (as note 12 above) 357.

IX. Gilded Wall Plaques

The plaques (three pieces) are greenish yellow in similar shades (fig. 4). They are all made of very thick glass. The thickness differs from 0.5 to 0.6 cm. Their backs are rough and contain the residue of adhesive material (perhaps bitumen). One of them was first gilded, and then it was covered with a thin layer of glass. The other two have no such a protective layer, but gilt traces are still visible.

This kind of glass is not commonly found in excavations, particularly in a city such as İznik, which maybe considered to be an ordinary glass production centre. Most examples that are similar to this fragment are now to be seen in museum and private collections. One fragment of a parallel, however, was found in the Polyeuktos excavations in İstanbul.[18]

These plaques, dated to the 9th–12th centuries, were probably placed side by side rendering a special composition. Most of them were found in Maarat an-Numan. They spread to the museums such as Louvre, Damascus, Toledo, Berlin-Dahlem, Carnegie and Madrid, and to some private collections as well (Table II/11).[19]

X. Filigree Glass

The most interesting examples from the theater are two filigree glass fragments that belong to the base of a cylindrical cup (fig. 5, Table II/12). Red, opaque white, and blue glass threads were wound around the outside. The larger fragment is 2.5 cm in height and 2.7 cm in width. Weathering has given way to pitted iridescent surface.

This cup is reminiscent to Venetian 'cesendello'. But it seems older than Venetian glasses. It can be dated to the middle Byzantine period by comparing to other finds unearthed along with the fragments.

With this paper, we tried to make a general outline of the Byzantine Glass found in İznik. As the excavations are currently going on, new glass finds will come to light and add more information to our present knowledge.

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18 R. M. Harrison, Excavations at Saraçhane in İstanbul I. Princeton 1986, 174.

19 Oliver (as note 4 above) 150, n. 268; Philippe (as note 7 above) 56 fig. 27; J. Philippe, Sur Les plaquettes Byzantines à décor crucifere doré. *Journal of Glass Studies* 17 (1975) 98; idem, Reflections on Byzantine glass. *1st International Anatolian Glass Symposium*, İstanbul 1990, 111; S. Eyice, Bizans'ta ve Osmanlı Devri Türk Sanatında Aydınlatmada Cam', ibid. 53; A. von Saldern, Byzantine glass: problems of terminology and chronology, in Ward (ed.), Gilded and enameled glass (as note 17 above), 1.

ISSUES OF SOCIAL GENDER IN NIKEPHOROS BRYENNIOS' *ΥΛΗ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ*

CONSTANTINE D. S. PAIDAS / ATHENS

The Byzantine historian Nikephoros Bryennios undoubtedly represents one of the most important sources of the period that he recounts (1070–1079),[1] because as a member of the royal family he had access to historical materials,[2] both written and oral, of inestimable value. As the offspring of an important family – he belonged to the class of the provincial/military aristocracy – he had at his disposal a lot of oral information from his own house as well as from the circles of the Doukai and the Komnenoi. Furthermore, he received a very good education, a fact that allowed him to consult with ease the works of the other historians who are looking into the same period.[3]

However, his work, in spite of its historical value and linguistic and stylistic merits, did not gain the attention of researchers which it deserved; for the most part this might also be due to the loss of the sole manuscript that transmitted the text[4] – apart, of course, from the fact that for this period we have many and excellent sources, from a historical and from a literary point of view as well. Consequently, the researchers' interest in reference to *Ὕλη Ἱστοριῶν* focused

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1 There is insufficient bibliography that refers to the historian Nikephoros Bryennios. For an overall approach of the person and of his work see J. Seger, Byzantinische Historiker des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts. I. Nikephoros Bryennios. Eine philologisch-historische Untersuchung. München 1888; K. Krumbacher, Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur von Justinian bis zum Ende des oströmischen Reiches (527–1453). München ²1897, 271–274; M. E. Colovna, Gli storici bizantini dal IV al XV secolo. I. Storici Profani. Naples 1956, 6–7; G. Moravcsik, Byzantinoturcica. I. Die byzantinischen Quellen der Geschichte der Türkvölker in den byzantinischen Quellen. *BBA* 10–11. Berlin ²1958, 443–444; A. Carile, La Ὕλη Ἱστοριῶν del Cesare Niceforo Briennio. *Aevum* 43 (1969) 56–87, 235–282; P. Gautier, Nicèphore Bryennios, Histoire. *CFHB* 9, Brussels 1975; H. Hunger, Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner, vol. 1, München 1978, 394–400; E. Jeffreys, Nikephoros Bryennios reconsidered, in: The Empire in Crisis (?) Byzantium in the 11th Century (1025–1081). National Hellenic Research Foundation, Institute for Byzantine Research, International Symposium, 11. Athens 2003, 201–214.

2 Cf. Hunger, Literatur 397.

3 Cf. Hunger, Literatur 397, 399. About the issue of the sources of *Ὕλη Ἱστοριῶν* see Carile, La Ὕλη Ἱστοριῶν (as footnote 1 above), mainly 57.

4 The text existed only in one manuscript, on which the *editio princeps* by Possinus was based in the Parisian Corpus of 1661. Unfortunately, this manuscript is now lost and, thus, both the new edition at *CFHB* (this is the edition that I use) as well as the corresponding one at *Corpus* of Bonn, were exclusively based on the text of the edition by Possinus. Cf. Hunger, Literatur 395.

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on the issue of how it related to the rest of the historical sources of that period and, mainly, on the issue of the author's identity.[5]

In regard to the narrative orientation of *Ὕλη Ἱστοριῶν*, it was already noted since Krumbacher's time that the events are presented not in a chronological order, but based on the geographical area where they take place,[6] while later, Hunger correctly pointed out that the narrator's interest focuses on warfare, the description of which substitutes more general historical speculations and expresses the views of the military aristocracy about life, according to which Nikephoros Bryennios himself had been brought up.[7]

Nonetheless, Hunger probably does injustice to this work by arguing that it is one-dimensional and that it does not give any important information about the social life and about the domestic policy of the empire during this era.[8] The narrator of *Ὕλη Ἱστοριῶν*, via narration, expresses his political thought – this constitutes a blending of the political ideology of the social class he represents and of his position in the Palace – and outlines the image of the ideal sovereign. The most characteristic and interesting element, however, of the narrative orientation of *Ὕλη Ἱστοριῶν*, is that the narrator enables us to study his viewpoints on social gender and, in this manner, to recompose the perceptions of the social class that he represents during this particular period in reference to the role of men, women and eunuchs in the shaping of History.[9]

For the narrator of *Ὕλη Ἱστοριῶν*, the shaping of History takes place on the battlefield, where by definition only men participate, and on a very limited

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5 Cf. S. Wittek-De Jongh, Le César Nicéphore Bryennios, l'historien et ses ascendants. *Byzantion* 23 (1953) 463–468; A. Carile, Il problema della identificazione del Cesare Niceforo Briennio. *Aevum* 38 (1964) 74–83; idem, Il «Cesare» Niceforo Briennio. *Aevum* 42 (1968), 429–454; Nicèphore Bryennios, Histoire ed. Gautier 14–27; Hunger, Literatur 394–395. 5,3; 5,2; 4,2; 4,2.

6 This, naturally, applies to a second level, as to a first level the narration takes place in time sequence. That is to say, the events are presented in time sequence, as long as they are recounted per king, but in regard to the period of each reign the events are presented on the basis of the geographical place where they occur.

7 Cf. Hunger, Literatur 397–398.

8 Ibid. 399.

9 Generally on social gender at Byzantium see C. S. Galatariotou, Holy women and witches: aspects of Byzantine conceptions of gender. *BMGS* 9 (1984–85) 55–94; A. Basilikopoulou, Μοναχισμός: η απόλυτη ισοτέλεια των φύλων. *Παρουσία* 6 (1988) 467–479, where a rather interesting aspect of the social role of the genders is given; L. James (ed.), Women, men and Eunuchs. Gender in Byzandium. London/New York 1997; A. Markopoulos, Ζητήματα κοινωνικού φύλου στον Λέοντα τον Διάκονο, in S. Kaklamanes/ A. Markopoulos/G. Mauromates (eds.), Ενθύμησις Νικολάου Μ. Παναγιωτάκη. Herakleio 2000, 475–493; L. Brubaker/J.M.H. Smith (eds.), Gender in the Early Medieval World. East and West, 300–900. Cambridge 2004, where an extensive bibliography is also given on social gender in late antiquity. I present relevant bibliography further on in the study also.

scale, eunuchs. The events that occur in the arena of politics, present definitely less interest in the shaping of History (as sparks for the operations), but there as well, the male presence is dominant, while the participation of women is just typical[10] and the activity of eunuchs is behind-the-scenes and, almost always, morally reprehensible.

In reference to the outlining of the persons that appear in the narration, it must be noted that the narrator's interest is focused on the examination and presentation of the character, of the psychological make-up and of the moral constitution of these people, while the physical description has no importance whatsoever and for this reason does not concern the narrator at all. Traits such as the size of the body (*τὸ μέγεθος σώματος*), the strength (*ἡ ῥώμη δυνάμεως*), the roughness and the depth of the voice (*ἡ τραχύτης καὶ τὸ βάρος φωνῆς*) as male traits are anything but enough for the man's elevation to a role model. Similarly, beauty as a trait is never enough to outline the ideal woman. This is exactly why the narrator systematically avoids describing the appearance of the people he refers to, besides very few exceptions where the appearance of the mentioned person is incompatible to his more general attitude.[11]

The male exemplar that is accentuated in *Ὕλη Ἱστοριῶν* and that fully takes shape in the person of Alexios I Komnenos is absolutely in accordance with the Roman ideal of the hero-warrior and, hence, the narration centers on the study of male behavior in times of war.[12] According to the narrator, the most important virtues for a man are valorous morale and magnanimity that are proven in battle against those who militate against the interests of the empire.[13] At the same time, it is absolutely clear that the performance of a man in armed warfare is anything but dependant and influenced by his physical vigour and by his biological strengths, since physical vigour, when it doesn't coexist with valorous morale and with inner strength, is useless. By analogy, valorous morale and a strong spirit more than make up for any physical deficiency and render the man-warrior invincible.[14]

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10 It is essential that we point out that in *Ὕλη Ἱστοριῶν* the only women who appear, even if it is only conventionally, to express their opinion about the issues of the empire, are exclusively close relatives (spouse, mother) of the leading people in the narration. But even in these cases whatever potentiality they have to intervene in the civil affairs of the empire, derives from the fact that the fate of their family is inseparably connected to the political developments.

11 Cf. here 11.

12 In regard to human behavior on the battlefield, as well as to how this appears in the Byzantine historiography see T. Maniate-Kokkine, Η επίδειξη ανδρείας στον πόλεμο κατά τους ιστορικούς του 11ου και 12ου αι., in: Το εμπόλεμο Βυζάντιο. Πρακτικά Δ΄ Διεθνούς Συμποσίου Εθνικού Ιδρύματος Ερευνών. Athens 1997, 239–259.

13 Cf. Nikephoros Bryennios, *Ὕλη Ἱστοριῶν* 1.1, 1.6, 2.5, 3.2, 4.12, 4.36.

14 Ibid. 2.12.

In addition, a prerequisite for magnanimity to benefit a man, and consequently the empire, is that it be accompanied by a virtuous morale – so that it is utilised for the accomplishment of lawful goals – but also by the necessary military education and experience, so as not to be expressed in a thoughtless manner. In this vein, it must be noted that the narrator draws a clear distinction between magnanimity and irrational boldness, which is interpreted as a consequence of not being educated in the art of war and of being imprudent and he is, unequivocally, in favour of the first, considering the latter to be a fault that can prove fatal.[15]

In the valuation system of the narrator of *Ὕλη Ἱστοριῶν* a man savours his fellow citizens' appreciation and respect, and he gains social recognition when he offers his services to his fatherland with self-denial, combating against those who plot against the empire (external enemies) or those who attempt to undermine the regularity of civil life within the empire, in order to forward their selfish motives (rebels-conspirators). Thus, the choice of a military career socially elevates a man, much more so when he descends from ancestors who distinguished themselves in battles of the empire against enemies and displays his eagerness to adopt their example and to follow their lead in practice.[16]

The virtues of austerity, frugality and endurance in the face of adversities, which quite often occur on the battlefield,[17] fully befit this type of man-warrior. Moreover, a man must stand out for his piety, credibility, culture and perspicacity, so that he savours the aid of divine grace, he is beset with the trust of his brothers in arms-collaborators, he evaluates correctly the data in the cases that concern him and he avoids unpleasant developments.[18] In conclusion, caring about his physical appearance – beyond the bounds that decency imposes – can only have negative consequences for his social image, as this behavior indicates self-indulgence and effeminacy.[19]

The female ideal that is brought forth in *Ὕλη Ἱστοριῶν* also seems to follow the model of the Roman *matrona.*[20] In the narrator's ideological world, female nature represents mainly physical frailty and the lack of a fighting spirit. According to the model of the Roman *matrona*, a woman must set as her first

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15 Ibid. 1.11, 1.14.
16 Ibid. 1.6, 3.3, 4.12.
17 Ibid. 2.7, 2.12.
18 Ibid. 1.11, 3.3.
19 Ibid. 2.7.
20 From the extensive bibliography on the topic I note S. Fischler, Social stereotypes and historical analysis: the case of the imperial women at Rome, in: L. Archer/S. Fischler/M. Wyke (eds.), Women in ancient societies: an illusion of the night. Houndmills 1994, 115–133; S. Treggiari, Roman marriage: iusti coniuges from the time of Cicero to the time of Ulpian. Oxford 1991, and mainly S. Dixon, The Roman Mother. London 1988, where extensive bibliography is also given.

goal to have a successful marriage, commensurate or superior to the social status of her family. The essential virtues that every woman should have, if she aspires on the one hand to enjoy her fellow-citizens' appreciation, and on the other hand to have a good marriage, are seemliness and inner beauty, noble lineage, propriety, good sense and prudence.[21] Her social role[22] must be limited only to the good upbringing and education of her children, whereas, when they come to maturity and get integrated into society, she must attend to their problems and advise them, utilizing her judgment and experience from life.[23]

Relating to the role of women in the shaping of History, it emerges from the reading of *Ὕλη Ἱστοριῶν* that whatever participation they may have, can only be indirect: the woman, via intermarriages, on the one hand influences the political equilibrium within the empire, as, in this manner, powerful (military and political) houses are bound by bonds of mutual trust and support, and on the other hand, she similarly contributes to the establishment of alliances between state morphemes.[24]

Moreover, to the degree that a woman comes from a powerful (political or military) house and from her family background has relative experience in civil issues, she can word her opinions to her spouse and children – when they actively participate in political developments – but without that meaning that her views are binding for the receivers. It must be noted that in these cases the woman is treated with respect by the narrator, who anything but disapproves of this behaviour, while the persons of the narration as well seem to take into consideration her suggestions, regardless of whether they will adopt them or not in the end. In general, though, a woman (either as a spouse or as a mother) is considered by the narrator, as well as by the persons of the narration, as a conveyor of the ideology and of the (political-social) orientation of her family.

21 Nikephoros Bryennios, *Ὕλη Ἱστοριῶν* 3.6.

22 In regard to the woman's role in the Byzantine society see A. Laiou, The role of Women in Byzantine society. *JÖB* 31/1 (1981) 233–260; ead., Addendum to the report of the role of women in Byzantine society. *JÖB* 32/1 (1982) 198–203; ead., Mariage, amour et parenté à Byzance aux XIe–XIIIe siècle. Paris 1992; ead., Observation on the life and ideology of Byzantine women. *BF* 9 (1985) 59–102; ead., Sex, consent and coercion in Byzantium, in A. E. Laiou (ed.), Consent and coercion to sex and marriage in ancient and medieval societies. Washington D.C. 1993, 109–221; L. Garland, The life and ideology of Byzantine women … *Byzantion* 58 (1988) 361–339; J. Beaucamp, Le statut de la femme à Byzance (4e–7e siècle), 1–2, Paris 1990–1992; J. Herrin, In search of Byzantine women: three avenues of approach, in: A. Cameron/A. Kuhrt (eds.) Images of Women in Antiquity. London 1993, 167–189; K. Nikolaou, Ἡ θέση τῆς γυναίκας στὴ βυζαντινὴ κοινωνία. Athens 1993; also, see *DOP* 52 (1998), where proceedings from a symposium with the title *Women's Space* are published. In the end, see A. Basilikopoulou, Ο κοινωνικός ρόλος της γυναίκας στο Βυζάντιο. *Παρουσία* 10 (1994) 7–18.

23 Nikephoros Bryennios, *Ὕλη Ἱστοριῶν* 1.6, 3.7.

24 Ibid. 1.19, 2.1, 2.3, 2.29, 3.6–7, 4.31.

In the historical sequence of the narration, the first female presence is that of Irene Doukaina, spouse of the deceased Alexios I, whom we encounter in the *Preface.*[25] The first reference to her name has to do with her marriage to Alexios I and with the connection that resulted from this marriage between the house of the Komnenoi and the house of the Doukai. A natural consequence of the marriage is the reinforcement of the footing that Alexios I had on the throne, as beyond his blood relationship with the former emperor Isaac I Komnenos (he was his nephew) from that time on, he is related by marriage with emperor Michael VII Doukas as well (whose niece was Irene).[26] In the same spirit, Irene is mentioned again, when the narrator refers to the accession of John II Komnenos to the throne, to which he had a very strong footing as the son of the predecessor (Alexios I) and as the nephew (on his mother's side, Irene,) of Michael VII.[27] In contradistinction to this «passive» contribution that Irene has on the shaping of History, the narrator praises Irene for the conception of the idea and for the allocation to him of the undertaking to preserve the achievements of Alexios I from the oblivion that the passage of time induces.[28] Hence, Irene is praised to the utmost degree for her wisdom and for her active role in the promotion of her house and for the preservation of the historical memory in regard to the contribution of her family to the shaping of History.

Moving on to the actual narration, the first woman – *functional person* is Eudokia Makrembolitissa, spouse of Romanos IV Diogenes. The narrator's interest in her is focused on her agony and efforts for her family to keep the sovereign power even after the capture of Romanos IV, and not to be pushed (politically) aside. However, the narrator stresses in the most characteristic way that her aim to rule together with her son Michael VII was anything but feasible, as the involvement (to this extent) of a woman in the political life of the empire causes favourable conditions for the development of subversive activities by cunning people who are lurking, waiting to seize power.[29] By nature a woman does not have the required (mental and moral) strength that is essential for undertakings of such high demands. In reference to the complete assessment of her personality, we can see the narrator's critical disposition towards the person who would like to become the most powerful person in the empire, although such a goal was both incompatible with the political traditions of the empire and unattainable based on her capabilities.[30]

[25] Ibid. preface, 11.
[26] Ibid. preface, 9.
[27] Ibid. preface, 10.
[28] Ibid. preface, 11.
[29] Ibid. 1.18.
[30] Ibid. 1.20. For the view of the Byzantines relating to the exertion of sovereign power by women see R. Hiestand, Irene basileus – Die Frau als Herrscherin im Mittelalter, in H.

The female figure that occupies the most prominent position in the narration is Anna Dalassene,[31] spouse of John Komnenos and mother of Alexios I. Her first appearance in the narration coincides with a top-level political event: the succession to the throne, in the face of the impending death of Isaac I. In this politically charged atmosphere, and while John Komnenos is in a state of tumult and obstinately declines the proposition made by his brother Isaac I to take on the responsibility of the highest public office and succeed him to the throne, Anna realises the seriousness of the situation. Knowing well that, if somebody else apart from her spouse ascends to the throne, the first thing he will do will be the «purge» of any potential counterclaimer of the supreme authority, she makes every possible effort to make John change his mind. Her arguments show full consciousness and knowledge of the political reality: if John declines to accept the imperial sceptre, he will wrong his family, as he will deprive it of the utmost honour, but mostly he will expose it to the greatest danger, as it will be a target for the new occupant of the throne. Yet, she does not succeed in dissuading John, although, as the narrator points out, she was very good both in words and in actions, even though she tried everything.[32] On the basis of this incident the *receiver of the narration*, cannot but acknowledge Anna's intelligence and the soundness of her (political) reasoning.

Additionally, the main characteristic of Anna's outline made by the narrator of *Ὕλη Ἱστοριῶν* is that she has her own ideas about the role that the members of her family must play in historical developments and she decisively claims the right to set forth her opinions. In this context, and when Alexios I becomes a prominent figure in the affairs of the empire, Anna also functions in a way, as a «deputy» of the traditional relations of the house of Komnenoi with the other houses, offering her counsel to Alexios.[33] What is most important, though, is

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Hecker (ed.), Der Herrscher, Leitbild und Abbild im Mittelalter und Renaissance. Düsseldorf 1990, 260, 263, 268; K. Nikolaou/E.Chrestou, Οι αντιλήψεις των Βυζαντινών για την άσκηση εξουσίας από γυναίκες (780–1056). *Σύμμεικτα* 13 (1999) 49–66; L. Garland, Byzantine Empresses. Women and Power in Byzantium A.D. 527–1204. London/New York 1999; J. Herrin, Women in purple: rulers of Medieval Byzantium. London 2001; Galatariotou, Holy women (as footnote 9 above) 82.

31 For Anna Dalassene's character and conduct see Ch. Diehl, Figures byzantines I. Paris 1938, 317–342; M. Angold, Church and society in Byzantium under the Comneni, 1081–1261. Cambridge/New York 1995, 45, 275, 283; Garland, Byzantine Empresses *passim*; *ODB* 1, *s. v.* Dalassene Anna (C.M.B.), 578.

32 Nikephoros Bryennios, *Ὕλη Ἱστοριῶν* 1.4–5: *Ταῦτα καὶ πλείω τούτων εἰποῦσα – ἦν γὰρ δεινή τις καὶ λέγειν καὶ πράττειν – ἐπειδὴ μὴ ἔπειθε, πρὸς ἱκεσίαν ἐτράπετο καὶ τὰς διὰ δακρύων καὶ στεναγμῶν ἐντεύξεις προσέφερεν· ὡς δ' ἄτεγκτον ἑώρα καὶ πρὸς πᾶν σκληρυνόμενον, ἀπογνοῦσα τοῦ πείθειν ἐσίγα, πολλὰ καθ' αὑτὴν ἀλγοῦσα καὶ τούτου καταστυγνάζουσα.*

33 Nikephoros Bryennios, *Ὕλη Ἱστοριῶν* 3.6.

not so much whether her suggestions are accepted in the end, as that they become a subject of thought and that she is given the right to express her opinions and thoughts.[34]

Anna's role (after John's death) regarding the more general attitude that the house of the Komnenoi maintains in the affairs of the empire, is also accentuated by the fact that, during the events that ensue after the capture and release of Romanos IV by the Turks and while Michael VII had already usurped the throne, she is being wrongly accused of collaborating with the deposed Romanos IV in order to overthrow Michael VII. So, when this case goes to court and while the death penalty seems very close – the ulterior motive of this machination was to incriminate both Anna and her children, so as to completely weaken the house of Komnenoi – Anna appears before her judges with courage, high morale and features in repose and rebuts the calumnious charges. Still, she gets exiled along with her children to the island of Prinkipos, paying the price for her name.[35] Anna's brave morale is accentuated even more, if contrasted with the behaviour of the spouse of Romanos IV, Eudokia Makrembolitissa, who during the outbreak of the insurrection of Michael VII is terrified, she passively submits to her fate and accepts the monastic life that is imposed[36] on her.

Indeed, the narrator of *Ὕλη Ἱστοριῶν* does not wish at all to demote Anna's role as a loving mother as well. For this reason the narrator shows Anna suffering in agony for the condition of her dying son Manuel, mourning and carrying out her duties as a mother with excess responsibility, when the inevitable happens,[37] she unremittingly protects her son, young Alexios I, supporting him psychologically and always offering him her advice, so that he will not be exposed to irrational dangers in order to prevent him from committing (political) errors,[38]

Investigating historical developments in the light of social gender, the narrator could in no case overlook the role of eunuchs, who were legally recognised as men, while there were also special offices that were instituted for them in the administrative structure of the empire, a fact that proves that they were considered to be anything but people on the fringe.[39] Besides, the official

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34 Ibid. 2.20, 3.6.

35 Ibid. 1.22.

36 Ibid. 1.20.

37 Ibid. 1.12.

38 Ibid. 2.20.

39 For the eunuchs' position in Byzantine society see K. M. RINGROSE, Living in shadows: eunuchs and gender in Byzantium, in: G. HERDT (ed.), Third Sex, Third Gender. New York 1994, 85–109, 507–518; ead., Eunuchs as cultural mediators. *BF* 23 (1996) 75–94; ead., The perfect servant. Eunuchs and the social construction of gender in Byzantium. Chicago/London 2003 (especially 163–183, where the eunuchs' role in the exertion of

state considered eunuchs as a «third status», in between that of men and women.[40] By reading *Ὕλη Ἱστοριῶν* it becomes clear that the main elements that differentiate men from eunuchs are vigour and bravery, which are accompanied by virtuous morale and candor and characterise men, in contrast to self-indulgence and cowardice that are accompanied by the mood for scheming and by moral corruption and that compose the eunuchs' profile. At the same time, the narrator's sexual contempt for eunuchs is discernible, sometimes explicitly and sometimes *cum silentio.*

The narrator's sexual repulsion is characteristic, when he refers to the behaviour of the *logothetes* Nikephoros (Nikephoritzes) and formulates the view that is impermissible *ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς ἐκτομίου οὕτω τοὺς στρατηγοὺς Ῥωμαίων ἐμπαίζεσθαι*[41], or when he refers to the eunuch Ioannes:

> ὁ γοῦν Ἰωάννης ἐπιλαθόμενος οἷον ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τὸν χαλινὸν ἐνδοὺς ἁπάντων ἐνώπιον καὶ αὐτὸς ἤλαυνεν. εὐθὺς δὲ γέλως ὦρτο πολὺς παρὰ πάντων καὶ καταμωκησάμενοι τούτου τὸ συνήθως τοῖς ἐκτομίαις ἐπαγόμενον «κλοῦ κλοῦ» πρὸς τοῦτον ἔλεγον.[42]

Other times, though, the sexual contempt towards eunuchs is discreet and indirect, however it appears through careful reading: when, in the autumn of 1073, Alexios I is heading for Nikomedeia, in order to confront the Turks who are harassing the rural populations of Asia Minor, he along with a few of his comrades-in-arms get encircled in a small village named Dekte. Among his comrades-in-arms is also an eunuch:

> ἀνὴρ γάρ τις μέγας καὶ ἰσχυρὸς τοῖς ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις ἐκτομίαις ὁρώμενος ἐθαυμάζετο. Ἐπειδὰν γὰρ ὁρῷεν αὐτόν, ἐφώνει ἕτερος πρὸς τὸν ἕτερον ὡς· «Ἆρά τις ὑποσταίη πολεμίων ἀλκὴν τοιοῦδε ἀνδρός; Θέᾳ γὰρ μόνῃ καὶ βρυχήματι φεύξονται ἅπαντες.» Τοῦτον συνέβη τότε παρεῖναι μετὰ τῶν εἰς τὴν φάλαγγος τάξιν καθισταμένων, ὁπηνίκα κατ' ἐκείνων οἱ Τοῦρκοι ἐξώρμησαν. Εἰς φυγὴν οὖν ἁπάντων ὁρμησάντων, ἐπεὶ οὗτος μέγας τε ἦν καὶ θώρακα περιεβέβλητο, ἀγανακτεῖν ἐποίει τὸν ἵππον καὶ μόνος τῶν ἄλλων ὄπισθεν περιλέλειπτο. Ὡς γοῦν αὖθις οἱ Τοῦρκοι ἐπῄεσαν καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰσαάκιον καὶ τὸν κλεινὸν Ἀλέξιον βοηθεῖν ἐπεχείρουν, αὐτὸς ἐξ ὀνόματος τὸν κλεινὸν ἐκάλει Ἀλέξιον καὶ βοηθεῖν παρεκάλει. ὁ δ' εὐθέως ὑποστρέψας καὶ τοὺς ἐπιτυχόντας διώξας τοῦ κινδύνου

authority is being looked at); S.F. Tougher, Byzantine eunuchs: an overview, with special reference to their creation and origin, in: L. James (ed.), Women, men and eunuchs. Gender in Byzantium. London/New York 1997, 168–184; A.P. Kazhdan/M. McCormick, The social world of the Byzantine court, in: H. Maguire (ed.), Byzantine court culture from 829 to 1204. Washington D.C. 1997, 178–180; M.P. Vinson, Gender and politics in the post-iconoclastic period: the lives of Antony the Younger, the Empress Theodora and the Patriarch Ignatios. *Byzantion* 68 (1998) 469–515; especially on the eunuchs' legal status see the exemplary study by K.G. Pitsakes, Ἡ θέση τῶν ὁμοφυλοφίλων στὴ βυζαντινὴ κοινωνία, in Ch.A. Maltezou (ed.), *Οι περιθωριακοί στο Βυζάντιο.* Athens ²1999, 171–269.

40 The term belongs to Pitsakis, Ἡ θέση τῶν ὁμοφυλοφίλων, 226. A semantic analysis of the term «third gender», in which eunuchs belong by tradition, is attempted by Ringrose, ibid. 94.

41 Nikephoros Bryennios, *Ὕλη Ἱστοριῶν* 3.4.

42 Ibid. 4.32.

> τοῦτον ἐρρύσατο, διδάξας αὐτόν τε καὶ τοὺς τοῦτον θαυμάζοντας ὡς ἄρα οὐ μέγεθος σώματος οὐδὲ ῥώμη δυνάμεως οὐδὲ φωνῆς τραχύτης καὶ βάρος τὸν ἄριστον στρατιώτην δεικνύουσιν, ἀλλὰ ψυχῆς γενναιότης καὶ ἡ πρὸς τὰ δεινὰ καρτερία.[43]

The most important *functional person* of the narration, who belongs to the class of the eunuchs, is Nikephoritzes. The narrator grants him a number of really important virtues that constitute attributes which are proper (and imperative) for the male ideal. He characterises him *ἄνδρα ἐντρεχῆ μὲν καὶ δραστήριον καὶ λόγῳ κοσμούμενον καὶ πείρᾳ πραγμάτων πολλῶν.* Nevertheless, these virtues of his, do not benefit the empire at all, because at the same time he is crafty, cunning and spiteful,[44] he has a lust for power, he has the tendency to «stir» political situations within the palace[45] and to function in a divisive way within the king's[46] narrow environment and, worst of all, he has realised the incompetence and the inadequacy of Michael VII and he has managed to make him his pawn.[47] In addition, he is secretive, ungrateful towards people who have been beneficial to him, he undermines those who claim some of the power or the favour of Michael VII and he goes so far as to control politics forwarding his own interests and to get revenge against his personal opponents under the pretext of acting in the king's best interest.[48] However, the narrator grants him that in contrast to Michael VII, who shows no interest for the situation of the army, he takes precautions for the reinforcement of the military force of the empire, even if his choices are not the best possible.[49] This observation obviously is not intended to accentuate the eunuch's forethought for the security of the state, but aims to stress the inadequacy and the incompetence of Michael VII as a ruler, who was inferior even to a eunuch. Concluding, the narrator doesn't hesitate to characterise Nikephoritzes as an instrument of divine will, when he thwarts the plans of Roussel de Bailleul and John Doukas to overthrow Michael VII.[50]

The personality of the eunuch John, who was *πρωτοβεστιάριος* and in charge of the campaign against the Turks in the beginning of 1081, is outlined in a much harsher manner. The attributes which are ascribed to him by the narrator, undoubtedly render him a counter-model, as he stands at the very opposite of the male ideal that is brought forth in *Ὕλη Ἱστοριῶν:* his complete

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43 Ibid. 2.12.

44 Ibid. 2.14.

45 Ibid. 2.1.

46 Ibid. 2.2.

47 Ibid. 2.2, 4.4.

48 Ibid. 2.29, 3.4.

49 Ibid. 4.4. At this point it must be pointed out that the narrator attributes the formation of the phalanx of the *Immortals* to Nikephoritzes erroneously, since the formation of this phalanx is the work of Ioannes Tzimiskes.

50 Ibid. 2.18. For the narrator's tendency to deal in a negative way with any conspiratorial attempt against the rightful king see here 2.

ignorance of military issues and his inability to evaluate facts of war[51] are complemented by his cowardice, by his discouragement in battle, by his physical weakness to cope with the hardships of military life and, finally, by his inadequacy to defend even himself on the battlefield. On account of his total attitude on the battlefield, in fact, he is scorned and mocked by his own comrade-in-arms:

> ἐν γοῦν τῷ φεύγειν αὐτὸς μόνος ὁ εὐνοῦχος κατελείφθη καὶ τῷ φόβῳ συσχεθεὶς φυγεῖν οὐκ ἠδύνατο. Ἐντυχόντες οὖν αὐτῷ ὅ τε Κουρτίκιος οὐδὲ ἠξίωσεν αὐτὸν ὄψεως, ἐκώλυε δὲ καὶ τὸν Παλαιολόγον. Ὁ δὲ Παλαιολόγος ἀπελθὼν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔφη· «Οὕτως ἡμᾶς κατέστησας· οὐ προείπομέν σοι ταῦτα;» Ὁ δὲ ἱκετεύων ἔλεγεν· «Ἐλέησόν με καὶ μὴ ταῖς Ἀγαρηνῶν χερσὶ παραδοθῆναι ἐάσῃς με» (...) Ἐπιστραφεὶς δέ, ὡς τὸν εὐνοῦχον ἄνουν καὶ ἄφωνον ἐθεάσατο, τύψας κατὰ τῆς παρειᾶς φησι· «Μὴ φοβοῦ».[52]

Of course, the sexual contempt towards the eunuch John is stated *expressis verbis* from the first time he appears in the narration. When Alexios I turns over his troops to the eunuch John so that he can lead the campaign against the Turks, he takes leave of his soldiers with a horse race. Then,

> ὁ γοῦν ἐκτομίας Ἰωάννης ἐπιλαθόμενος οἷον ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τὸν χαλινὸν ἐνδοὺς ἁπάντων ἐνώπιον καὶ αὐτὸς ἤλαυνεν· εὐθὺς δὲ γέλως ὦρτο πολὺς παρὰ πάντων καὶ καταμωκησάμενοι τούτου τὸ συνήθως τοῖς ἐκτομίαις ἐπαγόμενον «κλοῦ κλοῦ» πρὸς τοῦτον ἔλεγον.[53]

Beyond his «practical» frailties, John is strongly criticised by the narrator both about his personality and about his moral constitution. The *receiver of the narration* very easily ascertains that the narrator has nothing good to say about John, in contrast to the case of *logothetes* Nikephoros, to whom the narrator grants several advantages (managerial capabilities, culture, experience in civil affairs). The traits that compose John's picture are boundless ambition and instability of character,[54] obstinacy,[55] ungratefulness, deceitfulness, unreliability and an incessant inclination to calumny.[56]

Apart from *logothetes* Nikephoros and John, in the narration more *functional persons* also appear that fall into the category of eunuchs. What is surprising is the fact that the narrator of *Ὕλη Ἱστοριῶν* not only does not express sexual contempt for these people, but on the contrary grants them very important virtues, which are incompatible to the eunuch's profile that he has

[51] These characteristics effortlessly ensue from the fact that John, misguided from his excessive ambition, accepts with ease to take on the responsibility of an operation that Alexios I denied to accept, who had foreseen that due to the enemies' great superiority in numbers, defeat was much more probable rather than the successful outcome of the operation. Cf. Nikephoros Bryennios, *Ὕλη Ἱστοριῶν*, 4.31.

[52] Ibid. 4.37.

[53] Ibid. 4.32.

[54] Ibid. 4.31.

[55] Ibid. 4.35.

[56] Ibid. 4.40. The inclination to calumny as a characteristic is also attributed to *logothetes* Nikephoros by the narrator of *Ὕλη Ἱστοριῶν*.

outlined so far. Nevertheless, it must be noted that these persons are exceptions, which confirm the rule.

In the spring of 1074, caesar John Doukas and his son Andronikos are defeated in battle and are taken prisoners by Roussel de Bailleul near the bridge of Sangarios. When Andronikos' health deteriorates due to his wounds and John asks Roussel de Bailleul to send him to Constantinople, so that he can have the best possible medical care, Roussel demands and takes as hostages the eldest sons of Andronikos, Michael and John. The children are accompanied by their tutors, who belong to the class of the eunuchs. These exact eunuchs show the greatest devotion to their masters and, utilizing their intelligence and putting themselves to the greatest risk, plan the escape of Michael and John. However, their plans only partially succeed, as only Michael manages to escape with the aid of the eunuch Leontakios, while the other eunuch does not manage to help John to escape, as their plan is disclosed because of some noise. Yet, Michael's salvation is owed to a great extent to this second eunuch, since he, when the escape plan is perceived by the guards, warns Leontakios with his reactions and they are not captured either. Moreover, the particular eunuch shows a truly heroic morale, when, although he is subjected to horrible tortures by the guards in order to reveal the details of the escape plan, he endures the tortures with courage and remains silent until the end. The narrator, beyond the fact that he *expressis verbis* ascertains that in the whole situation *δέδραστό τι παρὰ τῶν παιδαγωγῶν τῶν νέων ἄξιον μνήμης* he comments on the eunuch's heroic attitude with admiration and generosity: *καὶ ἦν ἰδεῖν ὑπομονὴν ἀνδρὸς ἐκτομίου, ἀσθενοῦς μὲν τῷ σώματι, γενναίου δέ, ὡς ἔδειξε, τὴν ψυχὴν ἐπαίνων ἀξίαν καὶ λόγου κρείττονα.*[57]

The narrator mentions one more eunuch, named Ioannikios,[58] who was a monk and had been chosen by Anna Dalassene as a cohort and servant for Alexios I due to his intelligence and skill. This eunuch accompanies Alexios in his campaign against the rebel Nikephoros Basilakes in 1078 and participates in the execution of a brilliant plan of (the then *domesticos*) Alexios, which aims at deceiving and wearing down the morale of the rebel and his troops.[59] In this reference, beyond the virtues that are explicitly attributed to Ioannikios, the narrator's positive disposition towards him is obvious, which emanates from the fact that the eunuch in question is totally devoted to Alexios I and has a valorous morale – his trait in the narrator's ideological world was exclusively interwoven with the male gender only.

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57 Ibid. 2.16.

58 Anna Komnene tells the eunuch's name. Cf. Anna Komnene, Alexias (eds. Reinsch/ Kambylis), 1.7–9.

59 Nikephoros Bryennios, *Ὕλη Ἱστοριῶν* 4.21.

Concluding, there is a reference in the narration to another eunuch, named Taravges, who belongs to the side of the empire's enemies. Yet, explicitly there is no judgmental evaluation whatsoever from the narrator about this person, apart from the fact that he was a person of the very close environment of Alp Arslan, by whose command successfully assumes the leadership of the Turkish troops during the last phase of the battle of Mantzikert. From the description, though, of the tactics that Taravges implements in the battle, the *receiver of the narration* is led to the conclusion that the eunuch in question had good knowledge of military strategy.[60]

After reading *Ὕλη Ἱστοριῶν* we can conclude that Nikephoros Bryennios presents the story of Alexios I with an auctorial method that had never been applied before: he follows the course of Alexios towards the throne in parallel and through the biographies of the preceding emperors, who in the narration function as a background for the sculpturing of the statue of Alexios. From this comparison of Alexios I with Romanos IV Diogenes, Michael VII Doukas and Nikephoros III Botaneiates, the views of Nikephoros Bryennios about the royal ideal emerge – the ideal king must stand out mostly for his talent in strategy, his prowess, his dignity and, at the same time, for his prudence, his political acuity and for his intelligence – and for the role of the genders in the shaping of History. On this basis, Alexios I is brought forth by the narrator as the ideal male figure, who more than anybody else deserves to ascend to the supreme office. Influenced by his family principles, but also by his hero's personality and historical course, Nikephoros Bryennios considers History as an exclusively male issue that is shaped on battlefields and, hence, he tries to present the classical virtues that distinguish the ideal man/warrior. In this context, a woman's role in the shaping of History is virtually nullified, while eunuchs are basically considered to be socially rejected due to their cowardice and their incessant inclination towards machinations and conspiracies. Especially in regard to eunuchs, it is noted that the narrator of *Ὕλη Ἱστοριῶν* expresses in the best way the negative climate that had developed during the reign of Alexios I for this social group, which during that period was looking at the doors of power closing in front of it abruptly.[61] In conclusion, the *receiver of the narration*, beyond the fact that he discerns many aspects of the ideology of the Byzantine provincial/military aristocracy of the 12th century, also derives great aesthetic pleasure, as the text is well written and abounds in literary virtues.

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60 Ibid. 1.17.

61 Cf. A.P. KAZHDAN/A.W. EPSTEIN, Change in Byzantine culture in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Berkeley/Los Angeles/London 1985, 70, and A.P. KAZHDAN/M. MCCORMICK, Social world (as footnote 39 above) 179–180.

SPUREN EINER RELIGIÖSEN BRUDERSCHAFT IN EPIROS UM 1225? ZUR DEUTUNG DER MEMORIALTEXTE IM *CODEX CROMWELL* 11

GÜNTER PRINZING/MAINZ

Mit Tafel XXVIII

Für Diether Roderich Reinsch

Vorliegender Beitrag gilt einer schon mehrfach untersuchten, durch eine ausführliche Schreibernotiz datierten und sogar bescheiden illuminierten epirotischen Handschrift aus dem Jahr 1225: dem *Codex Cromwell 11* der Bodleian Library in Oxford. Diese kleinformatige Pergament-Handschrift (215 × 155 mm; 2 + 416 Seiten), die Irmgard Hutter 1977 und Alexander Turyn 1980 ausführlich beschrieben haben,[1] hat auch Diether Roderich Reinsch 1991 in seinem für die Handschriften aus Epiros zentralen Beitrag mehrfach erwähnt und dabei die Handschrift (= Hs.) zutreffend als „ein bei Ioannina geschriebenes Pergamentmanuskript mit verschiedenen liturgischen Texten" bezeichnet.[2] Das deckt sich mit der allgemeinen Inhaltsbestimmung der Hs. bei Hutter („Liturgien, Synaxarion u. a.") oder auch bei Turyn („the MS contains liturgical texts"). Sie wird aber bei letzteren, wie schon angedeutet, noch durch nähere Angaben zur Ausgestaltung und zum Inhalt ergänzt.[3]

Überarbeitete Fassung meines Beitrags zu einem Symposion, das an der Universität Nikosia für D. R. Reinsch im Oktober 2005 veranstaltet wurde. Mein Kollege Günther Steffen Henrich (Leipzig/Hamburg) war so freundlich, das Manuskript im Hinblick auf die sprachlich- namenkundlichen Aspekte in Text A hin kritisch durchzusehen, wofür ich ihm herzlich danke: Die Stellen, an denen ich mich auf seine kritischen Bemerkungen und Hinweise unten im Rahmen der „Erläuterungen zu bestimmten Personennamen der Liste (Text A)" sinngemäß oder mit direktem Zitat beziehe, habe ich mit der Sigle G. S. H. versehen. – Für alle Versehen oder Fehler bin ich allein verantwortlich.

1 I. Hutter, Corpus der Byzantinischen Miniaturhandschriften, Band 1, Oxford Bodleian Library I. *Denkmäler der Buchkunst*, 2. Stuttgart 1977, Nr. 48, S. 80–81. – A. Turyn, Dated Greek Manuscripts of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries in the Libraries of Great Britain. *Dumbarton Oaks Studies*, 17. Washington, D.C., 1980, 7–11 (noch ohne Hinweis auf Hutters Arbeit), hier 7.

2 D. R. Reinsch, Bemerkungen zu epirotischen Handschriften, in: Scritture, libri e testi nelle aree provinciali di Bisanzio. Atti del seminario di Erice (18–25 settembre 1988) a cura di G. Cavallo/G. de Gregorio/M. Maniaci, vol. I. Spoleto 1991, 79–97, mit IX Tafeln, hier : 83 (Zitat) und 85. Vgl. diesbezüglich jetzt auch ergänzend (u. a. zur Bestandsliste) A. Cataldi Palau, The Burdett Couts collection of Greek manuscripts: manuscripts from Epirus, in: Codices Manuscripti 54/55 (2006) 31–59 (mit 7 Abbildungen), hier 50 und 51 (freundlicher Hinweis von Dr. Niels Gaul, CEU/Budapest).

3 Inhalt nach Hutter (wie Fußnote 1), 80: p.1a: spätere Eintragung: Gebet, 2a: Miniatur, p. 1–21: Hesperinos-Gebete, 22–49: Chrysostomos-Liturgie, 49–76: Basileios-Liturgie, 76–149: Epiphanios von Zypern, Präsanktifikatenliturgie, 149–290: Synaxarion, aus-

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Wegen ihrer für die epirotische Geschichte im frühen 13. Jh. wichtigen Schreibernotiz gehörte diese Handschrift zu denjenigen, die ich während eines mir vom Exeter College gewährten Forschungs-Aufenthalts in Oxford (Januar–März 2004) auch unbedingt einmal selbst näher anschauen wollte. Wegen der ausführlichen Beschreibungen und Analysen der Hs. durch Hutter und Turyn hatte ich mir allerdings von der Autopsie nichts Besonderes mehr erwartet. Umso mehr war ich dann doch überrascht, gegen Ende der Hs., auf p. 415, auf einen speziellen, fast die ganze untere Hälfte der Seite ausfüllenden Abschnitt zu stoßen, der einen größeren und mehrere kleinere Totengedenktexte mit unterschiedlich vielen (zum Teil auch getilgten) Namen enthielt (s. Abb. 1). Eigenartigerweise haben Hutter und Turyn diese Einträge – trotz aller sonstigen Detailangaben über den Inhalt der Hs. – völlig übergangen. Erst bei einem Vergleich ihrer Beschreibung mit der recht summarischen Inhaltsangabe im alten Katalog der *Greek manuscripts* der Bodleiana von Henry Coxe aus dem Jahr 1853 stellte sich heraus, dass Coxe darin erstmals, wenn auch ganz knapp, im Abschnitt zu den im Codex enthaltenen Krankengebeten auf diese Namenseinträge hingewiesen hatte, und zwar mit folgendem Vermerk:

> 8. Preces ad usum Infirmorum, p. 405.
> Tit. εὐχαὶ λεγωμέναι εἰς ἀσθενοῦντας.
> In calce oratio est ad Deum pro diversis, quorum nomina subnectuntur, incip. μνησθῆτε (sic), Κύριε τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν δούλων σου Θεωδώρου, Κυράνα, Κυρίλου, Δεαβούλα.
> Sequitur notitia de tempore quo et per quem exaratus est codex noster, multum detrita ὥσπερ ξένοι χαίρουσιν ἰδεῖν πατρίδας…"[4]

gewählte Lektionen aus Evangelien und Apostolon, 290–340: Lektionen des Orthros, 340–405: diverse liturgische Texte, 405–415: Krankengebete, 416 Kolophon. – Turyn (wie Fußnote 1), 7 f.: "At the beginning, fol. 1ar–1av line 3 contains a prayer written by the scribe of the MS; the rest of left-hand page fol. 1av contains a miniature (of almost full-page size) of the B.V.M. with the Infant Jesus. The text of the MS begins on right-hand page 1b. The manuscript contains liturgical texts: Office of the Lucernarium (Lychnikon) and Lauds; Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom, Liturgy of St. Basil, Liturgy of the Presanctified; New Testament lessons for the great feasts and for the feasts of some saints; offices for feasts of some saints; some prayers." Es folgen Einzelheiten zum Schreiber und seiner Notiz.

[4] H. O. Coxe, Catalogi codicum manuscriptorum bibliothecae Bodleianae pars prima recensionem codicum Graecorum continens [1853], ND: Bodleian Library. Quarto Catalogues, I, Greek Manuscripts. Oxford 1969, 433–434, Zitat 434. Der restliche Inhalt der Hs. ist, wie auch der vorangehende, genauer bei Turyn, respektive Hutter verzeichnet.

I. Die Gedenktexte mit ihren Namen

Zweck des vorliegenden Beitrags ist es, die betreffenden Text-Partien samt den beigefügten Namen, vor allem aber den Abschnitt mit der längsten Namenliste, zu untersuchen und am Ende eine (Hypo-)These zur Funktion und möglichen Bedeutung dieser unscheinbaren Zeilen im *Codex Cromwell 11* zu entwickeln und zur Diskussion zu stellen. Der 9-zeilige Kerntext auf p. 415 **(= Text A)**, um den es hier in erster Linie geht, lautet wie folgt:[5]

[1] † μνήστ(η)τ(ι) κ(ύρι)ε τ(ὰς) ψυχ(ὰς) τῶν δούλων σου· Θεῶδώρου· **Κυράνα**· / [2] Κυρίλου· Δεᾶβούλὰ· Νικοῦλητζᾶ· Μιχα(ήλ) ϊερέ(ως)· / [3] <Βαρ>βάρ{ρ}ας· Νικωδήμ<ου> (μον)αχ(οῦ)· Θεοδ(ώρου) ϊερέ(ως)· Ελέν(ης)· Μιχα(ήλ)· Στάνη· / [4] Μαύροῦ· Θωμᾶ (μον)αχ(οῦ)· Βαρβάρας (μον)αχ(ῆς)· **Χρυσσὺ**· Κοσ/[5] μᾶ· Ϊωα(ν)νϊκΐου ϊερο(μον)άχ(ου)· Μιχα(ὴλ) ϊερέ(ως)· Δώβρενας· / [6] Θεοδ(ώρ)<ου> ϊερέ(ως)· Νικώπολῆς· **Εὔγενοῦ· Μΰρα· Δανΐτζα**· / [7] Νεχτάν(ας)· Συμεῶν(ος) ϊερέ(ως)· Καλάνας· Ράδου· Καλῆς· Ϊω(άν νου)· / [8] **Δωβρᾶ**· Νικήτ(α)· Θε(ο)δ(ώρου)· Νικολητζ(ᾶ)· Μαρίας· Νικόλ<α>· Μαύρου· / [9] Στόης· Ζῶης : …

> 1 Lies Θεοδώρου | 2 lies Κυρίλλου | lies Νικούλιτζα | 3 <Βαρ>βάρ{ρ}ας: die erste, wohl versehentlich ausgefallene Silbe habe ich ergänzt; das ursprünglich verkleckste Omikron, das nach Streichung einem Rho gleicht, habe ich getilgt | lies Νικοδήμ<ου> | lies Χρυσῆ | 5 lies Δόβρενας | lies Νικόπολης | 8 lies Δόβρα | lies Νικολίτζ(α) | 9 lies Ζωῆς.

Die Übersetzung wäre einfach, stieße man nicht auf das Problem, dass die Namen nicht durchgängig und eindeutig im Genetiv stehen, wie es wegen ihrer generellen Abhängigkeit vom Passus τῶν δούλων σου zu erwarten wäre: Vielmehr stehen einige weibliche Personennamen offenbar im Nominativ, will man nicht annehmen, in diesen Fällen habe der Schreiber das (mitgedachte) Genetiv-Sigma (oder dessen Abkürzung) aus Unachtsamkeit zu schreiben vergessen bzw. ausgelassen, und entsprechend emendieren. (Die betreffenden Namen im Nominativ sind im griechischen Text, wie angegeben, durch Fettdruck und unten in der Übersetzung durch den in Klammern gesetzten Artikel „die" mit Ausrufungszeichen hervorgehobenen). Wie aber ist, wenn man Unachtsamkeit ausschließt, diese Inkonsequenz zu erklären? Liegt es an mangelnder Beherrschung der Grammatik, dass der Schreiber wiederholt aus der Konstruktion fiel, oder wären auch andere Gründe dafür denkbar, dass die Liste hier zwischen Genetiv und Nominativ schwankt? Lassen wir die Frage einstweilen auf sich beruhen (ich komme unten darauf zurück), so bleibt

[5] Wie bei Schreibernotizen oder Urkunden üblich, wird der Text nach der Orthographie der Handschrift diplomatisch wiedergegeben, mit einem umgekehrten Apparat. Abkürzungen sind in runden Klammern aufgelöst, ausgelassene Partien oder Worte in Spitzklammern ergänzt, Eigennamen werden durch Großschreibung und (im Fall von Nominativendungen) auch durch Fettdruck markiert.

festzuhalten, dass der geforderte Genetiv zwar überwiegend, aber eben nicht durchgängig gewählt worden ist. Zur geschilderten Unsicherheit kommt hierbei noch hinzu, dass es sich auch in zwei bis drei Fällen nicht eindeutig klären lässt, welche Nominativform (in welcher Schreibweise bzw. Betonung) anzusetzen ist. Folglich lässt sich in diesen Fällen auch keine absolute Sicherheit in der Frage erzielen, ob wir es mit einem männlichen oder einem weiblichen Personennamen zu tun haben (vgl. die Hinweise dazu unten in den „Erläuterungen zu bestimmten Namen der Liste [Text A]). Wegen der geschilderten Unsicherheit ist die folgende Übersetzung ebenfalls als stellenweise unsicher zu betrachten.

† Erinnere Dich, Herr, an die Seelen Deiner Knechte: (des) Theodoros, (die!) Kyrana, (des) Kyrillos, (des) Deabulas, (des) Nikulitzas, (des) Priesters Michael, (der) Barbara, (des) Mönchs Nikodemos, (des) Priesters Theodoros, (der) Helene, (des) Michael, (des) Stanes, (des) Mauros, (des) Mönchs Thomas, (der) Nonne Barbara, (die!) Chryse, (des) Kosmas, (des) Priestermönchs Ioannikios, (des) Priesters Michael, (der) Dobrena, (des) Priesters Theodoros von Nikopole, (die!) Eugenû, (die!) Myra, (die!) Danitza, (der) Nechtana, (des) Priesters Symeon, (der) Kalana, (des) Rados, (der) Kale, (des) Ioannes, (die!) Dobra, (des) Niketas, (des) Theodoros, (des) Nikoletzas, (der) Maria, (des) Nikolas, (des) Mauros, (der) Stoe, (der) Zoe.

Hieran schließen sich die auf vier Zeilen verteilten Reste weiterer Nameneinträge an, die jedoch – nach Tilgung durch Rasur – nur noch rudimentär sichtbar beziehungsweise schwer lesbar sind (= **Text B**). Auf sie folgen, nun wieder ungetilgt, weitere drei Gedenkeinträge (auch sie erstrecken sich über vier Zeilen), die anscheinend (im Vergleich zur Hand des Schreibers der **Texte A + F** (= Michael Papadopulos) von zwei oder drei verschiedenen Händen stammen (= **Texte C–E**). Der unten auf derselben Seite stehende Gebetstext schließt den gesamten Gedenkabschnitt fast liturgisch-formelhaft ab **(= Text F).** Anscheinend hatte Michael Papadopulos absichtlich nach **Text A** einen Freiraum für weitere Einträge gelassen, indem er das eindeutig von ihm selbst geschriebene Schlussgebet zum Namengedenken erst weit unten auf der Seite anbrachte. Dieser Befund lässt m. E. darauf schließen, dass man die Texte **B–D** erst **nach** Fertigstellung der Hs. hinzugefügt und bereits teilweise schon wieder getilgt hatte, bevor die Hs. wohl außer Gebrauch kam.

Die **Texte bzw. Textfragmente B–F** beginnen hinter Ζῶης (= Z. 1) und lauten, soweit erkennbar,[6] wie folgt:

[6] Vgl. auch Abb. 1. Meine frühere Lesung dieser Texte hat freundlicherweise im Dezember 2005 Niels Gaul (damals Lincoln-College, Oxford, jetzt, s. oben Fußnote 2, Budapest) anhand der Hs. (mit der Quarzlampe) überprüft, verbessert und ergänzt (mit

Text B:

1 Θεοδόρου· Φλόρου [?]· [nicht entzifferbar]· Καλῆς· [nicht entzifferbar]
2 Μιχαήλ [?]· Θεοδόρου· Μιχαήλ [?]· στω[Loch wg. Rasur]σ = στωλης?, ω eindeutig]· τελέρνα [*sic*]
3 Βασιλ' [= -(είου)?]· Κοσίτζ(ας)· Καλῆς· Μαρίας· Κυράνας· Μαρίας· Μιχαήλ [?]
4 κ_ ρ_. Γεοργ(ίας) [oder –ίου, aber die Kürzung legt –ας nahe], darunter υχ [= αχ = μοναχός ?]· _κ (?)_ [nicht entzifferbar] (vgl. auch die Klammer unten zu Z. 5!)

1 Lies Θεοδώρου | lies Φλώρου | 2 lies Θεοδώρου | 4 lies Γεωργ-

Text C (Rest von Zeile 4), [von anderer (3.) Hand]

4 μνήστητι κ(ύρι)ε· καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ τοῦ δούλου <σου> ἱερέ(ως) [das Wort ἱερέ(ως) steht scharf am rechten Rand unter δούλου, der Name ist wahrscheinlich abgeschnitten]

Text D (die Zeilenzählung wird fortgesetzt)

5 μνηστ(η)τ(ι) κ(ύρι)ε τοῦτῶν δούλ(ων) σου· Θεοδορίτου (μον)αχ(οῦ) ἱερέως· Ἰώ<α>ννικί(ου) (μον)αχ(οῦ)
[dahinter, mit aller Vorsicht, ὑπραξ....– Dies ist zweifelsfrei in derselben Hand geschrieben, die auch die ausradierten Zeilen (Text B) nachgetragen hat]
6 Ἀννης· Αθανασίου διακόνου (von anderer [4.] Hand?)

5 Lies Θεοδωρήτου

Text E

7 μνηστ(η)τ(ι) κ(υρι)ε θεὲ (?) Στανη· (von derselben Hand wie Z. 6?)

Text F

8 † *ὧν τα ὀνόματα* γινόσκη κ(ύριο)ς· *ἐν βίβλῶ ζωὴς:·* ἀμὴν †

8 Lies γινώσκῃ | lies βίβλῳ ζωῆς. – Die kursiv gesetzten Worte zitieren Phil. 4, 3–4.

Übersetzung der Texte B–F (soweit möglich und sinnvoll):

Text B

1 (des) Theodoros, (des) Phloros, (der) Kale,
2 (des) Michael, (des) Theodoros, (des) Michael , ...

Erläuterung seiner Lesung in eckigen Klammern), wofür ich ihm nochmals herzlich danke.

3 des Basileios (?), (der) Kositza, (der) Maria, (der) Kyrana, (der) Maria, (des) Michael)
4 (der Georgia) (?).....]

Text C

4 Gedenke, Herr, auch meiner, Deines Knechtes, (des) Priesters…

Text D

5 Gedenke Herr dieser Deiner Knechte: (des) Mönchs-Priesters Theodoret, des Mönchs Ioannikios, (der Eupraxia??),
6 der Anna, des Diakons Athanasios.

Text E

7 Gedenke, Herr, Gott, (des) Stanes.

Text F

8 *Deren Namen* möge der Herr erkennen *im Buch des Lebens*, Amen.

II. Zu den Texten (und ihrem Kontext), den Namen und der Personengruppierung

Alle Texte A–E stehen, wie erwähnt, am Ende der Handschrift, auf der vorletzten Seite (415) der Hs., vom (direkt) vorangehenden Inhalt (Krankengebete) durch ein bescheidenes Zierband abgetrennt. Auf der nächsten Seite (416) folgt die umfang- und aufschlussreiche, schon öfter in der kodikologischen und historischen Literatur behandelte Schreibernotiz, deren Verfasser im wichtigsten Abschnitt seiner Notiz festhält: „Dieses Buch wurde von mir geschrieben, dem *Anagnostes* [Lektor] Michael Papadopulos, Sohn des Priesters Georgios, vom Thema Ioannina. Er wohnt im Drungos Tzemernikon. […] Es wurde vollendet und unterschrieben in der 13. Indiktion des Jahres 6733 [= 1225], am Freitag 13. Februar, zur 5. Stunde, zur Herrschaftszeit des Theodoros Dukas, als in Arta der Mönch Klemes Monomachos Kurator war.“[7]

[7] Letzte Editionen (jeweils mit Kommentar): Turyn (wie Fußnote 2), 8–11 und E. Chrysos, Ἱστορικὰ στοιχεῖα γιὰ τὴν Ἤπειρο σὲ σημείωμα τοῦ κώδικα Cromwell 11. *Epeirotika Chronika* 22 (1980) 58–65, hier 59 (ohne Hinweis auf Hutter, und noch ohne Kenntnis des Buches von Turyn); vgl. zur Notiz zuletzt B. Katsaros, Ὁ Ἰωάννης Ἀπόκαυκος καὶ ἡ σχέση του μὲ τὴν ἐπισκοπὴ Ἰωαννίνων κατὰ τὰ τελευταῖα χρόνια τῆς ζωῆς του, in C. N. Constantinides (Hrsg.), Medieval Epiros. Proceedings of a Symposium (Ioannina, 17–19 September 1999). Ioannina 2001, 123–150, hier 144–146 und Demetrii Chomateni Ponemata diaphora, rec. G. Prinzing. *CFHB*, 38. Berlin und New York 2002, 5*, Fußnote 13, und 77*, Fußnote 19 (mit weiteren Nachweisen).

Diese Notiz umfasst weitere Teile: So wird sie zunächst von einem formelhaften Satz über die Freude des Schreibers beim Abschluss seiner Arbeit eröffnet, es folgt das Gebet: „O Christus, Heiland der Welt, stärke und bewahre die, die Dich mit Sehnsucht rühmen und Deine Fleischwerdung aus einer Jungfrau preisen: Amen.**“** Daran schließt ein Satz an, der eine erste Selbstaussage des Schreibers enthält und sich zum Inhalt der Handschrift äußert. Er steht zugleich unmittelbar vor dem oben bei Fußnote 6 zitierten Passus und lautet: „Dieses heilige Buch wurde von meiner Hand geschrieben, (der Hand) des geringsten unter allen Sündern, eines unerfahrenen Schreibers, und ihr, die ihr in diesem Buch lest, betet zu Gott für mich den Sünder, damit ER sich auch unser erbarme, jetzt und immerdar!“[8] Die beiden letzten Sätze habe ich ungekürzt zitiert, weil sie uns in begrenztem Maß auf den Benutzerkreis des Codex zu schließen erlauben und dies im folgenden noch eine gewisse Rolle spielen wird.

Doch kehren wir zur Namenliste zurück, um den Kerntext – **Text A** – näher zu untersuchen. Sie hält fest, welche Personen kommemoriert werden sollen, und listet insgesamt **39** Personen auf. Aus der im **Anhang I** beigefügte Liste, die diese Namen in der Reihenfolge ihrer Nennung unter verschiedenen Rubriken auflistet, lässt sich folgendes ablesen: Die Gruppe insgesamt setzt sich aus Frauen und Männern, Laien und Geistlichen zusammen, wobei die Teilgruppe der Geistlichen aus Priestern, Mönchen und einer Nonne besteht. Gegenüber den 30 weltlichen Personen, nehmen sich die neun Personen geistlichen Standes (Mönche/Nonne und Priester), also ein knappes Viertel, zahlenmäßig wesentlich geringer aus.

Die Menge der in diesem Text aufgelisteten, verstorbenen und daher zu kommemorierenden 39 Personen besteht also, um dies zu präzisieren, aus insgesamt zwei Gruppen: nämlich einerseits – zu gut Dreivierteln – aus 30 Laien, eine Gruppe, die sich exakt paritätisch aus 15 Männern und 15 Frauen zusammensetzt (sofern meine Lesung und Deutung der Namen korrekt ist); andererseits aus neun Geistlichen (also gut einem Viertel der 39), unter denen die fünf (Welt-)Priester eine knappe Mehrheit gegenüber den insgesamt vier monastischen Personen (drei Mönche, darunter ein Priestermönch und eine Nonne) bilden. Das Zahlenverhältnis zwischen Laien und Geistlichen beträgt (30 : 9), mithin 3 : 1. Soviel zunächst zur Frage der Zusammensetzung der

[8] Die beiden zitierten Texte lauten nach der Lesung von Turyn (wie Fußnote 2), 8: „ὦ Χ(ριστ)ε σ(ωτη)ρ τοῦ κοσμου φρούρισον καὶ φύλαξον· τοὺς πόθω σὲ δοξάζωντας· καὶ ὑμνοῦντας σου. τὴν ἐκ παρθ(ε)νοῦ σάρκωσιν· ἀμήν“ und „† καὶ ᾿Εγρά(φ)η ιερὰ βίβλο(ς)· αὕτη· δια χειρὸ(ς) ἑμου· του ἐλαχιστοὺ· καὶ ἁμαρτ(ω)λ(οῦ) παρὰ παντας· καὶ χωρικοῦ καλογράφοῦ, και οι ἀναγινοσκωντες ἐν αυτη τη βίβλω. εὔχεσθαι πρὸ(ς) κ(ύριο)ν ὑπὲρ εμου του ἁμαρτολοῦ ὅπως καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐλεἥση. καὶ ἐν τω νὶν ἀιῶνι καὶ εν τω μέλωντη:“ (Die Unterpunktungen der Vorlage bei einzelnen Buchstaben habe ich hier nicht übernommen).

Gruppe der zu Kommemorierenden. Natürlich stellt sich schon hier die weitere Frage, ob wir etwas über den Charakter oder die Spezifität dieser Gruppe aussagen können. Doch diese, wie auch die zwingend sich anschließende, komplementäre Frage, ob sich vielleicht feststellen lässt, wer diejenigen gewesen sein könnten, welche die hier aufgelisteten Personen kommemorieren sollen, werde ich unten in Abschnitt III. zu klären versuchen.

Ein anderer wichtiger, ja zentraler Punkt ist die Frage nach dem Aussagegehalt der Namen. Schon ein nur flüchtiger Blick auf die Liste zeigt zunächst, dass sie neben gängigen byzantinisch-griechischen Namen auch mehrere Namen enthält, die sprachliche Besonderheiten aufweisen oder mehr oder weniger ungewöhnlich sind. Diesen Besonderheiten wird im folgenden näher nachgegangen: dies vor allem mit Hilfe eines Abgleichs mit den im *Prosopographischen Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit (PLP)* verzeichneten Namen, doch auch anhand des Abgleichs mit einigen weiteren Arbeiten, die sich insbesondere mit dem slavischen Hintergrund bestimmter Personen- oder Ortsnamen in byzantinisch-griechischen Quellen befassen und großenteils auch entsprechende Namenlisten enthalten (s. unten die Hinweise an entsprechender Stelle). Danach wird sich herausstellen, ob und inwieweit sich auch aus den in unserer Liste genannten Namen selbst zusätzliche, ergänzende Informationen gewinnen lassen, die für eine Einschätzung der aufgelisteten Personen und des Quellenwertes der Liste von Belang sind.

Die Namen stehen, näher betrachtet, im Fall der Laien stets allein, Vor- oder Taufnamen sind bei ihnen nie mit einem Patronym oder Familiennamen verbunden, und wenn ein Zuname/Eponym (wie anscheinend *Deabulas* einer ist) auftaucht, so steht auch er allein, ohne einen Tauf- oder Vornamen. Bei der Gruppe der kirchlich/monastischen Personen hingegen ist die Namensnennung stets auch vom Hinweis auf den Status der genannten Person begleitet.

Bei den **Namen männlicher Personen** dieser Liste zählen folgende zu den geläufigen oder doch häufigeren: Theodoros (4 × = begegnet hier viermal), Michael (3 ×), Mauros (2 ×) und (je 1 ×) Ioannes, Ioannikios, Kosmas, Kyril(-l)os, Niketas, Nikolas und Symeon.

Zu den selteneren Namen (oder solchen in orthographisch seltenen Formen) dieser Gruppe gehören indes folgende: Deabulas, Nikuletzas, Nikoletzas, Rados und Stanes. Von ihnen sind Deabulas, und Rados eindeutig oder doch vermutlich slavischen oder vlachischen (aromunischen) Ursprungs (s. unten). Außerdem ist hervorzuheben, dass **Deabulas** und **Stanes** Namen (oder eine Namensform) darstellen, für die sich sonst, wenn ich recht sehe (s. wiederum unten die Erläuterungen), in den publizierten griechisch–byzantinischen Quellen noch nirgends ein Beleg gefunden hat.

Bei den **Namen weiblicher Personen** sieht es ähnlich aus: Häufig(er) belegt bei den Byzantinern sind Barbara (hier 2 ×) und (je 1 ×), Chryse, Helene, Kale, Maria und Zoe. Hingegen gehören zu den selteneren oder bislang überhaupt

nur hier belegten Namen (= diese im Fettdruck) **Danitza**, **Dobra, Dobrena**, Eugenû, Kalana, Kyrana, Myra, **Nechtana** und **Stoe.**

Allein schon die Tatsache, dass sich in beiden Namengruppen der Laien (männlich/weiblich) zusammengenommen Erstbelege für Personennamen (oder Namensformen) finden, sichert also dieser Liste einen hohen, bleibenden Quellenwert. Wichtig ist aber auch, dass wir es hier, wie schon gesagt, fast ausnahmslos mit Tauf- oder Vornamen zu tun haben, während Patronyme oder Familiennamen fehlen: Dies ist zweifellos auf den tief provinziellen Hintergrund – höchstwahrscheinlich waren es meist Leute, die im ländlich strukturierten, bergigen Hinterland von Ioannina (in [oder nahe bei] dem oben erwähnten Drungos Tzermenikon) lebten – und auf den vermutlich eher geringen sozialen Status aller (oder der meisten) Mitglieder dieser Gruppe zurückzuführen.[9]

Im übrigen ist nur ein einziger Name aus Text A kein Personen-, sondern ein Ortsname: **Nikopole** (volkssprachlich für Nikopolis).

Ein kurzes Wort zur Grammatik: Wie oben schon angedeutet, müssten konseqenterweise alle in Text A genannten Namen wegen der Abhängigkeit vom vorhergehenden Passus τ(ὰς) ψυχ(ὰς) τῶν δούλων σου im Genetiv stehen, doch stehen einige, wie oben dargelegt, offenbar im Nominativ: Diese Inkonsequenz ist vielleicht damit zu erklären, dass sich der Schreiber unserer Hs. bei Erstellung der Namenliste der zu kommemorierenden Personen an eine ältere Vorlage, gleichsam eine Ur-Liste, hielt und die Namen im wesentlichen so übertrug, wie er sie in der Vorlage (d. h. in der Ur-Liste) vorgefunden hatte. Mit anderen Worten: Er dachte, entsprechend seinem eher schlichten Bildungsstand, über den gelegentlichen Wechsel zwischen Genetiv und Nominativ bei den Namen wohl nicht weiter nach und übernahm ihn einfach, zumal so kurz vor Fertigstellung seiner Schreibarbeit an der Hs.! Bei dem oder den Ersteller(n) der Ur-Liste könnte der Fehler indes auf dem unregelmäßigen Takt der realen Abfolge der Sterbedaten beruhen, letztlich also auf den zeitlichen Abstand zwischen den jeweiligen Einträgen zurückgehen. Der Zeitfaktor dürfte es zumindest begünstigt haben, dass die Person(en), die die Einträge in die Ur-Liste vornahm(en), gelegentlich die Abhängigkeit des

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[9] Vgl. J. Lefort, Anthroponymie et société villageoise (Xe–XIVe siècles), in V. Kravari/J. Lefort/C. Morrisson (éds.), Hommes et richesses dans l'empire byzantin, t. 2. VIIIe–XVe siècles. *Réalités Byzantines*, 3. Paris 1991, 225–238, vgl. besonders 228 f. (in Abschnitt 2: Structure de la dénomination). Da unsere Liste aber (anders als im Fall der von Lefort herangezogenen Quellen) kein im Hinblick auf fiskalische Belange erstellter Text ist, fehlt es hier besonders bei den Laien, doch teilweise auch bei den zur Geistlichkeit bzw. dem Mönchtum zählenden Personen (insofern wir weder ihre Kirchen, an denen sie wirkten, noch, bei den monastischen Personen, die Klöster, denen sie angehörten, kennen) leider an jeglichen speziellen Hinweisen zur beruflichen Stellung oder wirtschaftlichen Lage.

Eintrags von der (auch in der Ur-Liste sicherlich anzusetzenden) Fürbittformel übersah(en). Ob es aber tatsächlich so war (oder anders …), muss offen bleiben. Im übrigen bietet Text A in phonetischer, orthographischer und grammatikalischer Hinsicht (Flexion) mehrere Anhaltspunkte für den Einfluss volkssprachlicher Tendenzen (s. die folgenden Erläuterungen).

Erläuterungen zu bestimmten Personennamen der Liste (Text A) nach ihrer Abfolge im Text[10]

1. Κυράνα

Kyrana bezieht sich eindeutig auf eine Frau. Das verrät nicht nur der Name an sich (s. unten), sondern auch die im *PLP* unter Nr. 93926, 13948 und 93926 verzeichneten Namen: So vor allem Nr. 93926 Κυράνας, Μανουὴλ τῆς; oder Nr. 13984 (*Kyrannas, Theodoros tes:* Paröke auf Lemnos) und Nr. 93927 (*Kyrannas, Konstantinos tes:* Paröke in Hierissos). Obwohl es sich bei den Personen immer um Männer handelt, weist ihr Eponym *tes Kyranas* klar

[10] Im folgenden verwendete Abkürzungen: *PLP* 00 = kein Beleg im Prosopographischen Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit, ed. E. Trapp, Wien 1976–1996 (hier bes. das Abkürzungsverzeichnis und Gesamtregister, bearbeitet von H.-V. Beyer, Wien 1996). – G. S. H. (s. oben Vorbemerkung). – NF = Nominativ-Form. – ON= Ortsname, PN = Personenname. – Dujčev, Slavjanski mestni i lični imena = I. Dujčev, Slavjanski mestni i lični imena văv vizantijskite opisni knigi. *Izvestija na Instituta za Bălgarski Ezik* 7 (1962) 197–215. – Dželebdžić, Slovenski antroponymi = D. Dželebdžić, Slovenski antroponymi u sudskim aktima Dimitrija Homatina. *ZRVI* 43 (2006) 483–498 (Résumé: Slavic anthroponyms in the judicial decisions of Demetrios Chomatenos, 497 f.). – Dujčev, Slavica = I. Dujčev, Slavica dans les Acta Athoa. I. *Byzantinobulgarica* 5 (1978) 289–296. – K. Jireček, Romani = K. Jireček, Romani u gradovima Dalmacije tokom srednjega veka, prev. St. Stojanović (= Zbornik Konstantina Jirečeka/Recueil de travaux de Constantin Jireček), Bd 2 = *Académie Serbe des Sciences et des Arts, Monographies* 356. *Classe des sciences sociales*, 42 (deutsche Erstpublikation: Kais. Akad. d. Wiss., Wien 1901–1904), Belgrad 1962. – Kekaumenos, ed. Litavrin = Sovety i rasskazy Kekavmena. Sočinenie vizantijskogo polkovodca XI veka. (Erstpubl. 1972). Izdanie vtoroe, pererabotannoe i dopol'nennoe. Podgotovka teksta, vvedenie, perevod i kommentarij G. G. Litavrin. St. Petersburg 2003. – Spomenici/Monuments I = Spomenici za srednovekovnata i ponovata istorija na Makedonija, tom I: Gramoti, zapisi i druga dokumentarna gradja za manastirite i crkvite vo Skopskata oblast/Monuments relatifs à l'histoire médiévale et moderne de la Macédoine, I: Diplômes, inscriptions et autres matériaux documentaires, qui se rapportent aux monastères et églises de la région de Skopié, préparés par K. Ilievska (et al.), réd. V. Mošin. Skopje 1975. – Vasmer, Slaven = M. Vasmer, Die Slaven in Griechenland. Erstpubl. 1941, Ndr. mit Vorwort von H. Ditten, Leipzig 1970. – Zaimov, Zaselvane = J. Zaimov, Zaselvane na bălgarskite slavjani na balkanskija poluostrov. Proučvane na žitelskite imena v bălgarskata toponimija/Die Besiedlung der Balkanhalbinsel durch die bulgarischen Slaven. Untersuchung der Einwohnernamen in der bulgarischen Toponymie. Sofia 1967.

darauf hin, dass der betreffende, von seinem männlichen Taufnamen her identifizierbare Namensträger sich sozial oder familiär von einer Frau (nicht unbedingt seiner Mutter) namens *Kyran(n)a* her definiert. Da der Name im Text, wie die Hs. zeigt, kein Sigma aufweist (auch nicht in Abkürzung), liegt hier die NF *Kyrana* vor. Sie leitet sich aus *Kyra Anna* ab und ist schon in den Papyri belegt[11]. Der Name ist auch im Slavischen belegt, s. Spomenici/Monuments I, 433, 440, 452.

2. Δεάβοῦλὰ

PLP 00. Die Betonung bei den Namen auf *–ulas* bzw. *–ula* ist, wie sich aus dem rückläufigen Namensregister im *PLP*[12] und dem Befund der Hs. (Mehrfachakzent) ergibt, uneinheitlich, nicht eindeutig. Daher kann man hier weder die Schreibweise des Namens eindeutig bestimmen, noch das Geschlecht der namentragenden Person. (G. S. H. merkt an: „Die slavogräzisierte oder aromunisierte Namensform dürfte wahrscheinlich auf der ersten, eventuell der letzten Silbe betont gewesen sein.“). So lässt sich nur mit Blick auf ähnliche Namensformen im *PLP* vermuten, welche NF hier anzusetzen ist: Ich entscheide mich für die (bislang unbelegte) männl. NF *Δεαβουλᾶς, lese also im Text den Genetiv Δεαβουλᾶ. Der PN Δεαβουλᾶς leitet sich zweifellos vom ON *Deabolis/Deabole/Devol*, oder auch *Diabolis* (Stadt/Bischofssitz im Erzbistum *Bulgaria* [Ohrid]) ab.[13] – Allerdings könnte man auch einen weibl. PN Δεάβουλα ansetzen: In dem Fall böte der Text die NF des Namens. Daher ist hier eine eindeutige Festlegung nicht möglich. Auf jeden Fall ist der Name (ob männl. oder weibl.) m. W. sonst nicht belegt. Vgl. auch die verwandten PN Λυτοβόης ὁ Διαβολίτης oder Νικόλαος ὁ Δεαβονίτης in: Kekaumenos, ed. Litavrin, Index s. v. (und im Kommentar 417, Fußnote 319), bzw. Demetrii Chomateni Ponemata (wie oben Fußnote 7), Nr. 56, 3 passim.

3. Νικοῦλητζᾶ

Der Name liegt vor in *PLP* Nr. 20589: Νικούλιτζας, daher setze ich auch in unserem Fall diese NF an, die in einer Iviron-Akte von 1341 belegt ist[14] (doch G. S. H. plädiert dafür, „die Endbetonung von Nr. 15 [s. unten] … auch für die Nr. 3 [derselbe Name!] als richtig anzunehmen; beim –u– von Nr. 3 handelt es

11 J.-L. Fournet/J. Gascou, À propos de PSI IX 1061 descr.: Le nom du saunier et une formation méconnue d’anthroponymes féminins. *ZPE* 135 (2001) 139–149, hier 146–149.

12 Abkürzungsverzeichnis und Gesamtregister, bearb. v. H.-V. Beyer. Wien 1996.

13 Zu seinem Namen vgl. G. Schramm, Eroberer und Eingesessene. Geographische Lehnnamen als Zeugen der Geschichte Südosteuropas im ersten Jahrtausend n. Chr. Stuttgart 1981, 228 f.

14 Vgl. zum *PLP*-Eintrag auch die dort noch nicht vermerkte (Neu-)Edition von J. Lefort (et alii), Actes d’Iviron IV. Paris 1995, Nr. 87, Z. 98.

sich mit Wahrscheinlichkeit um die nordneugriech. Vokalverengung von unbetontem [o]>[u], wie auch bei Nr. 2 Deabula>Devol[l]…“). Unser Text bietet die Genetiv-Form, doch in fehlerhafter Schreibweise (Itazismus). Der Name begegnet schon im 11. Jh. bei Kekaumenos, ed. Litavrin, s. Index s. v. Νικουλιτζᾶς, und 56 passim, aber eben endbetont. Doch in unserem Text ist es wegen der Doppelakzentuierung in der Hs. und wegen der unterschiedlichen Akzentuierung der NF des Namens in den genannten Quellen unklar, welche NF hier anzusetzen ist: Daher folge ich dem *PLP*.

4. <Βαρ>βάρ{ρ}ας

Vermutlich ist beim Schreiben (oder Abschreiben) der Vorlage die Anfangssilbe Βαρ versehentlich ausgefallen, weshalb ich sie hier ergänzt habe. Hinter dem ersten deutlichen Rho lese ich ein weiteres, aber verkleckstes Rho, das zu tilgen war. So ergibt sich: Βαρβάρας (Genetiv), mit der entsprechenden NF Βαρβάρα.

5. Στάνη

PLP 00. Die nächstverwandte Entsprechung zu dem Namen bietet *PLP* Nr. 26629–26635: Στάνα (vgl. auch *PLP* Nr. 26630, 26632, 26635: Στάννα). Diese (weibl.) NF ist hier aber nicht ohne weiteres ansetzbar, denn deren Genetiv lautet regulär Στάνας/Στάννας.[15] Ein Στάνης lautender Genetiv zur NF Στάνα wäre zwar irregulär, aber „wohl doch denkbar, man vgl. Genetive wie *Artes*, *Dobraines* zu NF auf –a; dann könnte sich das Eta auch im Nominativ breitgemacht haben, doch dies ist nicht sehr wahrscheinlich“(so G. S. H.), auch angesichts sonstiger Unregelmäßigkeiten im Text. – Doch es müsste in dem Fall eben auch das Sigma ergänzt werden. Um nun letzteres zu vermeiden (und weil die NF Στάνη kaum auszuschließen ist), könnte man vielleicht an eine andere Lösung denken: Angesichts der Häufigkeit des (männl.) Namens Στάνος, s. *PLP* 2847, 3614, 1439 (und mehr: insgesamt 13 Belege) und des in unserem Text an sich zu erwartenden Genetivs, könnte man Στάνη auch als volkssprachlichen Genetiv zu einer m. W. bisher unbelegten NF *Στάνης ansehen. Träfe diese Lösung auf Akzeptanz, böte unser Text den Erstbeleg zu dieser Variante des PN Στάνος. Seine slavische Form *Stan* ist übrigens auch oft belegt, vgl. zum PN *Stan(n)a/Stanos* und seinen slavischen Pendants Dujčev, Mestni i lični imena, 214, Ders., Slavica, 295 und Dželebdžić, Slovenski antroponymi, 496. – Es gäbe allenfalls noch die Alternative, als NF Στάνη anzusetzen, eine Form, die m. W. aber bislang nur als ON in Epiros belegt ist, s. Vasmer, Slaven, 52. Der zugehörige Genetiv wäre Στάνης, im Text müsste man also auch in diesem Fall das Sigma ergänzen. Fazit: Auch hier bleibt (wie bei

15 Siehe z. B. *BZ* 38 (1938) 389 (S. Binon).

Nr. 2) eine Unsicherheit über das Geschlecht der namentragenden Person und die NF ihres Namens bestehen.

6. Χρυσσὺ

PLP Nr. 2827, 11375, 11384 und öfter (9 Belege): Χρυσῆ. – Diese NF ist auch für den hier belegten Namen anzusetzen, der offensichtlich auch in der NF steht, aber fehlerhaft (Itazismus und Dittographie) geschrieben wurde.

7. Δώβρενας

PLP 00. Anzusetzen ist aber der weibl. PN *Δόβρενα/Δοβρένα. Dies zeigen die verwandten Formen *PLP* Nr. 5555–5558: Δοβρωνᾶς (mask.) oder Nr. 5605–5607: Δομπράνα, bzw. Nr. 93453: Δομπράννα als weibl. PN. Dieser PN hat einen engen Bezug zur slavischen Toponomastik oder zu Pflanzennamen bzw. zu entsprechenden Adjektiven, s. Vasmer, Slaven, 118 (mit Hinweis auf den ON Δοβραίνα/Δοβρένα aus Böotien und auf das adj. **dobr'na* = eichen) und Zaimov, Zaselvane, 126 (ON Dobren, Dobreni). Belege für den entsprechenden slavischen (männl.) PN finden sich in: Spomenici/Monuments I, 159, 233, 258: *Dobren*, vgl. auch Jireček, Romani, 221 f. (für *Dobren* und *Dobrona*). – Das slavische *Dobr wird, wie die obigen, vermehrbaren Belege zeigen, griechisch auf zweifache Weise wiedergegeben: *dompr-/ dobr-*. Vgl. auch unten Nr. 14 in dieser Liste.

8. Εὑγενοῦ

Entspricht dem Frauennamen *PLP* Nr. 6203 und 92431: Εὐγενού, so dass diese NF auch für unser Εὑγενοῦ anzusetzen ist. Vgl. dazu die Variante *PLP* Nr. 6204–6216, 29241, 91883: Εὐγενώ. Ein Genetiv-ς möchte ich trotz des Zirkumflex' nicht ergänzen, weil auch weitere Namen in NF folgen. Die männl. Namensvariante (*PLP* Nr. 6171–6174: Εὐγένης) als NF für das Ευγενοῦ unserer Liste scheidet wegen abweichender Betonung aus. Das Paradigma für Ευγενοῦ wäre[16] volkssprachlich (statt auf –ώ): ἡ Μαξιμώ, τῆς Μαξιμοῦς, τῇ Μαξιμοῦ, τὴν Μαξιμοῦν.

9. Μύρα

Der relativ selten belegte Name entspricht mit seiner hier gegebenen NF genau *PLP* 94255 und 94256: Μύρα. – Belegt ist auch in *PLP* Nr. 94259, 94260, 94261: *Myros*, als männl. NF hierzu. Zur slavischen Entsprechung *Mira* s. Dujčev, Slavica, 295 und Jireček, Romani, 227.

[16] G. S. Henrich, Theophanu oder Theophano? Zur Geschichte eines „gespaltenen" griechischen Frauennamensuffixes, in A. v. Euw/P. Schreiner (Hrsg.), Kaiserin Theophanu. Begegnung des Ostens und Westens um die Wende des ersten Jahrtausends, Bd. 2. Köln 1991, 89–99, hier 96.

10. Δανίτζα

PLP 00, auch hier liegt offenbar ein im Griechischen m. W. sonst nicht belegter Frauenname in NF vor. Der Name ist sicherlich slavischen Ursprungs, s. für slav. *Danica* Spomenici/Monuments I, 75–88, hier 83 f.

11. Νεχτάνας

PLP 00. Hier handelt es sich eindeutig um den Genetiv der anscheinend im Griechischen bisher nicht belegten weibl. NF *Νεχτάνα. Aber gut belegt ist in *PLP* Nr. 20062–2066 und 20086 die männl. NF Νεκτάνος, zu der es auch die Varianten *PLP* Nr. 14281, 20077–20085: Νεκτέανος, und *PLP* 20068: Νεκτεάνος gibt, vgl. dazu (auch zur slavischen Form *Nechtjan*) Dujčev, Slavica, 294 und Dželebdžić, Slovenski antroponymi, 494. Νεχτάνα ist in der Lautung volkssprachlich gefärbt (*Nekt-* >*Necht-*).

12. Καλάνας

Genetiv zur NF Καλάνα, die oft belegt ist in *PLP* Nr. 1236, 2072, usw. (insgesamt 12 Belege): Καλάνα, wozu es auch mit *PLP* Nr. 10263–10268 und 92250 die Variante Καλάννα (und mit *PLP* Nr. 10269, 10270 und 92251 die männl. Namen Κάλανος und Καλάννας) gibt.

13. Ράδου

Zu diesem Genetiv findet sich in *PLP* Nr. 7735, 22265 (und öfter: 20×): Ῥάδος als NF oft belegt. Der Name kommt aus dem Slavischen, s. Dujčev, Mestni i lični imena, 212, Dželebdžić, Slovenski antroponymi, 495 und Spomenici/Monuments I, 258, 306–308.

14. Δωβρᾶ

PLP 00, aber hier handelt es sich anscheinend um die NF des weibl. Pendants zu *PLP* Nr. 14754: Δόβρος (Λεστίτζας) vor, freilich mit abweichendem Akzent. Vgl. auch *PLP* 93452: Δόμπρα, oder slav. *Dobra* in: Spomenici /Monuments I, 432, 440 (weibl.), bzw. (männl.+ weibl.) *Dobre*, ebd. 431 und Jireček, Romani, 220. – Interessant sind (wegen. der Betonung) Belege für den ON Δοβρᾶ/ Δοβρά (heute: *Asprangeloi*) im Kr. Ioannina bei Vasmer, Slaven, 31.[17] Vgl. auch oben im Kommentar zu Nr. 7 zur lautlichen „Äquivalenz“ von *dompr-/ dobr-* im Griechischen.

15. Νικολητζᾶ

Eindeutig Genetiv zur NF des PN, der belegt ist in *PLP* Nr. 20580: Νικολίτζας, vgl. auch *PLP* Nr. 20581: *Νικολίτζης. Vermutlich ist aber der Akzent

[17] Ergänzend zu den Belegen s. noch K. Thesprotos/A. Psalidas, Γεωγραφία Ἀλβανίας καὶ Ἠπείρου, ed. A. Ch. Papacharises, Ioannina 1964, 11, 58 und 73.

hier bei der NF endbetont, vgl. dazu auch oben bei Nr. 3 die Bemerkungen von G.S.H.

16. Νικόλ<α>

Vermutlich ist hier in unserem Text der Genetiv zur NF jenes (männl.) Namens anzusetzen, der, oft belegt, in *PLP* Nr. 2651, 2652, 4234 (und sehr viel mehr): Νικόλας lautet. Es handelt sich um einen auch im Slavischen oft belegten Namen (*Nikola*).

17. Στόης

PLP 00. Im Griechischen ist m.W. nur ein sicher eng verwandter (männl.) PN belegt: *PLP* Nr. 27007: Στώϊας. Aber mit Rücksicht auf den im Slavischen belegten (weibl.) PN *Stoja* (s. Spomenici/Monuments I, 432, 433, 440, 447, 452, 456, 457) läßt sich für die NF der bislang nur in unserem Text belegten griech. Form Στόης die NF *Στόη ansetzen. Mit Sicherheit ist der griech. PN aus dem Slavischen abgeleitet.

Zu den Namen der Texte B–E

In diesen Texten begegnen uns zumeist gängige oder bekannte byzantinisch-griechische Namen, davon einige wieder mehrfach (wie auch in Text A): Michael (3×), Theodoros (2×) und Maria (2×), andere indes nur einmal: Basileios (?), Kale, Theodoret, Ioannikios, Anna und Athanasios. Vier davon sind nicht in Text A enthalten: Basileios, Theodoret, Anna und Athanasios. Weniger gängig ist indes der hier einmal belegte Name *Kyrana:* Er ist uns auch in Text A begegnet und oben erläutert worden. Der hier (einmal) begegnende Name *Phloros* ist in dieser schlichten Form in byzantinischen Quellen nur sehr selten belegt, vermutlich weil er lateinischer Herkunft ist.[18] Er begegnet aber z.B. im Geschichtswerk des Nikephoros Bryennios;[19] auch das *PLP* führt zwei (wegen unsicherer Zeitstellung mit Asterisk versehene) Belege an: Nr. *29995 (*Phloros*, *Georgios*) und Nr. *29996 (*Phloros*, *Nikolaos*). Zwei weitere, hier je einmal begegnende Namen sind griechisch-slavischen Charakters: der Frauenname *Kositza* und der auch schon in Text A vorkommende, daher auch bereits besprochene seltene Männername(?) **Stanes.* Von diesen beiden wiederum ist *Kositza,* wenn ich recht sehe, in byzantinischen Quellen bisher noch nicht belegt gewesen und daher als Erstbeleg hervorzuheben: Seine

[18] Vgl. V. Laurent, Kataphloros. Patronyme supposé du métropolite de Thessalonique Eustathe. *REB* 20 (1962) 218–221, hier 220.

[19] Nicéphore Bryennios, Histoire. Introduction, texte, traduction et notes par P. Gautier. *CFHB*, 9. Paris 1975, 217, Z. 8.

Deutung ist schwierig, die Hinweise bei Dujčev, Mestni i lični imena, 208 (zum ON Κασίτζα bzw. Κάσιτζα, mit Berufung auf Vasmer, Slaven, 205: dort Hinweis auf slav. *Kosica* und den häufigen skr. ON *kosa* bzw. russ. *Kosa*) helfen kaum weiter. – *Kosá* hat im Russ. drei Bedeutungen: 1. Zopf, Flechte. 2. Sense. 3. Landzunge. Könnte also der weibliche PN *Kositza* von *kosa* = Zopf herzuleiten sein und soviel wie Zöpfchen bedeuten? Die Reste weiterer Namen aus den Texten B–E lasse ich hier beiseite, von ihnen wäre allenfalls Eupraxia (?) noch festzuhalten.

Was nun die Menge aller in den Texten B–E genannten Personen (inkl. der durch Rasur gelöschten Namen) und ihre Zusammensetzung angeht, so teilt sie sich auch hier (wie schon im Text A) in eine Gruppe der Laien und eine der Geistlichen. Beide Gruppen zusammen umfassen 19 (mit der unsicher gelesenen *Eupraxia:* 20) Personen, vgl. Anhang II. Die Laien zählen insgesamt 15 (16) Personen, nämlich acht Männer und sieben (acht) Frauen, auch hier ist also, wie bei den Gruppen in Text A, das Zahlenverhältnis zwischen Männern und Frauen nahezu (oder sogar exakt) paritätisch. Die Geistlichen umfassen insgesamt vier Personen, nämlich zwei Mönche (darunter ein Priestermönch) und zwei Weltkleriker (einen Diakon und einen Priester). Das Zahlenverhältnis zwischen Laien und Geistlichen beträgt hier (Eupraxia mitgerechnet) 4 : 1, ist demnach zugunsten der Laien etwas höher als im Text A.

III. Spuren einer Bruderschaft? Historische und prosopographische Überlegungen

Nach Erörterung der Gruppen der Namenträger und der Besonderheit einzelner Namen, deren griechisch-slavische Mischung übrigens ganz typisch ist für die Region Epiros im 13. Jh., gilt es nun, einige Fragen zu klären, die sich auf die Gruppe(n) der zum Zweck der Kommemoration, d. h. zur *Memoria*,[20] aufgelisteten Verstorbenen wie auch insgesamt auf die historische bzw. prosopographische Bedeutung der Liste in Text A (und der Folgetexte B–E) beziehen, aber auch auf den Kontext ihrer Überlieferung. Wie ich schon oben in Abschnitt II (s. S. 6) angedeutet habe, geht es dabei vor allem um den Versuch, herauszufinden bzw. festzustellen, 1. wer diejenigen aufgelisteten Personen (bzw. diejenige Personengruppe) gewesen sein könnte(n), die hier komme-

[20] Dem Begriff „Memoria“ sei hier die bei L. Steindorff, Memoria in Altrußland. Untersuchungen zu den Formen christlicher Totensorge. *Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des östlichen Europa*, 38. Stuttgart 1994, 24 gegebene Definition zugrundegelegt: „Memoria ist der Selbstvergewisserung einer sozialen Gruppe dienende Erinnerung; sie ist Ersatz für die Anwesenheit der Kommemorierten in der Gruppe; Memoria ist gebunden an Formen, die von der Gruppe durch Konvention anerkannt sind.“ Vgl. auch ebd., Buch Kap. V: Zeugnisse der Memoria in Byzanz und bei den Südslaven (119 – 135).

moriert werden sollte(n) und 2. welche Personen bzw. Personengruppe das Gedächtnis dieser Verstorbenen pflegen wollte bzw. sollte.

Um hierüber nach Möglichkeit Klarheit zu gewinnen, müssen wir aber noch weiter fragen: Lebten bzw. wohnten die erwähnten Personen – von denen sich keine durch einen herausragenden Titel in den höheren Rängen der Gesellschaft verorten lässt – alle im engeren oder ferneren Gemeinde-Umkreis des *Anagnostes* Michael Papadopulos im Drungos *Tzerme(r)nikos* (heute die Gebirgsregion Tsumerka) bei Ioannina?[21] Die Antwort fällt notgedrungen vage aus, da wir von der Liste her kaum präzise Anhaltspunkte haben: Vermutlich lebten sie mehr oder weniger im engeren Umkreis des Drungos, d.h. in der Region Tzermenikon, auf jeden Fall aber wohl im Thema Ioannina (also im Um- oder Hinterland der Stadt), das in der Schreibernotiz ausdrücklich mit erwähnt wird.[22] Auffällig ist jedoch der Herkunfts-Hinweis bei dem Priester Theodoros: Denn der ON *Nikopole* (hier aber im Genetiv) ist sicherlich auf den Dukat (bzw. das Thema) Nikopolis (mit den Hauptorten Arta und Naupaktos) zu beziehen, da die (spät-)antike Stadt Nikopolis im 13. Jh. mit Sicherheit nicht mehr bewohnt war; Arta und Naupaktos hatten sie längst abgelöst. Der Priester Theodoros kam also aus der dem Thema Ioannina benachbarten Provinz Nikopolis, die der Herrscher Theodoros Dukas seinem Bruder Konstantinos Dukas als Apanage auf Lebenszeit zur Verwaltung überlassen hatte.[23]

Des weiteren stellt sich die Frage, welchen Bezug die Genannten zum *Anagnostes* Michael Papadopulos hatten, oder anders gesagt: Welche Rolle könnte er für sie gespielt haben? Und auf welchen Zeitraum beziehen sich die Einträge? Auf beide Fragen ist mangels geeigneter Hinweise keine genaue Antwort möglich, vor allem einstweilen nicht auf die erste (vgl. aber unten). Was die zweite betrifft, so ist es wohl nicht unrealistisch anzunehmen, dass die Gruppe der zu Kommemorierenden aus Text A alle in einer Zeitspanne ver-

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21 Vgl. P. Soustal (unter Mitarbeit von J. Koder), Nikopolis und Kephallenia. *TIB*, 3. Wien 1981, 274 und G. Prinzing, Studien zur Provinz- und Zentralverwaltung im Machtbereich der epirotischen Herrscher Michael I. und Theodoros Dukas, Teil II. *Epeirotika Chronika* 25 (1983) 64 f.

22 Vgl. zum Thema Ioannina zuletzt G. Prinzing, Das Verwaltungssystem im epirotischen Staat der Jahre 1210– ca. 1246. *BF* 19 (1993) 113–126, hier 114, und M. Kordoses, Τά βυζαντινά Γιάννενα: Καστρο – πόλη – Ξώκαστρο – Κοινωνία – Διοίκηση – Οἰκονομία. *Historikogeographika* 9 (2002) 9–373, hier 40 f.

23 Vgl. Soustal (wie oben Fußnote 21), 53 f., G. Prinzing, Studien zur Provinz- und Zentralverwaltung im Machtbereich der epirotischen Herrscher Michael I. und Theodoros Dukas, Teil I. *Epeirotika Chronika* 24 (1982) 73–120, hier 87; Ders. (wie oben Fußnote 21), 67–70, Ders. (wie oben Fußnote 22) 114 und 120 f., und Ders., Epirus und die ionischen Inseln im Hochmittelalter. Zur Geschichte der Region im Rahmen des Themas Nikopolis und der Inselthemen Kerkyra und Kephallenia im Zeitraum ca. 1000–1204. *SOF* 56 (1997) 1–25, hier 3–6 und 17–22.

storben sind, die nicht länger als ca. eine bis anderthalb Dekaden vom Zeitpunkt der Erstellung der Hs. (1225) zurückreicht, während die in den Texten B–E erwähnten Personen (entsprechend den oben in Abschnitt I [s. S. 3 unten–4 oben] geäußerten Überlegungen) auch etwa in der auf 1225 folgenden Dekade (?) verstorben sein könnten.

Nach diesen letztlich nur bedingt befriedigenden Antworten auf die (bzw. Überlegungen im Zusammenhang mit den) eben gestellten Fragen, sei nun der Blick wieder auf die Gruppe(n) der zu Kommemorierenden selbst gerichtet und der Versuch unternommen, herauszufinden, ob sie spezielle Merkmale, eine oder mehrere Besonderheiten aufweist (bzw. aufweisen):

Das schon weiter oben und nun hier wieder benutzte Wort ‚Gruppe' diente bislang lediglich dazu, die genannten Namen gleichsam zusammenzufassen, denn es sollte und konnte damit noch nicht ausgesagt sein, dass ihre Träger zu Lebzeiten eine spezielle Gruppe bildeten bzw. einer solchen angehörten. Es wäre ja z. B. denkbar, dass Michael Papadopulos in dem überwiegend liturgisch orientierten Buch nur Namen von Verstorbenen aus dem Kreis bzw. Einzugsbereich seiner ‚Gemeinde' aus der Zeit der Entstehung des Buches verzeichnet hat. Aber gerade eine solche Erklärung bliebe schon deswegen unbefriedigend, weil sich unter den Toten auch Mönche und Nonnen finden, die normalerweise eine eigene liturgische Gemeinschaft im Kloster bilden. Es muss also, wie ich meine, einen besonderen Grund gegeben haben für die Erstellung einer solchen Liste, die ebenso Laien wie auch Priester, Mönche und Nonnen umgreift.

Eben dieser Umstand ist es, der nun eher daran denken lässt, dass wir es hier in der Tat wohl doch mit der Kommemorierung verstorbener Mitglieder einer besonderen Gruppe zu tun haben könnten, und zwar mit einer unbekannten religiösen Bruderschaft, die Laien und Kleriker umfasst hat. Das heißt: Die Gruppe dürfte in kleinerem Maßstab und sozusagen auf einer niedrigeren, bescheideneren gesellschaftlichen Ebene (und vermutlich auch nur partiell) in etwa dem entsprochen haben, was man von der Thebener Bruderschaft aus dem 11. Jh. weiß, die zwar gern als „Laien-Bruderschaft" bezeichnet wird, aber doch außer den Laien eben auch einige Kleriker umfasst hat. Bei jener handelt es sich um „*a devotional and burial society*", in der es nicht nur zu den Aufgaben der Mitglieder gehörte, sich regelmäßig zur gegenseitigen Glaubensbestärkung, zum Gottesdienst und Gebet zu treffen oder sich in Not und Krankheit mit Gebeten zu helfen, sondern auch, für die Bestattung und die Memoria ihrer Verstorbenen zu sorgen. Dies geht aus ihrem im Jahr 1048 fixierten und unterzeichneten Statut (in der zu Palermo erneuerten Ausfertigung von vor 1089) deutlich hervor, das J. Nesbitt und J. Wiita 1975 in dieser Zeitschrift publiziert und ausgezeichnet kommentiert haben.[24]

[24] J. Nesbitt/J. Wiita, A confraternity of the Comnenian era. *BZ* 68 (1975) 360–384, das

Allerdings gibt es in unserem Fall keinerlei Hinweis auf ein derartiges Statut und auch sonst keinen unmissverständlich von einer Bruderschaft sprechenden Passus in den Texten des *Cod. Cromwell* 11. Daher sei zur Stütze der Vermutung, dass es sich bei der Namenliste aus **Text A** (und auch bei den Namen aus den **Texten B–E**) um die Verstorbenen einer Bruderschaft handeln könnte, doch nachdrücklich daran erinnert, dass es auch über die Thebener Bruderschaft hinaus mehrere Hinweise und Indizien (aus früherer wie auch späterer Zeit) für die Existenz weiterer Bruderschaften in der byzantinischen Provinz wie auch in der Hauptstadt zwischen dem 9. Jh. und der Mitte des 15. Jh. gibt.[25]

Sollte es demnach so gewesen sein, dass wir es in den Texten A (wie auch B–E) mit den Spuren einer Bruderschaft zu tun haben, dann drängen sich mit gebotener Vorsicht jedenfalls einige Schlussfolgerungen auf, darunter diese:

1. Unsere Hs. dürfte von dieser unbekannten Bruderschaft erstellt und folglich auch finanziert worden sein. 2. Die inhaltliche Zusammensetzung der Hs. spricht durchaus deutlich (um nicht zu sagen: auffällig) dafür, dass letztere auf die Bedürfnisse von Leuten ausgerichtet war, die u.a. mit der Abhaltung diverser Liturgien, aber auch der Pflege und geistlichen Betreuung kranker und hinfälliger Menschen befasst waren. 3. Dazu wiederum würde es passen, dass man am Ende einer solchen Hs. auch die für den Vollzug der Memoria essentiellen Namen der verstorbenen Mitglieder der postulierten Bruderschaft festhielt (und laufend zu aktualisieren versuchte). 4. Wenn es so war, dürfte sich auch der Anagnost Michael Papadopulos in den oben aus dem Kolophon

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Zitat 362. Vgl. auch A. Paliuras, Βυζαντινή Αιτωλοακαρνανία. Συμβολή στη βυζαντινή και μεταβζυαντινή μνημειακή τέχνη. Με 394 εικόνες και σχέδια/Byzantine Aitoloakarnania. A contribution to the study of Byzantine and post-Byzantine monumental art. With 394 plates and drawings. Athen 1985, 33 (Abb. 6) und 39; ders., Η αδελφότητα της „Θεοτόκου της Ναυπακτιώτισσης" και η σχέση της με την περιοχή των Θηβών κατά την μεσοβυζαντινή περίοδο. Απόψεις και προβλήματα. *Epeteris Hetaireias Boiotikon Meleton* 1/2 (1988) 613–623; Steindorff (wie oben Fußnote 20), 122; L. Neville, Authority in Byzantine Provincial Society, 950–1100. Cambridge 2004, 127 f. und 173 f., und zuletzt J. Baun, Tales from another Byzantium. Celestial Journey and Local Community in the Medieval Greek Apocrypha. Cambridge 2007, 375 und 379.

[25] Vgl. Nesbitt/Wiita (wie oben Fußnote 24), 382–284, M. Acheimastou-Potamianou, The Byzantine wallpaintings of Vlacherna Monastery (area of Arta), in: Actes du XVe Congrès International d'Études Byzantines Athènes–Septembre 1976, II: Art et Archéologie. Communications, A. Athen 1981, 1–14, hier 4 f. und 10–14, G. Dagron, «Ainsi rien n'échappera à la réglementation.» État, Église, corporations, confréries: à propos des inhumations à Constantinople (IVe–Xe siècle), in Kravari/Lefort/Morrisson (Hrsg.), Hommes et richesses (wie oben Fußnote 9) 155–182, hier 162–164 und 175–182, M. Angold, Church and society in Byzantium under the Comneni, 1081–1261. Cambridge 1995, 182 und 387 f.; Ch. Angelide/T. Papamastorakes, Η μονή των Οδηγών και η λατρεία της Θεοτόκου; M. Basilake (Hrsg.), Μητήρ Θεού. Απεικονίσεις της Παναγίας στη βυζαντινή τέχνη. Athen/Mailand 2000, 373–385, hier 377–379, und Baun (wie oben Fußnote 24), 371–375 (jeweils mit weiterführenden Nachweisen).

zitierten Sätzen (also im zitierten Gebet und in dem Passus zum Inhalt des Codex, s. den Text zu Fußnote 8), wenn auch nur indirekt, speziell auf die Mitglieder dieser Bruderschaft bezogen haben.

Schließlich ist (5.) zu vermuten, dass auch die intensive Pflege der liturgischen Verehrung der *Theotokos* zu den wesentlichen kultischen Aufgaben der hier postulierten Bruderschaft gehörte. Als einen zwar wiederum nur indirekten, aber doch ins Auge springenden Anhaltspunkt hierfür darf man m.E. die Miniatur-Ikone der inschriftlich so bezeichneten *Theotokos Eleusa* ansehen, die hier anscheinend ganz bewusst, d.h. vom Auftraggeber der Hs. gewollt, den Anfang der Hs. (p. 2a) schmückt.[26] Es sei daran erinnert, dass auch das Typikon der Thebener Bruderschaft, für die der Kult der *Theotokos Naupaktetissa* von zentraler Bedeutung war, von einer Marien-Miniatur vom Typ der *Maria Hagiosoritissa* (nach Nesbitt/Wiita) bzw. der *Panagia he Paraklesis* (nach Paliuras) gleichsam eröffnet wird.[27] Jedenfalls ist es wohl kein Zufall, dass sich auch in allen anderen, von Reinsch und Cataldi Palau[28] registrierten bzw. behandelten Codices aus Epiros keine weitere derartige oder vergleichbare Marienminiatur am Anfang einer Hs. findet. Diesem Befund nach könnte es sich hier also durchaus um eine auffällige, vielleicht singuläre Besonderheit des Codex handeln. Um Punkt 5 zusammenzufassen: Die Existenz wie auch die Plazierung der ikonengleichen Miniatur in unserer Hs. bietet ein weiteres, und zwar gewichtiges Indiz für die Vermutung, dass sich dieser Codex einer Bruderschaft verdankt, die sich dem Kult der *Theotokos Eleusa* verschrieben hatte.

Freilich, schlagend und „wasserdicht“ zu beweisen war mit meinen bisherigen Beobachtungen und Überlegungen die Existenz der Bruderschaft leider nicht. Aber angesichts der extrem dünnen Überlieferungslage zu Bruderschaften, die es gewiss in stärkerem Maße als allgemein aus den Quellen er-

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[26] Hutter (wie oben Fußnote 1) 80, beschreibt, wie auch oben in Fußnote 3 vermerkt, die auf p. 2a befindliche Miniatur im Abschnitt „Beschreibung der Illustrationen“ wie folgt: „p. 2a: Marienikone. Frontispiz: 142 × 125 mm. (Abb. 294). Maria ist in Halbfigur streng frontal dargestellt, das Kind auf ihrem rechten Arm steif aufrecht, in Dreiviertelansicht dem Betrachter zugewandt. Soweit Farbspuren erkennen lassen, trug Maria ein graublaues Untergewand und braunes Maphorion mit hellem Saum, Christus ein blaugraues Gewand. Breite, hellgelbe Nimben. Dunkelroter Grund, ursprünglich mit dünner Silberauflage. Als Rahmen eine Bordüre aus gegenständigen dünnen Herzpalmetten, rot und gelb auf schwarzem Grund. Weitgehend zerstört. Legende, in großer gelber Auszeichnungsminuskel: MHP ΘΟΥ Η ΕΛΕ(ΟΥCA). IC XC.“ Zur Ikonographie der Maria Eleusa vgl. G. M. Lechner, s.v. Maria. *RBK* 6 (2005) 18–114, hier 71–80 (Abschnitt 5).

[27] Vgl. Nesbitt/Wiita (wie oben Fußnote 24), 362 f. (Beschreibung der Miniatur), und im Text des Typikons 364, Z. 22–28, und passim; Paliouras 1985 (wie oben Fußnote 24), 39; ders. 1988 (wie oben Fußnote 24), 615 f. (zum Kult), 617 f. (zum Marien-Typ), Neville (wie oben Fußnote 24), 171.

[28] Siehe oben Fußnote 2.

kennbar ist, gegeben haben muss, sollten doch alle erkennbaren Anzeichen und Hinweise auf die mögliche Existenz einer Bruderschaft sorgfältigst registriert werden: So gesehen, wären die untersuchten Texte aus dem *Cod. Cromwell 11*, insbesondere die Namenliste in Text A (mit ihren Annexen), eine in gewisser Weise elektrisierende Quelle von erheblichem historischen Wert. Denn wie ich hoffe gezeigt zu haben, ist die Wahrscheinlichkeit groß, dass sie – wie letztlich der ganze Codex, indirekt Zeugnis ablegt von der Existenz einer weiteren, bisher noch unbekannt gewesenen byzantinischen Bruderschaft, diesmal im bergigen, ländlich-dörflich strukturierten Hinterland von Ioannina, im Zeitraum um 1220/25, also in der Konsolidierungsphase von Epiros unter Theodoros Dukas: einer Bruderschaft, zu der anscheinend eher einfache, sozial sonst unauffällige Leute auf Seiten der Laien und einige Priester, Priestermönche, Mönche und Nonnen auf Seiten der Geistlichen gehört haben. Doch auch im Fall, dass es die postulierte Bruderschaft nicht gegeben haben sollte, ist der Quellenwert der untersuchten Zeilen keineswegs gering zu veranschlagen, und zwar sowohl aus namenkundlicher bzw. sprachlicher Sicht (Erstbelege für einige Namen, Belege für volkssprachliche Formen auch bisher schon bekannter Namen) wie auch aus prosopographischer Sicht: Denn die hier belegten Namen einfacher Laien, aber auch die erwähnten Geistlichen (die Priester, der Diakon, die Priestermönche, die übrigen Mönche und die Nonne), die wir allesamt keiner bestimmten Kirche und keinem bestimmten Kloster der Region Ioannina zuordnen können, liefern uns, ganz unverhofft, willkommene Elemente für eine Prosopographie „von unten" im Hinblick auf die dortige Gesellschaft.

Anhang I: Liste der zu Kommemorierenden (aus Text A)

Laien ♂	*Laien ♀*	*monachos*	*monache*	*hieromonachos*	*hiereus*
Theodoros	Kyrana	Nikodemos	Barbara	Ioannikios	Michael
Kyrillos	Barbara	Thomas			Theodoros
Deabulas	Helene				Michael
Nikuletzas	Chryse				Theodoros von Nikopole
Michael	Dobrena				Symeon
Stanes	Eugenû				
Mauros	Myra				
Kosmas	Danitza				
Rados	Nechtana				
Ioannes	Kalana				
Niketas	Kale				
Theodoros	Dobra				
Nikoletzas	Maria				
Nikolas	Stoe				
Mauros	Zoe				

Anhang II: Lesbare Namen aus den Texten B–E

Laien ♂	*Laien ♀*	*monachos*	*hieromonachos*	*hiereus*	*diakonos*
Theodoros	Kale	Ioannikios	Theodoretos	N.N.	Athanasios
Phloros	Kositza				
Michael	Maria				
Theodoros	Kyrana				
Michael	Maria				
Basileios	Georgia				
Michael	(Eupraxia?)				
Stanes	Anna				

THE REVOLT OF VITALIANUS AND THE "SCYTHIAN CONTROVERSY"

DAN RUSCU / CLUJ

The uprising of general Vitalian, which was one of the most significant events in the reign of Emperor Anastasius, is regarded by some modern authors as an action that bears primarily political motivation – the intent of taking over the throne, while the religious aspect was just a pretext.[1] For others, the rebellious general was a defender of Orthodoxy against Anastasius,[2] the heretic emperor. The present paper does not intend to describe once again Vitalian's revolt,[3] but to discuss its motivation.

Vitalian's uprising began as a movement limited in space, of a local commander of the Danubian *foederati* and nothing seemed to indicate that it would acquire special significance. At first sight, it was initiated in 514 by Hypatius' decision (who was a *magister militum per Thraciam*) to suspend the *annonae foederaticae.*[4] At the time, Vitalian, who certainly had close

1 P. Charanis, Church and State in the Later Roman Empire. The religious policy of Anastasius the First. Thessalonike 1974, 81; A. A. Vasiliev, Justin the First. An introduction to the epoch of Justinian the Great. Cambridge (Mass.) 1950, 109, and recently F. K. Haarer, Anastasius I. Politics and Empire in the Late Roman World. Cambridge 2006, 165, 168, 179.

2 E. Stein, Histoire du Bas-Empire. II. De la disparition de l'Empire d'Occident à la mort de Justinien (476–565). Paris 1949, 178; A. Madgearu, Armata din provincia Scythia în apărarea ortodoxiei. Revolta generalului Vitalianus. *Revista de Istorie Militară* 2 (2001) 37–41.

3 See for this mainly J.B. Bury, History of the Later Roman Empire I. London 1923, 447–452; Stein (as footnote 2 above) 178–185; Haarer (as footnote 1 above) 164–179; another interpretation: P. Peeters, Hypathius et Vitalien, autour de la succession de l'empereur Anastase, in: Pankarpeia. Melanges Henri Grégoire II. *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves*, 10. Bruxelles 1950, 5–51.

4 Ioannis Antiocheni Fragmenta ex historia chronica, ed. U. Roberto. *TU*, 154. Berlin 2005, frg. 311, 1–18; cf. Th. Mommsen, Bruchstücke des Johannes von Antiochia und des Johannes Malalas. *Hermes* 6 (1872) 734–735. It is interesting that, apart from a brief and not very clear reference in: F.J. Hamilton/E.W. Brooks (trans.), The Syriac Chronicle known as that of Zachariah of Mitylene. London 1899, VII, 13 (p. 185), who states that Vitalian wanted to return his soldiers the gold that had been discontinued by Anastasius – although his own source refers to the incitements of the Orthodox in Scythia and Moesia: Theodoros Anagnostes, Kirchengeschichte, ed. G. C. Hansen. Berlin 1971, 143 –, the other authors mention religious reasons of the revolt: Malalas 16, 16 (Thurn); he revolted under the pretext of the bishops Flavian and Macedonius having been exiled, see Victoris Tunnunensis Chronicon cum reliquiis ex Consularibus Caesaraugustanis et Iohannis Biclarensis Chronicon, ed. C. Cardelle de Hartmann. *CC Series Latina* 173A. Turnhout 2001, a. 510 (p. 91): knowing about the overthrow of the Catholic faith and the condemnation of the synod at Chalcedon, about the deposing of the Orthodox bishops

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connections with his soldiers, not only because he was their commander, but also for being the son of their former commander, Patriciolus,[5] started an uprising.[6] Having removed the military commanders in Thrace,[7] Vitalian's army set out for Constantinople. Though ostensibly it was the revolt of the soldiers who were dissatified with their pay, Emperor Anastasius' reaction at the news that the rebel army was approaching is a clear indication that the situation was somewhat more complex: he gave orders to the effect that bronze crosses be fastened to the city gates in order to prove that he defended the true faith and he made a generous donation to the cathedral of Saint Sophia as well, obviously to win over the clergy.[8] Accordingly, although the uprising's main motivation was pecuniary, the religious aspect of the events is manifest from the very beginning.

Upon reaching the outskirts of the capital, Vitalian began negotiations with the Emperor's envoys. His requests deserve a closer look. First, Vitalian demanded that the subsidies for the *foederati* be reinstated, thus touching on the revolt's initial reason. The second request, however, is surpising given the fact that it was coming from a general of Barbaric origin,[9] who reached the walls of Constantinople with an army of Huns and Bulgarians,[10] among whom

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and their replacement by heretics; R. H. Charles (trans.), The Chronicle of John (c. 690 A. D.), Coptic Bishop of Nikiu. *Text and Translation Society*, 3. London 1911 (repr. Amsterdam 1979), 89, 71 (p. 130): because of Flavian's deposition and Severus' enthronement at Antioch; Theophanes AM 6005 (157 De Boor): incited by the Orthodox in Scythia and Moesia (the source being Theodoros Anagnostes). On the date, see Charanis (as footnote 1 above) 81 and footnote 7; Haarer (as footnote 1 above) 167 and footnote 243.

5 Ioannes Antiochenus (as footnote 4 above), ibid.; Victor Tunnunensis, ibid.; Theophanes AM 6005 (157 De Boor).

6 The *foederati* were joined by many malcontents in the areas he crossed; his army swelled to 5,000 "warriors and peasants", according to Ioannes Antiochenus (as footnote 4 above) frg. 311, 16–18. Perhaps the latter were attracted by the idea of defending Orthodoxy, while the federates' main reason was the *annona.* For the *foederati*, see J. Maspero, Φοιδεράτοι et Στρατιῶται dans l'armée byzantine au VIe siècle. *BZ* 21 (1912) 97–109; Bury (as footnote 3 above) II, 76–77 and footnote 5; P. Southern/K. Dixon, The Late Roman Army. London 1996, 50.

7 Ioannes Antiochenus (as footnote 4 above), ibid.

8 ibid., frg. 311, 19–42; cf. Mommsen (as footnote 4 above) 736.

9 A Goth, as most sources seem to indicate – including the ones who call him Scythian. Another hypothesis, interesting and rather convincingly put, was formulated by I. I. Russu, Obîrşia şi răscoala lui Vitalian, in: Omagiu lui P. Constantinescu-Iaşi. Bucureşti 1965, 133–139 who argues that he was of Thracian origin. However, since the information in the sources cannot be entirely ignored, most plausible appears the hypothesis of Stein (as footnote 2 above) 178, according to whom Vitalian was a Romano-Gothic half-blood.

10 Malalas 332, 75–76 (Thurn) refers to Gothic, Hunnic and Scythic federates, Theophanes AM 6006 (160, 14–15 De Boor) and Georgii Cedreni Compendium Historiarum, vol. I,

Christians must have been rare – namely the demand that the Emperor should defend the true faith. Since Anastasius had acted as mentioned above in order to demonstrate his Orthodoxy, the question raises naturally: what kind of Orthodoxy did Vitalian's claim refer to and why did not the Emperor's action convince him? It is of course known that Anastasius, whose reign was initially overshadowed by the *Henotikon*,[11] began in ca. 511, under the influence of Severus of Antioch, to turn openly against the pro-Chalcedonian hierarchy and to favour Severian Monophysitism.[12]

Under these circumstances, Vitalian's demands were directed clearly against Anastasius' increasingly manifest pro-Monophysite attitude, which gives his uprising also a religious character. Some scholars even hold the opinion that Vitalian took advantage of the troops' discontent – who were in all likelihood religiously indifferent – in order to use them as leverage in pursuing his religious goal.[13] It remains unclear, however, how a warrior from the outskirts of the Empire became interested in the theological disputes – even more so since there were no major differences between the Chalcedonian theology and Severian Monophysitism like for instance between Arianism and Orthodoxy.

Nonetheless, the Emperor promised to comply with both requests and the rebels withdrew. By accepting them, however, Anastasius found himself in a religious dilemma: on one hand, he had to retain the loyalty of the Latin-speaking provinces in the West; on the other, he risked to alienate the population in Syria and Egypt.[14] Therefore, the Emperor eventually ignored the promises which he had made.[15]

Having gained some time, Anastasius appointed another commander for the army in Thrace, Cyril, and took the counteroffensive. Unfortunately for the emperor, the confrontation with Vitalian went again in favour of the rebel and Cyril was captured, as was his successor, Hypatius, the emperor's nephew.[16]

ed. I. Bekker. Bonn 1838, 632, 10–11 to Huns and Bulgarians. Bury (as footnote 3 above) I, 448; Stein (as footnote 2 above) 178.

11 P. Allen, The Definition and Enforcement of Orthodoxy, in A. Cameron/B. Ward-Perkins/M. Whitby (eds.), Cambridge Ancient History XIV. Late Antiquity: Empire and Successors, AD 425–600. Cambridge 2000 (= CAH XIV), 818.

12 J. Meyendorff, Imperial Unity and Christian Divisions: The Church 450–680 A.D., Crestwood 1989, 202.

13 A. Cameron, The Eastern Empire: Theodosius to Anastasius, in CAH XIV, 56.

14 W. H. C. Frend, Eastern Attitudes to Rome during the Acacian Schism, in D. Baker (ed.), The Orthodox Churches and the West. *Studies in Church History,* 13. Oxford 1976, 70.

15 Charanis (as footnote 1 above) 86.

16 For the 514 campaign: Ioannes Antiochenus (as footnote 4 above), frg. 311, 43–73; Marcellinus Comes, Chronicon, ed. Th. Mommsen. *MGH auct. ant.* XI. Berlin 1894, a. 515, 2–4 (p. 99); Ioannes of Nikiu (as footnote 4 above) 89, 77 (p. 130); Theodoros Anagnostes (as footnote 4 above) 509 (p. 145); Victor Tunnunensis (as footnote 4 above)

After Vitalian had defeated the Imperial troops and captured their commanders together with other officers, the way towards Constantinople was once again free for him. He encamped in the port of Sosthenion, on the outskirts of the city, where he began negotiations with the Emperor's envoys. The requests that were put forward by the rebellious general must be examined. Firstly, he asked to be appointed *magister militum per Thraciam.*[17] This indicates that the rebels' financial claims had not been met satisfactorily after the first campaign and that Vitalian intended to remedy the situation personally. The best way to accomplish this goal was to attain the regional command. On the other hand, however, it is interesting that Vitalian contented himself with an office that would provide only local authority – in his area of origin – at a time when, as Mommsen noted, he could have demanded almost anything.[18] The other category of requests was again, as in the first phase, of religious nature: the Emperor's return to Orthodoxy, the re-appointment of the deposed patriarchs of Constantinople and Antioch, Macedonius and Flavian, and the call for a general council with the involvement of the Western bishops and the Pope, to solve the religious crisis which had started under Acatius.[19] It is significant to note that this time the ecclesiastical demands of Vitalian are much more specific than during the first campaign. The first request is more general, reiterating the demand which had been made in the first phase, while the one concerning Flavian and Macedonius belongs to the larger frame of Vitalian's intent to reinstate Orthodoxy. Solving a religious crisis through a council, however, does not generally belong to the arsenal of political solutions customary at the time, as it pertains rather to the ecclesiastical milieu.[20]

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a. 514 (p. 95), Theophanes AM 6006 (160–161 De Boor). Hypathius, the emperor's nephew, was not one and the same with the first *magister militum per Thraciam* defeated by Vitalian at the beginning of his revolt, cf. Haarer (as footnote 1 above) 167, footnote 245.

17 Ioannes Antiochenus (as footnote 4 above) frg. 311, 89–102; cf. Mommsen (as footnote 4 above) 741.

18 Mommsen (as footnote 4 above) 741.

19 Victor Tunnunensis (as footnote 4 above) a. 514 (p. 95); Theodoros Anagnostes (as footnote 4 above) 509 (p. 145); Bury (as footnote 3 above) I 450.

20 Generally, the political factors of this age tend to be authoritarian on the religious issue, an attitude made manifest in documents like the encyclica of Basiliskos (Evagrius, Ecclesiastical History, ed. J. Bidez/L. Parmentier. London 1898, III 4) or the Henotikon of Zeno (Zacharia of Mitylene, as footnote 4 above, V 8 = p. 121–123; Evagrius, III 14); cf. Bury (as footnote 3 above) I 391, 402–404; W. H. C. Frend, The Rise of the Monophysite Movement. Cambridge 1972, 169–171, 174–180, Meyendorff, Imperial Unity (as footnote 12 above) 196–197, 198–199 and especially R. Haacke, Die kaiserliche Politik in den Auseinandersetzungen um Chalkedon (451–553), in A. Grillmeier/H. Bacht (Hrsg.), Das Konzil von Chalkedon, II. Würzburg 1953, 112–114, 122–123. Only an emperor with theological culture, such as Justinian, took recourse to

Another important aspect is Vitalian's insistance on restoring ties with the papacy. This is the only initiative which he systematically pursued. The most plausible assumption is that – while the patriarchal sees of Constantinople and Antioch were held by heretical hierarchs and supporters of the Emperor –, the only ecclesiastical authority to maintain Orthodoxy was the patriarch of Rome, and he was regarded as the only one who was able to restore the true faith of the Church. This is not, however, the way of acting of an usurper; had he occupied the throne, the Imperial status would have offered him the opportunity to restore Orthodoxy on the foundation of the Emperor's authority in the Byzantine Church, and he would not need to appeal to external support.

It is therefore to be assumed that Vitalian's involvement from the beginning in the religious issue – which he probably did not understand in its entirety – and the solutions offered to solve it allow a glimpse into the fact that he was being counselled by somebody from an ecclesiastical milieu, an individual who must have been familiar with the details and ways of solving the problem.

Anastasius, under the pressure of events, granted Vitalian the command of the troops in Thrace and promised to solve the religious issue by means of a council. Consequently, he wrote to Pope Hormisdas to decide together on solving by council the problems generated by the Henotikon of Emperor Zeno and by excommunicating patriarch Acatius.[21] To ensure that this time the Emperor would keep his word, in 514, Vitalian controlled his correspondence with Pope Hormisdas (his letter is accompanied by one of Vitalian's, and very likely reached Rome by the messenger system which had been established by the Scythian general).[22] Yet Anastasius, who apparently intended to gain time to find a favourable solution – in other words, the one that would not cause a break with the pro-Monophysite communities in the Orient as well, started a parallel correspondence with the Pope, without the knowledge of the Scythian general.[23] Both Anastasius' letters to the Pope include important information for understanding the motives of Vitalian's uprising. It is of significance that none of the letters mentions the military revolt or any threat to the throne of the God loving Emperor. In the official letter Anastasius mentions troubles that ensued in connection with the Orthodox faith, while the secret letter refers to problems which could have been solved by a council – thus the letter certainly bears on the same religious problems. On the other hand, though the

theology and councils in order to solve religious problems: Haacke, ibid. 155 f.; J. Meyendoff, Justinian, the Empire and the Church. *DOP* 22 (1968) 43–60.

21 Epistulae Imperatorum, pontificum, aliorum, inde ab a. 367 usque ad a. 553 datae, Avellana quae dicitur collectio, ed. O. Günther. *CSEL*, 35/1–2. Vienna 1895–98 (= *Coll. Avell.*) 109.

22 *Coll. Avell.* 116, 7; Theophan. A. M. 6006 (161 De Boor).

23 *Coll. Avell.* 107.

revolt had touched a rather extended area south of the Danube, the Imperial letters mention neither Thrace, which was held by Vitalian, nor Constantinople, which was threatened by the rebellious troops. On the other hand, both Anastasius' letters mention unrest caused by the religious situation in the „regions of Scythia".[24] Since this is direct information, coming straight from the authority involved in the issue, it should be granted priority over the narration of historical tradition – which may be subjective or farther removed from the events. Hence, we have to accept that Anastasius' correspondence shows the real nature of the problem, which is, as conceived by the Emperor, of religious nature, as well as its main focal point, which is Scythia.[25]

The negotiations initiated by Anastasius had slight chance of success. Pope Hormisdas, continuing the policy of his predecessors, pursued the acknowledgment of his jurisdiction in the East and the condemnation of those who had challenged it; this is obvious from the four conditions for ending the schism: the recognition of the council of Chalcedon and of the *Tomus Leonis*; the public condemnation of Nestorius' memory, of the Monophysite patriarchs (Eutyches, Dioskoros, Timotheos Ailuros, Petros Mongos, Petros Fullo) and of Acatius; the recalling of the exiled Orthodox bishops, in order to judge them again at the Roman see; the transfer of all court cases against Orthodox bishops to the Papal Curia.[26] Apart from these conditions, the Roman pontiff also wrote a *libellus professionis fidei*, which all Eastern bishops who wished the re-establishment of the communion with the apostolic see had to sign.[27] Important for the part which Vitalian played in all these events is the fact that, although the text of the confession was sent to the East through pontifical legates, the *libelli* signed by the bishops were to be sent to Rome through Vitalian.[28] This shows him to be the main agent of Papal policy in the East, more important even than the pontifical delegates.

The pope's conditions were evidently not likely to foster a reconciliation of the two parties, since they treated the Constantinopolitan church and the Eastern patriarchates patronizingly. In turn, Anastasius' reply showed that he

24 The official letter in *Coll. Avell.* 109, 2: … *dubitationes quaedam de orthodoxa religione in Scythiae partibus … commotae.* The secret letter ibid., 107, 3: … *ea, quae de Scythiae partibus mota sunt …*

25 Nothing indicates that the Emperor, speaking about religious troubles in Scythia, was actually referring to the opposition of the bishops in all the Danubian provinces (i.e. Moesia, Thracia, Dacia, Dardania and Illyiricum), as stated by V. Schurr, Die Trinitätslehre des Boethius im Lichte der „skythischen Kontroversen". *Forschungen zur christlichen Literatur- und Dogmengeschichte*, 18/1. Paderborn 1935, 132.

26 *Coll. Avell.* 116a–b.

27 ibid., *appendix* IV (p. 800–801).

28 ibid., p. 801: *Hanc autem professionem meam feci, in qua et manu propria subscripsi, et tibi Hormisdae sancto et venerabili urbis Romae papae optuli per virum gloriosissimum magistrum Vitalianum.*

was not willing to accept any compromise in order to re-establish communion with the Apostolic see, but that he wished to restore religious peace, which assured the Empire's unity and prosperity.[29]

The reconciliation planned in this manner did not actually take place: the pontifical delegation sent to Constantinople in 515 returned without having achieved anything,[30] the bishops assembled at Heraclea for the council finally left, having accomplished nothing.[31] Shortly afterwards, Anastasius also revoked other promises made under the pressure of Vitalian's troops that were standing under the walls of Constantinople and appointed a new *magister militum per Thraciam*, a certain Rufinus.[32]

Given the breach of the peace conditions, in 515 Vitalian started towards the capital for the third time. This time, the confrontation with the Imperial troops led by the praetorian prefect of the Orient Marinus took place at sea. Vitalian suffered a heavy defeat and retreated to his base territory in Thrace.[33] Taking advantage of this victory, Anastasius put the Empire's efficient diplomatic apparatus in motion and managed shortly to seed discord between the Hunnic allies of the Scythian general.[34]

In 518, after the death of Anastasius, the *comes excubitorum*, Justin[35] ascended the throne. At this time, Vitalian was still controlling the forces in Thrace and Illyricum.[36] The new Emperor, who, though Chalcedonian, had fought against Vitalian during his last campaign,[37] called him to Constantinople to make peace.[38] To supervise the rebellious general, thus avoiding a situation similar to the one with which Anastasius had been confronted, Justin brought him into the Imperial entourage and appointed him *magister militum*

29 ibid., 125, 11; Frend, Eastern Attitudes (as footnote 14 above) 76.

30 Charanis (as footnote 1 above) 91.

31 J. Speigl, Die Synode von Heraklea 515. *AHC* 12 (1980) 47–61.

32 Marcellinus (as footnote 16 above) a. 516, 1 (p. 99) ; Theophanes AM 6007 (161 De Boor).

33 Ioannes Antiochenus (as footnote 4 above) frg. 311, 103–108; Malalas 332, 76–78 (Thurn); Evagrius (as footnote 20 above), *h. e.* III, 43; Ioannes of Nikiu (as footnote 4 above) 89, 78–85 (p. 130–131). On this occasion, Severus composed the hymn "On Vitalian the tyrant and on the victory of the Christ-loving Anastasius, the king": Paul of Edessa, The Hymns of Severus and Others, transl. E. W. Brooks. *PO,* 7. Paris 1911, 710.

34 Ioannes Antiochenus (as footnote 4 above) frg. 311, 109–123.

35 Vasiliev (as footnote 1 above) 68.

36 Vasiliev (as footnote 1 above) 109; W. Treadgold, A History of the Byzantine State and Society. Stanford 1997, 175.

37 Ioannes Antiochenus (as footnote 4 above) frg. 311, 123–134; Bury (as footnote 3 above) I 451, footnote 4.

38 Marcellinus (as footnote 16 above) a. 519, 3 (p. 101); Theophanes AM 6011 (165, 6 De Boor).

praesentalis, together with the Emperor's nephew Justinian.[39] On the other hand, it is obvious that Vitalian's quick rise – in 520 he was already consul[40] – was also due to the fact that he had the reputation of *the* defender of Chalcedonian Orthodoxy.[41]

The new reign meant the accession of two figures from the Latin-speaking Illyricum, who were very much interested in bringing the schism with the Papacy to a rapid end.[42] Justin soon initiated negotiations with Rome to end the schism which had begun in 494. A pontifical delegation arrived at Constantinople in 519, after having crossed the Balkan provinces and obtained everywhere the hierarchs' allegiance to Chalcedonian and Roman theology.[43] At their arrival in the capital in March 519, the envoys were received at the tenth mile distance from the city by a delegation led by the comes Justinian, to which, amongst others Vitalian[44] belonged as well.

The unification, desired by both sides, was not to take place without difficulties. Hormisdas continued to believe that the only possibility of resuming communion was that the Easterners accepted Roman theology and condemned the Eastern theologians and hierarchs which had opposed Chalcedon and the theology of Pope Leo.[45] Regarding the first condition, the problem was rather complex: during the Acatian schism, Rome had drifted away from the spirit of Oriental theology, especially Cyrill's.[46] The condemnation of Eastern theologians and hierarchs increased the discontent of the Easterners, be they pro- or anti-Chalcedonians.[47] Eventually, „not even the

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39 Evagrius (as footnote 20 above) IV 3; Zacharia of Mitylene (as footnote 4 above) VIII 2 (p. 191); Malalas 338, 30–32 (Thurn); Ioannes of Nikiu (as footnote 4 above) 90, 5 (p. 133); Procop. anecd. VI, 27–28; cf. J. R. Martindale, The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire II, AD 395–527. Cambridge 1980, 1174. It is significant that only Victor Tunnunensis (as footnote 4 above) a. 522 (p. 105) and Theophanes AM 6011 (165, 6 De Boor) mention these two persons' religious affinity.

40 Martindale (as footnote 39 above) 1175.

41 Acclaimed as defender of Orthodoxy by the Eastern synods at Tyre (16 Sept. 518): E. Schwarz/J. Straub (eds.), Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum, III. Berlin/Leipzig 1940, 85, 26; 86, 21–22; and Apamea (519): ibid. 103, 2.

42 Treadgold (as footnote 36 above) 175.

43 *Coll. Avell.* 167, 213, 214.

44 ibid. 167, 223.

45 ibid. 116b, *appendix* IV (p. 800–801).

46 L. Duchesne, L'Église au VIe siècle. Paris 1925, 59; Frend, Monophysite Movement (as footnote 20 above) 235–236.

47 It is relevant that revolts broke out at Thessalonike against the Papal legates, which expressed disapproval of the Pope's policy towards the Byzantine clergy: *Coll. Avell.* 208, 225. At the same time, Imperial authorities strove to convince the Pope to diminish the number of the condemned as far as possible, in order to make the unification acceptable to the Eastern clergy: *Coll. Avell.* 192, 193, 232. Cf. Frend, Monophysite Movement (as footnote 20 above) 243–4.

pro-western monks in the capital were prepared to accept Orthodoxy not grounded in Cyril, nor an ecclesiastical order that took no account of the status of the patriarch in Constantinople".[48] In fact, by intending to condemn Monophysitism, Rome implicitly condemned Cyrillian theology and the Henotikon, which had been for a long time the norm in the East.

Under these circumstances, a solution which seemed to appeal to both parties was put forward by a group of monks from Scythia, of whom we learn that they had arrived at Constantinople with Vitalian, to whom some of them were even related.[49] These monks stand for that section of Eastern theology which was not willing to renounce its own tradition – which included the writings of Cyrill of Alexandria[50] – simply to achieve peace with Rome. From this standpoint, they held the opinion that the acceptance of the Chalcedonian formula through the exclusion of Cyrill was a new form of Nestorianism, an accusation which they did not hesitate to hurl at the pontifical delegation that arrived in Constantinople.[51] The formula by which the monks offered to reconcile the Chalcedonian definition with Cyrill's theology was condensed in the Theopaschite theology which they suggested, by the formula *Unus ex Trinitate passus est carne.*[52] This roughly settled all disputed issues: Leo's Tome, the Chalcedonian decrees, Cyrill's *anathematismata*, the *Theotokos* etc.[53]

From the viewpoint of ecclesiastical strategy, the policy which these monks adopted in 519 against the Papal delegation had already been in effect in the Danubian area ever since 512. Then, as consequence of deposition of the Constantinopolitan patriarch Macedonius which was effected by Emperor Anastasius, forty bishops from Illyricum, Dardania and the two Dacias had refused communion with the new hierarch, Timotheos, and renewed ties to Rome by means of a manifest favouring Chalcedon, which was sent to pope Symmachus in 512.[54] At the same time, however, the letter tried to reconcile

48 Frend, ibid. 236.

49 *Coll. Avell.* 216, 5.

50 Duchesne (as footnote 46 above) 58.

51 Discussions on this topic began even before the pontifical delegation reached Constantinople, as the deacon Dioscoros narrates: *Coll. Avell.* 224 (p. 685).

52 The formula was neither new, nor uncontroversial: É. Amman, s.v. Théopaschite (controverse), in *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique* 15/1. Paris 1946, col. 505–512; Schurr (as footnote 25 above) 143–7; Duchesne (as footnote 46 above) 54–65; C. Moeller, Le chalcédonisme et le néo-chalcédonisme, in Grillmeier/Bacht (as footnote 20 above) I 676–85; Frend, Monophysite Movement (as footnote 20 above) 241; Meyendorff, Imperial Unity (as footnote 12 above) 218.

53 Schurr (as footnote 25 above) 148 f. Frend, Monophysite Movement (as footnote 20 above) 245–246.

54 Epistolae romanorum pontificum genuinae et quae ad eos scriptae sunt a S. Hilaro usque ad Pelagium II., rec. A. Thiel. I, Braunsberg 1867, *ep.* 12 (p. 709–717) and the pope's answer in *Coll. Avell.* 104; Theodoros Anagnostes (as footnote 4 above) 521 (p. 150); J.

the loyalty of the bishops towards the Chalcedonian theology with their allegiance to the Constantinopolitan church.[55] The point of view expressed in this document later became typical for several ecclesiastical circles of the East: they were not willing to give up Chalcedon, but neither to break with their own traditions, as Rome wanted.[56]

In fact, the Theopaschite theology, defended by the Dobrujan monks, represents on doctrinal level what the manifesto of Eastern bishops addressed to Pope Symmachus in 512 represents on the level of ecclesiastical policy: an attempt to reconcile strict Chalcedonism with the theology of Cyrillian inspiration.[57]

It is obvious that by holding such a view, the Scythian monks stood on opposite ground to the papal delegation which had come to Constantinople to achieve ecclesiastical communion on Rome's terms.[58] In the conflict inevitably engendered between the pontifical legates and the Scythian monks, Vitalian also played a role, this time in the anti-Roman party, defending his compatriots against the papal legates and the Emperor, when they tried to enforce their formula as an expression of dissociating from Monophysitism as well as from Nestorianism.[59] The loyalty of the Scythian general to the monastic party led him to oppose the bishop of Scythia himself, Paternus of Tomis, as a letter of the papal delegation of 519 shows.[60] Paternus was one of the bishops who, towards the end of Anastasius' reign, had gone over to the Roman pontiff's side, as shown in a letter of Pope Hormisdas to the synod of Gallic churches (515).[61] Given the terms which the pope had already proposed to the Eastern Church in order to resume the communion on the occasion of the synod of Heraclea, it is very likely that the bishop of Scythia had accepted Chalcedon in the formula of Roman theology. The charge which was brought forward by the monks against their own bishop, but which they did not hesitate to hurl against the Papal legates too,[62] is in all likelihood not due to the refusal of all these

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Zeiller, Les origines chrétiennes dans les province danubiennes de l'Empire Romain. Paris 1918, 377.

55 The position of Lower Moesia and Scythia on the Constantinopolitan patriarchate's side is attested by a letter of Pope Gelasius from 515: Thiel ibid., *ep.* 9 (p. 758).

56 A. Grillmeier, Le Christ dans la tradition chrétienne II/2. L'Église de Constantinople au VIe siècle. Paris 1993, 435–436.

57 Schurr (as footnote 25 above) 152–153.

58 Schurr (as footnote 25 above) 155–156.

59 F. Loofs, Leontius von Byzanz und die gleichnamigen Schriftsteller der griechischen Kirche. *TU* 3/1. Leipzig 1887, 256–257.

60 *Coll. Avell.* 217.

61 Thiel (as footnote 54 above), *ep.* 9, 2 (p. 759). Pope Hormisdas mentions that Illyricum, Dardania and Scythia had passed to his side. This is confirmed by the Gallic bishop Avitus in a letter to Pope Hormisdas from 516: *Coll. Avell.* 136, 1.

62 Ioannes Maxentius, Adversus Hormisdae episcopo responsio (*PG* 86, 96B).

people to accept the Theopaschite formula,[63] but rather the overall rejection, in the interpretation of the Chalcedonian formula, of the Cyrillian theology.[64]

It took Emperor Justin's intervention to reconcile Paternus and Vitalian and, moreover, their settlement triggered the reconciliation of the hierarch and the monks[65] also. Apparently Vitalian represented a decisive factor in convincing Justinian of the Orthodoxy of the Theopaschite formula as well; the future Emperor also became a supporter of the Scythian monks' cause, when they – displeased with the treatment they had received at Constantinople – looked for justice at Rome.[66]

Although honoured by a consulship in 520, Vitalian was soon murdered and Justinian was suspected of having stood behind the assassination.[67] It probably originated in Justinian's fear of the Scythian general's rivalry – since the latter was by now integrated into the capital's elite on one hand, and on the other, he had the aura of a defender of Orthodoxy. Justinian knew how insecure succession to the throne was, given the circumstances when his own uncle had become Emperor. And Vitalian was no longer somewhere in Thrace, but in the capital itself. It is significant how explicitely Chalcedonian historians like Evagrius[68] and Theophanes[69] validate the murder by Vitalian's revolt against Imperial authority – a motivation which ordinarily occurs with authors of Monophysite leanings, who defend Anastasius. This means very probably that the explanation was taken over from Imperial propaganda which aimed at exonerating Justinian. Vitalian was described in this context as a dangerous factor, which could at any time turn against the lawful authority.[70]

From above, two main aspects arise, which tend to explain the mechanisms that stood at the origin of the movement initiated by Vitalian.

Firstly, the requests formulated on the occasion of the first two revolts and the way they are reflected in the pontifical correspondence[71] clearly prove the religious motivation of Vitalian's uprising. This is mentioned in most literary

63 Cf. Loofs (as footnote 59 above) 251.
64 As, for instance, the *akoimetes* monks did, cf. Meyendorff, Imperial Unity (as footnote 12 above) 218.
65 *Coll. Avell.* 217.
66 Loofs (as footnote 59 above) 258.
67 Zacharia of Mitylene (as footnote 4 above) V III, 2 (p. 192); Evagrius (as footnote 20 above) IV 3; Marcellinus (as footnote 16 above) a. 520 (p. 101); Victor Tunnunensis (as footnote 4 above) a. 523 (p. 107); Malalas 339, 48–52 (Thurn); Theophanes AM 6012 (166, 19–21 De Boor); Ioannes of Nikiu (as footnote 4 above) 90, 11–12 (p. 134). About Justinian's involvement: Procop. *anecd.* VI, 27–28.
68 Evagrius (as footnote 20 above) IV 3 (p. 154).
69 Theophanes AM 6012 (166, 19–21 De Boor).
70 Cf. Loofs (as footnote 59 above) 259.
71 *Coll. Avell.* 116, 213, 230, *appendix* IV (p. 801).

sources.[72] The religious aspect of the revolt is confirmed by Anastasius' acts during the first revolt and by the fact that Vitalian retreated after being promised the fulfilment of his religious conditions.[73] On the other hand, a general who revolted because the troops under his command had been deprived of their subsidies might easily have been satisfied by meeting this demand. That Anastasius felt compelled to promise the fulfilment of his religious requests shows how important they were to Vitalian.

Secondly, the same requests show that Vitalian's political outlook was rather narrow: he contented himself with the command of the troops in Thrace at a time when he could have asked for much more, even if only to extort as much as possible from the besieged Emperor. This attitude reveals a military commander whose interests were restricted to his own world, which is a provincial one – Vitalian did not seem to intend to make politics on Imperial level.[74]

Hence a third aspect of the uprising can be deduced, which is in fact a corollary of the first two, namely that the religious demands did not originally belong to Vitalian – they were concerned with the regulation of doctrinal aspects which he was in all likelihood little familiar with –, but somebody else inspired them. Moreover, as we have seen, within the Theopaschite controversy, Vitalian, who for several years had been the main champion of Papal policy in the East, went over to the monks' side and implicitly to the anti-Roman party. This attitude change clearly indicates that the loyalty of the Danubian general to his compatriots was more important to him than the vindication of a certain doctrinal issue. In fact, given all of the above, namely the slight likelihood that a military man like Vitalian was very well versed in the theological controversies of the age, one can conjecture on the players who in fact stood behind this uprising. One must not overlook his links with the circle of Scythian monks: the fact that Vitalian was born in the same area and was related to one of the leaders of the monastic group.[75] Probably among the „Orthodox in Scythia and Moesia and the other countries" mentioned by Thedoros Anagnostes and Theophanes[76] as standing at the origin of the rebellion, we have to understand first and foremost these monks, who during

72 See above, footnote 4.

73 Cameron (as footnote 13 above) 56–57.

74 Cf. A.H.M. Jones, The Decline of the Ancient World. London 1966, 133; A. Schwarcz, Die Erhebung des Vitalianus, die Protobulgaren und das Konzil von Heraclea 515. *Bulgarian Historical Review* 20/4 (1992) 10.

75 *Coll. Avell.* 216–217, 224.

76 Theodoros Anagnostes (as footnote 4 above) 503 (p. 143); Theophanes AM 6005 (157 De Boor).

the entire Acatian schism maintained communion with the West.[77] Moreover, when Emperor Anastasius wrote to Pope Hormisdas about the call for the council in Heraclea, we noted that he considered that the problems with which he was confronted – implicitly also the revolt of Vitalian – were caused by troubles occurring in Scythia in connection with the true faith. The relation between the military uprising and Scythian monasticism is, in this context, obvious.[78]

Accordingly, Vitalian must be regarded as a Romano-Gothic national of mixed race from Dobruja, who defended the interests of his native province. In the religious conflict in which he became involved, Vitalian is thus the political instrument of the Scythian monasticism, who defends first Orthodoxy against a Monophysite Emperor, and later becomes a factor of political pressure, defending Eastern tradition against Rome's exaggerated demands.

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77 Cf. Schurr (as footnote 25 above) 142 and footnote 138; Loofs (as footnote 59 above) 250.

78 See above, p. 782.

II. ABTEILUNG

Immacolata AULISA/Claudio SCHIANO, *Dialogo di Papisco e Filone giudei con un monaco. Testo, traduzione e commento. Quaderni di «Vetera Christianorum»*, 30. S. Spirito (Bari), Edipuglia 2005. 400 p. ISBN 88-7228-478-3.

Le but de cet ouvrage, anticipé par deux articles séparés des auteurs sur le même sujet,[1] est, comme l'indique l'introduction (p. 10), d'offrir une contribution à l'histoire du texte du *Dialogus Papisci et Philonis iudaeorum cum monacho* (compris comme le texte publiée sous ce nom par A. C. McGiffert en 1889[2]), et de le situer dans le contexte de la tradition littéraire et exégétique antijudaïque de l'époque. Après l'introduction, qui s'achève par une note où le travail de chacun est précisé, l'ouvrage est divisé en quatre sections substantielles, parfois découpées en chapitres, numérotés de façon continue d'une section à l'autre:

a) La tradition antijudaïque (p. 15–86), qui contient un survol de la polémique antijudaïque chrétienne, des Évangiles au concile de Nicée II, analysée par périodes, avec un état de la question beaucoup plus détaillé pour les 7e et 8e siècles.

b) La transmission du *Dialogue de Papiscus et Philon* (p. 87–175), consacrée à la réception du texte puis, plus en longueur, à la description des témoins étudiés par l'auteur.

c) Le *Dialogue de Papiscus et Philon* (p. 177–295), qui présente aux lecteurs une édition du texte, provisoire et partiellement critique, en préparation à une édition définitive, annoncée dans le volume. Elle est suivie d'une traduction et de notes de commentaire.

d) La genèse du texte (p. 297–343), qui est aussi le titre et le sujet de l'unique chapitre.

L'ouvrage s'achève par une conclusion, une bibliographie et des index. Il est agrémenté par cinq illustrations en noir et blanc disséminées dans le corps de l'ouvrage.

Avouons d'emblée que c'est avec un mélange d'enthousiasme et de déception que nous avons lu ce livre. Enthousiasme, à cause de l'abondance des informations nouvelles sur cette entité littéraire et la générosité avec laquelle elles sont partagées. Mais déception aussi, parfois pour des raisons formelles, mais aussi à cause des lacunes, des imprécisions et de quelques choix malheureux, comme nous allons maintenant le détailler, section par section. Pour faire œuvre utile, nous en profiterons pour compléter parfois ces données déjà très riches.

1 I. AULISA, Papisci et Philonis Iudaeorum cum monacho colloquium: note per una ricostruzione del confronto tra giudei e cristiani in epoca altomedievale. *Vetera Christianorum* 40 (2003) 17–41; C. SCHIANO, Dal dialogo al trattato nella polemica antigiudaica. Il Dialogo di Papiscone e Filone e la Disputa contro i giudei di Anastasio abate. *Vetera Christianorum* 41 (2004) 121–150.

2 A.C. McGiffert, Dialogue between a Christian and a Jew. Marburg 1889.

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a) La tradition antijudaïque (p. 15–86)

Pour situer dans son contexte religieux et sa tradition littéraire le texte présenté ici, clairement postérieur au 6e siècle, l'auteure rappelle les grandes étapes de la polémique antijudaïque, depuis le début de l'ère chrétienne jusqu'à la crise sur les images, et les principales positions de la recherche. Étant donné la quantité de textes concernés et l'état de publication de beaucoup d'entre eux, les énormes révolutions sociales, politiques et économiques qui ont eu lieu au cours de ces 8 siècles, ainsi que les bouleversements dans les mentalités, ce n'est pas une tâche aisée, dont l'auteure pourtant s'acquitte de façon intéressante.

Le chap. 1 (p. 17–28) survole l'histoire de la polémique antijudaïque et des relations entre juifs et chrétiens au cours des cinq premiers siècles de notre ère. Les principales thèses opposées de la recherche y sont brièvement présentées, mais la rapidité du développement entraîne parfois de trop fortes généralisations.

Contentons-nous de quelques notes de lecture:

p. 9: sur la question très complexe des *testimonia*, signalons la riche étude de M. C. Albl, *«And Scripture cannot be broken». The form and function of the early Christian Testimonia collections. Supplements to Novum Testamentum*, 96. Leiden/Boston/Köln 1999. À ce propos, une bonne partie des observations critiques de J. Audet, *L'hypothèse des testimonia. Remarques autour d'un livre récent. Revue Biblique* 70 (1963) 381–405, nous semblent conserver toujours leur pertinence;

p. 20–23: pour toute la période prénicéenne, il ne faut pas sous-estimer l'arrière-fond impérial et païen sur lequel se jouent les disputes entre des chrétiens, plus ou moins persécutés et exaltant parfois le martyre, et des juifs protégés par la loi (et dispensés du culte impérial!), mais en butte à des mesures politiques et à des attitudes sociales très contrastées;[3]

p. 21 sqq.: nous regrettons que les éditions utilisées pour les textes de polémique antijudaïque et leur numéro dans les *Clavis Patrum* ne soient pas systématiquement précisés. Signalons deux autres catalogues relativement récents d'œuvres antijudaïques: S. Krauss, éd. W. Horbury, The Jewish-Christian controversy from the earliest times to 1789, vol 1: History. *Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum*, 56. Tübingen 1995; P. Andrist, Le Dialogue d'Athanase et Zachée. Etude des sources et du contexte littéraire. Thèse de doctorat de l'Université de Genève, Genève 2001, p. 81–108;[4]

p. 21: à propos du *Dialogus Papisci et Iasonis*, il est dommage que l'auteure ne face pas référence ici à la discussion des p. 321–326 (cf. ci-dessous);

p. 22: pour l'analyse de la polémique antijudaïque au cours du 2e siècle, attirons l'attention sur l'article trop peu connu de D. Cerbelaud, Thèmes de la polémique chrétienne contre le judaïsme au IIe siècle. *Revue des sciences philosophique et théologique* 81 (1997) 193–218;

3 Outre le travail de L. H. Feldmann, cité dans l'ouvrage, voir, pour cette période, J. G. Gager, The Origins of Anti-Semitism. Attitudes Toward Judaism in Pagan and Christian Antiquity. New York/Oxford 1983, réimpr. 1985; W. Kinzig, 'Non Separation': Closeness and Co-Operation between Jews and Christians in the Fourth Century. *Vigiliae Christianae* 45 (1991) 27–53; P. Schäfer, Judeophobia. Cambridge 1997, entre autres 180–195; L. V. Rutgers, The hidden heritage of Diaspora Judaism. *Contributions to Biblical exegesis and theology*, 20. Leuven 1998, 171–234; etc.

4 Disponible sur internet: http://www.unige.ch/cyberdocuments/theses2001/AndristP/these.pdf (adresse vérifiée le 6.11.2008).

p. 23: à propos du *De Montibus*, signalons les travaux de P. DE NAVASCUÉS, La cristología pneumática en el de Montibus Sina et Sion. *Augustinianum* 41 (2001) 5–25, qui situe l'oeuvre immédiatement après la persécution de Dèce, et de A. M. LAATO, Jews and Christians in De duobus montibus Sina et Sion. An Approach to Early Latin Adversus Iudaeos Literature. Åbo 1998;

p. 23: la *Demonstratio evangelica* d'Eusèbe est vraisemblablement à ranger parmi les œuvres antenicéennes. Sur ce texte trop négligé, mentionnons la thèse de S. MORLET, L'apologétique chrétienne à l'époque de Constantin: la Démonstration évangélique d'Eusèbe de Césarée. Thèse de l'Université Paris IV Sorbonne, Paris 2006;

p. 24: dans sa thèse, T. Canella, qui offre une édition de travail des différentes versions latines de la dispute entre Silvestre et les juifs, n'exclut pas une composition, au 5e siècle déjà, des deux plus anciennes rédactions, alors que la recherche précédente tendait à situer la version A au 4e siècle.[5]

Pour le 5e siècle, les *Testimonia adversus iudaeos* du Ps. Grégoire de Nysse[6] peuvent aussi être mentionnés, bien qu'une date plus tardive ne soit pas exclue.

Somme toute, comme V. Déroche[7] on ne peut s'empêcher de se demander si, au début d'une étude consacrée à une entité littéraire datant probablement des 7e et 8e siècles, ce premier chapitre était indispensable.

Les chap. 2 (p. 29–64) et 3 (p. 65–86) de cette section traitent principalement des 7e et 8e siècles, même si quelques paragraphes du chap. 2 concernent aussi le 6e siècle. Ce dernier, qui n'est pas moins une «nuova fase storica» (p. 29) que le 4e siècle par exemple, aurait gagné, nous semble-t-il, à être traité dans le chapitre précédent, voire à être omis liui aussi. Même si plusieurs développements concernant la conquête arabe ou la dispute sur les images semblent entraîner le lecteur loin du sujet, ils ne seront pas inutiles à ceux qui sont moins familiers de la problématique générale de cette période. En outre, ils illustrent bien les difficultés que présente l'analyse des textes de polémique antijudaïque de cette période, que les chercheurs résolvent parfois de façons radicalement incompatibles.

Dans l'ensemble, le traitement de ces deux siècles, en rapport direct avec la problématique du livre, est plus précis, sauf peut-être la liste des textes (p. 50–51). Prenons-les dans leur ordre d'apparition:

Les discussions de la recherche sur la datation et l'histoire du *Dialogus Timothei et Aquilae*, entièrement passées sous silence, ne sont pas moins importantes que celles qui entourent l'*Apologia* de Léonce.[8] Le *Dial. TA* se démarque des autres textes men-

5 T. CANELLA, Gli Actus Silvestri. Genesi di una leggenda su Costantino imperatore. *Uomini e mondi medievali*, 7. Spoleto 2006, 267. Sur ce texte, voir aussi M. AMERISE, Il battesimo di Costantino il Grande. Storia di una scomoda eredità. *Hermes Einzelschriften*, 95. Stuttgart 2005, 92–119.

6 *CPG* 3221, signalé à la p. 340. Voir aussi J. REYNARD, L'antijudaïsme de Grégoire de Nysse et du pseudo-Grégoire de Nysse. *Studia Patristica* 37 (2001) 257–276, qui, avec de bons arguments, situe au milieu du 5e siècle le *terminus post quem.*

7 V. DÉROCHE, compte-rendu de l'ouvrage, à paraître dans JÖB.

8 État de la question et publication de l'édition de R. Robertson, jusqu'alors inédite, par W. VARNER, Ancient Jewish-christian Dialogues: Athanasius and Zacchaeus, Simon and Theophilus, Timothy and Aquila: introductions, texts and translations. *Studies in the Bible and early Christianity*, 58. Lewiston, NY/Queenston, Ontario 2005, 4–8, 136–138, où le lecteur

tionnés ici comme étant le seul qui offre un ancrage historique possible, mais discuté, au 6e siècle. Deux autres textes lui sont peut-être contemporains: l'«*Anonymus Declerck*»,[9] qui aurait mérité d'être mentionné ici, et la *Disputatio de religione*, signalée dans le chapitre précédent (p. 24), mais qui ne sérai pas antérieure au 6e siècle.[10] Les *Testimonia* du Ps. Grégoire ne sont pas à exclure non plus pour cette période (cf. ci-dessus).

La *Disputatio Gregentii* peut être retirée de la liste, puisque, suivant les derniers travaux d'A. Berger, elle est datable du milieu du 10e siècle.[11]

La date et le contexte de production de la *Doctrina Jacobi*, au début des années 640, pour aider les juifs baptisés de force par Héraclius à accepter leur nouvelle religion, auraient aussi pu être rappelés en note.[12]

En outre, les œuvres mentionnées «en vrac» à la note 91 ne sont guère utiles ici («*CPG* III, 7798–7802»). *CPG* 7798: il s'agit du *Dialogus contra monophysitas* du *Coisl.* 299, placé à tort à cet endroit de la *Clavis*. *CPG* 7799: «*Anonymus Hostens*», daté vers 900, et ne se trouvant donc pas dans la période considérée ici.[13] *CPG* 7800: c'est le manuscrit U des auteurs. *CPG* 7801: texte acéphale et mal étudié, dont la date reste inconnue. *CPG* 7802 (= *CPG* 6212): petite pièce antijudaïque mal datée, attribuée à tort à Théodoret de Cyr.

L'absence ici des *Objections des Hébreux* est surprenante,[14] puisque ce texte, datable des années 770, étaye mieux que nul autre la récupération de la polémique antijudaïque à des fins polémiques intra-chrétiennes, comme elle est expliquée à la p. 66.

Mentionnons enfin la *Doctrina patrum*, peut-être composée par Anastase le Sinaïte.[15] Dans les manuscrits, le chap. 31, consacré à la polémique antijudaïque, circule parfois de façon autonome.

b) La transmission du Dialogue de Papiscus et Philon (p. 87–175)

Le chap. 4 (p. 89–108) est principalement consacré à la circulation du texte, telle qu'on peut la connaître par sa tradition directe et indirecte. L'auteur en profite (p. 93–95) pour souligner les défauts de l'édition d'A. C. McGiffert, pour expliquer en note le

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trouvera notamment les références aux travaux les plus importants de L. Lahey (qui a produit une nouvelle édition de la *versio brevior*), N. Nilson et J. Pastis.

9 *CPG* 7803 = *CPG* 8092, signalé à la p. 134.

10 V. Déroche, La polémique anti-judaïque au VIe et au VIIe siècle. Un mémento inédit, les Képhalaia. *TM* 11 (1991) 275–311, cf. 277–278. Nous connaissons mal encore la position de P. Bringel, auteure d'une thèse récente sur ce texte (Une polémique religieuse à la cour perse: le De Gestis in Perside. Histoire du texte, édition critique et traduction, thèse de l'Université Paris IV Sorbonne, Paris 2007). Selon la Position de thèse (disponible sur ľinternet, http://www.paris-sorbonne.fr/article.php3 ?id_article=6067 (adresse vérifiée le 6.11.2008); la section consacrée à la polémique antijudaïque serait un ajout postérieur, qui pourrait appartenir aussi aux Anastasiana antijudaica.

11 Édition critique et état de la question par A. Berger, Life and works of Saint Gregentios, Archbishop of Taphar. *Millenium-Studien*, 7. Berlin 2006; pour la date, 100–109.

12 V. Déroche, Doctrina Jacobi Nuper Baptizati commentaire II. *TM* 11 (1991) 248–273, cf. 268–273; dans le même volume, G. Dagron, … commentaire I, 230–247, cf. 246–247.

13 Signalé à la p. 305.

14 Signalés aux p. 259 et 342.

15 *CPG* 7781, éd. F. Diekamp, Münster 1907; réimpr. Münster 1981, avec des corrections et suppléments de B. Phanourgakis.

rapport entre celle-ci et l'édition provisoire contenue dans ce volume (ces développements font largement double emploi avec ceux de la p. 179), pour annoncer une future édition critique et pour exposer sa conception du texte comme «un ipotetico stadio di aggregazione di sezioni testuali indipendenti», qui se sont groupées autour d'un noyau originel. Son but est de «ricostruire il testo che appariva come unità all'epoca delle prime testimonianze …» (ce qui est inexact, comme nous allons l'expliquer). Le long développement sur Nicolas d'Otrante se comprend bien dans un volume publié à Bari.

Le chap. 5 (p. 111–175), sur les témoins du texte, reflète le zèle immense déployé par l'auteur pour les recenser et les étudier: 35 manuscrits analysés, outre 11 manuscrits non examinés, signalés plus rapidement, et 2 manuscrits mentionnés en note. Les manuscrits analysés sont organisés en trois grandes familles (sauf cinq témoins, inclassables pour diverses raisons), elles-mêmes parfois subdivisées en sous-familles. L'auteur ne s'est pas contenté de quelques remarques: les notices sur les 35 premiers témoins sont organisées en cinq rubriques systématiques (outre le sigle) et occupent souvent plus d'une page: les données générales (matière, dimensions, nombre de folios, étude sur microforme ou directement), maladroitement regroupées sous l'appellation générale «consistenza», la datation, l'écriture, le contenu du manuscrit en général et une analyse du texte. Dans cette dernière rubrique, le matériel en rapport avec l'étude est soigneusement disséqué, de façon à retrouver l'ordre des chapitres et à identifier les principales lacunes et ajouts. La bibliographie secondaire n'est pas négligée.

La répartition en familles est une nette avancée. Mais les principales caractéristiques des familles et des sous-familles devraient être systématiquement présentées, au moins mentionnées, comme pour le sous-groupe β 1 (p. 136). Dans la situation actuelle, il faut glaner l'information, éparse, à l'intérieur des descriptions ou dans le chap. 6. En l'absence de ces explications, et alors que la famille α paraît bien constituer un ensemble homogène (texte unitaire, dont il manque plusieurs chapitres, cf. p. 304, 306 et ci-dessous), la distribution des manuscrits dans les familles β et γ semble beaucoup plus fragile; par exemple, un texte débutant par le chap. A, suivi des chap. 19–21, semble être une caractéristique de la famille β1 (p. 167), mais tel est aussi le cas du ms. G, classé dans la famille γ (p. 152), alors que le ms. C, classé dans β1, place le chap. A à la fin (p. 137–138).

L'attention admirable qu'il porte à l'écriture empêche généralement l'auteur de tomber dans le piège que constitue, dans ces manuscrits très souvent complexes, la fréquente présence de plusieurs unités codicologiques (UC).

Nous avons regretté qu'à l'intérieur des rubriques les informations ne soient pas données de façon plus homogène d'une notice à l'autre, ou que les différences de présentation ne soient pas expliquées. Par exemple:

– l'orthographe du copiste est parfois conservée (par exemple pour S, p. 149–150), et parfois ne l'est pas (par exemple pour P, p. 147, pour lequel on trouve, par rapport à la transcription du titre, au moins 3 différences d'accent et un redoublement du ρ, dans «ἀρράβων»);

– la clarté avec laquelle les UC du ms. Ott2 sont présentées (p. 126) devrait servir de modèle à toutes les notices similaires; de même, la présentation des 5 διαλέξεις du ms. S (p. 149–150, auxquelles il faut adjoindre, comme 6e opuscule, l'ἐρώτησις des f. 60va–61ra) devrait inspirer partout une présentation plus systématique de la structure du matériel dans les témoins (cf. ci-dessous);

– on se demande pourquoi les pages de gardes sont parfois signalées et parfois ne le sont pas. Prenons, par exemple, le ms. D (cf. p. 111): en réalité, D possède un folio de garde ant., numéroté «1», sur lequel le «restaurateur» a copié le début du texte; puis vient le corps du manuscrit, dont la numérotation, entre deux UC, est légèrement perturbée (f. …13, 13a, 13b, 14…); puis viennent trois folios de garde post., dont seul le premier est numéroté («97»); la formule correcte serait donc «ff. I.97.III.». Il s'agit naturellement d'une question totalement secondaire par rapport à l'objectif de l'ouvrage; dans ce cas, ne vaut-il pas mieux renoncer à ce niveau de précision?

– puisque les filigranes sont parfois signalés, il ne serait pas inutile de préciser, selon les catégories habituelles des filigranistes, le degré de ressemblance avec les *specimina* mentionnés, grâce auquel le lecteur comprendrait mieux l'incidence sur la datation de la copie (cf. p. 124, 128 …).

Pour la description du contenu, l'auteur indique, avec raison, les titres qui divisent le matériel. Dans la mesure où la fluidité et la modularité de ce matériel joue un rôle important dans les analyses du chap. 6, il n'eût pas été inutile d'indiquer aussi les découpages plus fins de ces textes (cf. ci-dessous).

Complétons l'information sur quelques-uns des manuscrits non examinés (p. 167–172), pour lesquels nous possédons des notes très lacunaires:

– Dion. 289: en 3 textes (cf. ci-dessous): texte 1, inc. = chap. 1, des. = chap. 16; texte 2 = chap. 17 avec différences; texte 3, inc. = chap. 18.8, cf. ms. LW, des. = chap. 21.

– Ath. 370: inc. = chap. 1, des. = chap. 21.

– Saba 509: inc. = chap. A, des. = chap. 21.

– Iviron 689: il s'agit de la *Quaest. 137.*

– Iviron 1153: f. 296^{r}–311^{v}, inc. = chap. A, des. = chap. 21.

– Pantocr. 135: en 4 textes, ut vid.: texte 1 = chap. A; texte 2, inc. = chap. 1, des. = chap. 6; texte 3, inc. = chap. 7, des. = chap. 18; texte 4, inc. = chap. 19, des. = chap. 21.

– Saba 432: en 2 textes: texte 1, inc. = chap. A, des. = chap. 18; texte 2, inc. = chap. 19, des. = chap. 21.

– Koutl. 571: il ne s'agit pas de folios, mais de pages; en plusieurs textes: texte 1, inc. = chap. 1, des. = ?, contient du matériel de la *Quaest. 137;* texte 2 = chap. 17; texte 3, inc. = chap. 18, des. = 18.28, cf. ms. P; texte 4, p. 157–169, notes insuffisantes; texte 5?, n'appartenant peut-être pas au groupe; puis l'ordre des pages est passablement dérangé.

– Ath. 2318, en 2 textes, dont l'ordre ici n'est pas sûr: texte 1, inc. = chap. 1 ut. vid., des. = chap. 21; texte 2 = chap. A.

– Sinait. 1785, pas d'informations supplémentaires.

Nous saluons l'intérêt de l'auteur pour l'histoire de la réception du texte, et son bon résumé sur la circulation du texte dans les régions slaves, bien que les remarques concernant cette question auraient gagné à être regroupées (cf. p. 103–108, 139–141, 173–175). En outre, la mise en évidence des parties non publiées par McGiffert permet de mesurer beaucoup mieux le lien entre le texte slave analysé par Alexander Pereswetoff-Morath et le texte grec étudié dans le volume. La proximité du titre de N et de la version slavonne, qui situent tous deux la dispute à l'époque de Sophronios, n'a pas échappé à son attention, mais la grande lacune de N[16] empêche une comparaison

[16] La lacune commence bien à la fin du chap. 6 (cf. p. 141); à la p. 174.3, il faut donc lire «1–6».

suivie du contenu. Nous espérons revenir sur cette question prochainement, à l'aide d'un manuscrit non signalé dans l'ouvrage.

c) Le Dialogue de Papiscus et Philon (p. 177–295)

Cette partie, qui offre une nouvelle édition de travail (p. 181–210), illustre au mieux les sentiments mitigés du recenseur. D'un côté, les choix de départ étaient excellents. Oui, c'était une très bonne idée de fournir à nouveau à la recherche un texte de travail, alors que l'édition de McGiffert est difficile d'accès et problématique, et de l'enrichir avec les morceaux inédits, sans modifier la numérotation du texte. Et bravo d'avoir ajouté, en plusieurs apparats, les références bibliques, les parallèles dans les autres œuvres, et, au début de chaque chapitre, la liste des manuscrits qui le contiennent ou ne le contiennent pas.

Mais ce programme, ainsi que sa mise en œuvre, posent problème. Parcourons l'édition:

Le chap. A, absent de McGiffert, est présenté avec un apparat critique, qui occupe sur la page presque autant de place que le texte lui-même. Ce «*specimen* di edizione» (p. 179) donne un texte basé, semble-t-il, sur les leçons majoritairement présentes dans les témoins, sauf lorsqu'elles sont omises simultanément par le groupe α1 et d'autres témoins.

Nous avons confronté ce chapitre au manuscrit C (f. 74r), l'un des plus anciens, en respectant les principes de l'éditeur, qui ne donne pas les variantes mineures, telles que les variantes orthographiques, les permutations, les variantes affectant les articles, les conjonctions de coordination, les divergences dans les en-têtes de répliques, etc. Signalons, peut-être de façon trop pointilleuse, les divergences suivantes:

texte: 3 τούτων] αὐτῶν **5** ἰσραηλίτης] ἰσραηλ **6** σύ] *om.* 10 τέως] *om.* **11** ἐλθὲ καὶ] *om.* | *post* πίστεως *add.* σου **14** ἑρμηνεύεται 2×] *om.* | ἰσραηλίτης] ἰσραηλ **15** πάντων] ὅλων. Les autres variantes sont correctement signalées dans l'apparat. Incidemment, une partie du matériel compris dans les lignes 17–31, absentes de C, se retrouve de façon très résumée au f. 41r, avant le titre.

apparat critique: 1–2 l'omission concerne aussi «Εἰπέ μοι».

Puis viennent les chapitres publiés par A. C. McGiffert, dont le nouvel éditeur redonne le texte, sauf, explique-t-il, lorsque McGiffert suit V, contre P et une partie de la tradition; dans ce cas il restaure le texte de P; de même il expurge du texte les interventions libres de son prédécesseur (cf. p. 94, 179). Dans la pratique, cependant, le travail de retouche va beaucoup plus loin, comme on le voit par exemple dans l'apparat de 13.6 (McGiffert ne connaissait pas la variante «Σίβον») et 16.21–23. Ailleurs, malheureusement, l'origine du texte restauré n'est pas signalée dans l'apparat: par exemple, au chap. 1, l'apparat signale que les lignes 4–6 et 8–10 ne se trouvent pas chez McGiffert; mais il ne dit pas qu'elles ne se trouvent ni dans P, ni dans V; de quel(s) manuscrit(s) le texte publié ici est-il donc tiré?[17]

Les chap. 17–21, absents de McGiffert, sont publiés sur des principes similaires à ceux du chap. A. Nous avons confronté le début du chap. 17 au manuscrit P (f. 49ʳ; cf. p.

[17] En l'occurrence, une partie de la réponse se trouve dans le chapitre précédent, dans la mesure où les descriptions des témoins de la famille β précisent que ces manuscrits ne contiennent pas, au chap. 1, de référence au livre de la loi. Pour les autres familles, la situation est moins claire.

145–148); à nouveau, peut-être plusieurs des différences signalées ici entrent-elles dans la catégorie des divergences mineures négligeables:

texte: 1 Ἠρώτησεν ὁ ἰουδαῖος] ἐν ἑτέρω πάλιν συλλόγω ἠρώτησαν οἱ ἰουδ(αῖοι) tit. | χοιρίδιον] χοίραιον **5** ἐσθίει] τρώγει **9** χοιρίδιον] χοίρον **10** ἔτρωγον] ἤσθιον **12** θεοὺς] θεὸν.

apparat critique: 1 le titre n'est pas transcrit (cf. p. 147 et supra) **3–4** ὁ ἰουδαῖος **...** ὁ χριστιανός *om.* P] en réalité: **2–3** ὁ χριστιανός ... ὁ ἰουδαῖος *om.* P **6** P ajoute uniquement ἀλλὰ καθαρὸν καί.

Au chap. 21, pour le ms. V3, qui contient deux fois le chap. 21, les variantes de la seconde occurrence ne sont pas signalées (p. 145).

Ce montage, hétéroclite, ne convaince pas! Et la cause n'en est pas seulement le hiatus éditorial entre les chapitres jusqu'alors inédits et les autres. Considérons-le sous deux angles:

Tout d'abord, par rapport à la présence et à l'ordre de succession des chapitres (en ne tenant compte ici que des manuscrits antérieurs au xvie siècle):

– famille α: ne contient pas la fin du chap. 9, ni les chap. 10–11, ni la fin du chap. 15 ni le chap. 16 (p. 304, 306);

– famille β: ne contient pas les chap. 17 et 18, et seul le ms. M contient quelque chose des chap. 19–21 (p. 130–131). Le ms. V, le seul qui, semble-t-il, contient le chap. A, le place à la fin (p. 132);

– famille β1: le ms. C (et son apographe) suit l'ordre des chap. 19–21, 11–15, 17, A, avec de grandes diminutions (p. 137–138): les autres manuscrits vont dans l'ordre des chap. A, 19–21, 1–16, eux aussi avec diverses diminutions;

– famille γ: la plus grande partie des manuscrits omettent le chap. A et placent les chap. 19–21 à la fin; le ms. G (p. 152) et le Vatop. 555 (Va[18]) placent les chap. A et 19–21 au début (comme les ms. N et B de la famille β1, cf. p. 141, 143–144, et le *Sinait.* 399,[19] non classé, cf. p. 167) puis contiennent les chap. 1–18, avec diverses différences.

Bref, aucun manuscrit, ni aucun hyparchétype des familles, ne contiennent tous les chapitres de l'édition de travail dans l'ordre proposé. Parmi les 32 manuscrits analysés par les auteurs et les quelques manuscrits supplémentaires que nous connaissons, seuls les ms. G et Va contiennent au moins quelques mots de tous les chapitres, mais dans un ordre différent et parfois avec de grandes différences (p. 152). Si nous comprenons bien la logique de la reconstruction publiée ici, il s'agit de l'ordre des chapitres selon le ms. P (famille γ, mais largement *sui generis*), augmentés du chap. A dans la position qu'il occupe dans la famille α et dans un manuscrit de la famille γ (ms. G, p. 152, auquel il faut adjoindre Va), ainsi que des chap. 19–21, à la place qu'ils occupent dans divers manuscrits.[20]

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[18] P. Andrist, Trois témoins athonites mal connus des Anastasiana antiiudaica (et du Dialogus Timothei et Aquilae): Lavra K 113; Vatopedi 555; Karakallou 60 – Essai sur la tradition des Anastasiana antiiudaica, notamment du Dialogus Papisci et Philonis cum monacho. *Byzantion* 76 (2006) 402–422, cf. p. 412–414.

[19] P. Andrist, Un témoin oublié du Dialogue de Timothée et Aquila et des Anastasiana antiiudaica (Sinaiticus gr. 399). *Byzantion* 75 (2005) 9–24, cf. p. 13, 17–21. Idem, Trois témoins, op. cit., p. 418 n. 17.

[20] Dans la famille γ (mais pas dans les ms. G, Va, où ils sont placés avant le chap. 1, ni dans le ms. P, dont ils sont absents); ainsi que dans le ms. M de la famille β, mais le texte est bouleversé, cf. p. 130–131.

Deuxièmement, la plupart des manuscrits anciens (qui, de fait, appartiennent aux familles β et γ) présentent le matériel comme une grappe de textes précédés chacun par un titre. Regardons les 6 témoins situés au 11e ou au 12e siècle, sur la base de ce que l'auteur en rapporte, et sur celle de nos notes, qui, à nouveau, sont très imparfaites:

Coisl. 193 (C, famille β1, s. 11, cf. p. 136–138): le matériel est, de façon claire, réparti en 2 textes; le premier peut être divisé en 3 parties:

	emplacement	chap.[21]	remarques
1	f. 71^r^ inf.–72^v^	19–21	Titre: sur une ligne propre, précédée d'une demi-ligne décorative. À l'or et en écriture majuscule. Lettrine semblable aux autres initiales majeures. Fin avec le récit de la déroute des juifs. Dernière ligne, en bas de page, centrée. Obèle final.[22]
(2)	f. 73^r–v^ sup.	11–15	Sans titre, ni initiale particulière. À la fin, obèle et espace dans le texte.
(3)	f. 73^v^ inf.–74^r^ sup.	17	Sans titre, ni initiale particulière.
4	f. 74^r^ med.	A	Titre: à la suite[23] du texte précédent. À l'or et en écriture majuscule. Lettrine à l'or. Séparé de l'œuvre suivante par une fin de ligne décorative.

Vatop. 555 (Va, cf. ci-dessus; s. 11–12, cf. ms. G fam. γ, cf. p. 136 n. 39); en 4 ou 5 textes:

1	f. 58^r^ inf.–58^v^ sup.	A	Titre: à la suite du texte précédent. En écriture et à l'encre distinctives. Texte numéroté «M'». Lettrine marginale.[24]
2	f. 58^v^ inf.–59r sup.	19–21	Présentation semblable à 1. Texte numéroté «MA'».
3	f. 59^r^ inf.–63^v^ sup.	1–16	Titre: à la ligne, précédé d'une ligne décorative. Texte numéroté «MB'». Sans lettrine. Fin de la dernière ligne, vide.

21 Les chapîtres sont indiqués même s'ils ne sont que très partiellement représentés dans le manuscrit.

22 Par obèle, nous entendons un trait horizontal, souvent petit, généralement situé au-dessus de la ligne de base de l'écriture.

23 «à la suite»: le début du titre, ou du texte, se trouve sur la même ligne que le desinit du texte précédent, sans séparation particulière. «à la ligne»: le titre, ou le texte, commence en début de ligne. «lettrine»: initiale du texte, décorative. Cf. P. Andrist, Les manuscrits grecs conservés à la Bibliothèque de la Bourgeoisie de Berne – Burgerbibliothek Bern. Règles de catalogage. Bern [2007], p. 23–24; disponible sur le site www.codices.ch.

24 Andrist, Trois témoins, op. cit., p. 412: la phrase «Suivie de 2 lignes vides» avait été supprimée sur les épreuves.

4?	f. 63^{v} inf.–64^{r} sup.	17	Sans titre.[25] Non numéroté. Début du texte à la ligne. Lettrine marginale.
5	f. 64^{r} inf.–64^{v} sup.	18	Titre: à la ligne, avec une initiale marginale. Sans autre séparation visuelle du texte précédent. Non numéroté. Séparé de l'oeuvre suivante par une fin de ligne décorative.

Paris. gr. 1111 (P, fam. γ, s. 12, cf. p. 145–148); en 3 textes:[26]

1	29^{r} inf.–49^{r} sup.	1–16 dif.	Titre: à la ligne, précédé d'une ligne décorative. En écriture distinctive. Introduit par une croix en encre distinctive. Lettrine semblable aux autres initiales majeures. Fin: doxologie, suivie d'une petite croix. Fin de ligne vide.
2	49^{r} inf.–49.2^{r} sup.	17	Titre: à la ligne, sans ligne décorative. En écriture distinctive, surlignée. Introduit par une croix en encre distinctive. Fin: croix et petit espace.
3	49.2^{r} inf.–49.2^{v} sup.	18	Titre: à la suite du texte précédent. En écriture peu distinctive; initiale vermillonnée. Lettrine apparemment semblable aux autres initiales majeures. Séparé de l'oeuvre suivante par une ligne décorative.

Sin. gr. 399 (s. 12, cf. ms. G fam. γ; cf. p. 167 et ci-dessus); en 2 textes:

1	204^{v} inf.–205^{v} sup.	A	Titre: à la ligne, précédé d'une ligne décorative. Apparemment en écriture et à l'encre distinctive. Lettrine remarquable. Doxologie finale.
2	205^{v} inf.–208^{v}	19–21	Titre en écriture et à l'encre distinctive. Lettrine remarquable. Doxologie finale, deux derniers mots chacun sur une ligne. Formule finale. Fin du ms.

Vat. gr. 676 (E, sans famille, s. 12, p. 159)

Copié sur un folio de garde. Incomplet. Non utilisable pour la comparaison.

Vat. gr. 725 (D, fam. α1, s. 12, p. 111)

En admettant que la restauration reprenne le texte qu'elle remplace. En une seule oeuvre.

1	1^{v}–2^{r} sup.	A	(Début du texte restauré.)
(2)	2^{r} med.	1–4	Sans titre. Séparé du texte précédent par un obèle.
(3)	2^{r} inf.–2^{v} sup.	5–6	Sans titre. Séparé du texte précédent par un obèle.

25 Ibidem, p. 414: corriger «début du titre» par «début du texte».

26 Nous ne tenons pas compte ici de la doxologie et de la croix qui se trouvent au f. 48v, et qui correspondent à la fin de la Quaestio 137, partiellement insérée dans le texte.

(4)	2^v inf.–3^v sup.	7–9.22, 11–15.11, 18–19	Sans titre. Séparé du texte précédent par un obèle.
(5)	3^v med.	20–21	Séparé du texte précédent par un obèle allongé et une fin de ligne vide. Doxologie finale. Séparé du texte suivant par une croix et un bref espace.

Ainsi, à l'exception du ms. D, de la famille α, qui présente une version «unitaire» du matériel, tous les témoins anciens, tant de la famille β que de la famille γ, sont de type «modulaire», c'est-à-dire constitués d'un ensemble de textes précédés chacun d'un titre. Le fait que ces textes sont groupés de façon passablement divergente d'un témoin à l'autre, et qu'ils sont parfois numérotés de façon indépendante (cf. ms. Va), qu'ils possèdent parfois leur propre doxologie et que le style varie fortement de l'un à l'autre (cf. chap. 6) montre qu'il ne s'agit pas d'un jeu de chapitres «mobiles» précédés d'un sous-titre, mais bien d'un groupement d'opuscules plus ou moins indépendants.[27] Ce point du reste n'a pas échappé aux auteurs qui, au chap. 4, relèvent scrupuleusement ces titres et, au chap. 6, font de ces découpages un point essentiel de leur analyse (cf. p. 300–301, 309–310, 339, 345 …). Alors qu'ils arrivent à la conclusion, que nous partageons, que ces découpages sont probablement la trace d'entités littéraires tirées de divers textes et circulant, peut-être partiellement, de façon autonome, dans lesquelles divers compilateurs ont puisé assez librement, ils devraient logiquement en déduire que les versions «modulaires», mieux attestées à date haute, ont beaucoup plus de chances de représenter «stemmatiquement» des états plus anciens de la tradition! Du reste, les deux seuls manuscrits qui semblent couvrir, du moins en partie, tous les chapitres (ms. G et Va) sont de type modulaire.

La conclusion semble assez claire. En tenant compte de la présence, de l'ordre et de la structure du matériel, il n'y a pratiquement aucune chance que le texte publié ici ait existé avant le début du 21e siècle! C'est pourquoi, plutôt que de créer artificiellement un texte «idéal», en tentant de conserver le plus possible de l'édition de McGiffert (voir, à ce propos, les remarques de V. Déroche), il eût été beaucoup plus profitable pour la recherche de transcrire, si possible après avoir établi le *stemma codicum* de chaque famille, le texte du témoin le plus proche de chaque hyparchétype, si possible de façon synoptique. Si le temps ne permettait pas ce travail, il eût valu la peine, plus simplement, de transcrire un des témoins importants de chaque famille.

Une traduction (p. 211–226) est toujours utile, autant pour le surplus d'attention qu'elle demande aux éditeurs, pour les «prises de position» qu'elle impose, que pour les lecteurs qui connaîtraient mal le grec.

Les notes (p. 227–295) procèdent dans l'ordre selon lequel l'auteure conçoit l'histoire interne du texte: un noyau ancien (chap. 2–9.20, p. 228–240), auquel se sont agrégés d'autres blocs: (chap. 9.21–10, p. 241–252; chap. 11–14, p. 252–257; chap. 1, 15–16, p. 257–269; chap. 18, p. 269–271; chap. 19–21, p. 271–281; chap. A, p. 281–287). Ces notes contiennent principalement:

[27] Cela n'exclut pas qu'au sein des différentes ramifications de cette tradition, les assemblages aient progressivement été transmis comme une œuvre unitaire divisée en sous-titres et en chapitres.

– des parallèles thématiques dans la littérature de polémique antijudaïque plus ancienne ou plus ou moins contemporaine. Les comparaisons avec les autres *Anastasiana* (sur ce terme, cf. ci-dessous) sont particulièrement intéressantes, car elles soulignent à la fois ce que ces œuvres ont en commun et ce qui est particulier au texte étudié. Trouver les parallèles thématiques et scripturaires pourrait être un exercice sans fin; nous sommes donc reconnaissant à l'auteure pour toutes les remarques érudites qu'elle propose et qui aident à situer le texte dans sa tradition littéraire. On regrette le peu de mentions du *Dialogus Athanasii et Zachaei* et du *Dialogus Timothei et Aquilae* (sauf exception, par exemple aux p. 253 et 274) qui traitent pourtant de la plupart des thèmes «anciens» et des versets discutés, et représentent des stades intermédiaires entre le texte et Justin ou Tertullien, plus souvent mentionnés;

– des développements sur des points particuliers du texte, notamment en rapport avec sa datation. De façon très utile, la littérature secondaire y est présentée et parfois discutée. La discussion sur l'usage des monnaies pour une datation précise du chap. 10, et les difficultés qui en résultent, est fouillée, mais elle n'échappe pas à la rectification convincainte de V. Déroche, dans son compte-rendu, auquel nous renvoyons le lecteur (p. 248–251);

– quelques remarques sur l'histoire présumée de la composition du texte et sur l'agencement des chapitres.

Dans la mesure où le texte et la succession proposée des chapitres sont encore très hypothétiques (cf. ci-dessous) un certain nombre de remarques sont moins utiles, par exemple lorsqu'elles concernent le plan (p. 292), le «proème» ou la perte du début originel (p. 262, 282).

La section s'achève par quelques observations sur les protagonistes, sur les différentes formes du titre (cf. p. 290–291, où 14 formules sont transcrites!, souvent avec l'incipit) et sur les citations bibliques. Nous avons vérifié le titre et l'incipit de quatre manuscrits, qui étaient correctement transcrits. La seule exception concerne l'incipit de P, que nous lisons «Ἐρώτ(ησις) ἰουδαίου». De même, nous n'avons pas compris pourquoi Papiscus est parfois écrit avec une majuscule, et d'autres fois ne l'est pas.

Arrêtons-nous sur deux questions que soulèvent ces transcriptions:

Deux des témoins les plus anciens donnent au moine le nom d'Anastase. Or, une datation de ces pièces, du moins d'une partie d'entre elles (ou de leur source) dans le dernier quart du 7e siècle semble possible (cf. p. 242, 246–250, mais cf. p. 118 et ci-dessous). Peut-on établir un lien entre ces versions et Anastase le Sinaïte, connu par ailleurs pour avoir polémiqué contre les juifs?

Deuxièmement, la vaste majorité des témoins ne mentionnent, dans le titre ou dans le texte, ni «Papiscus» ni «Philon». Parmi les cinq témoins les plus anciens (cf. ci-dessus) seul P le fait une fois, et uniquement dans le titre (cf. p. 11). Or, dans le *Sinaiticus* gr. 399, Papiscus et Philon sont mentionnés dans le titre du second texte de la grappe. D'où la question de savoir si, au départ de la tradition modulaire, le titre *Dialogue de Papiscus et Philon, juifs, avec un moine* ne correspondait pas à celui d'un seul de ces opuscules, ou à un regroupement moins étendu. En conséquence, nous semble-t-il, tant que cette question n'est pas résolue de façon satisfaisante, il est dangereux, pour la compréhension de l'œuvre originelle qui portait ce titre, de rassembler ces différents ensembles sous le titre «*Dialogus Papisci et Philonis iudaeorum*

cum monacho». C'est pourquoi, dans notre récent article, nous avons proposé de rebaptiser ces textes; voici une version complétée de cette suggestion:

– «*Dialogi Anastasiani*» lorsque le matériel est divisé en parties pouvant être reconnues comme des textes différents,

– «*Dialogus unicus Anastasianus*» lorsque le texte se présente comme un seul dialogue,

– «*Dialogica Anastasiana*» (*Dial. Anast.* ci-dessous) lorsqu'on parle indifféremment des uns et des autres,

– «*Anastasiana antiiudaica*», pour désigner l'ensemble des textes dépendant du même matériel que les *Dial. Anast.*, c'est-à-dire surtout la *Disputatio Anastasii*, les *Trophaea Damasci*, et la *Quaestio 137* pseudoathanasienne, auxquels il faut peut-être ajouter maintenant la *Disputation de religione.*[28]

Une étude plus serrée dira si le terme «*dialogus/dialogi*» est approprié pour désigner la version unitaire ainsi que les opuscules des versions modulaires. De même, la référence à Anastase, inégale dans les manuscrits, mais présente aussi pour la *Disputatio Anastasii*, apparentée, n'est qu'une façon «d'accrocher» ces ensembles à un corpus, sans préjuger en rien de leur authenticité anastasienne.

d) La genèse du texte (p. 297–343)

Ce dernier chapitre du volume se compose de 5 dossiers.

Dans le premier dossier (p. 299–310), l'auteur tente de reconstruire l'histoire du texte. Il en souligne la dimension composite et en propose une division en 9 «unités», tout en reconnaissant très honnêtement que d'autres divisions, non présentées dans l'ouvrage, seraient également possibles. Puis il développe, dans une série d'hypothèses, un scénario sur la façon dont ces unités auraient pu, petit à petit, s'agglutiner à un noyau initial, pour former progressivement un texte proche de celui qui est édité.

Nous ne cherchons pas à minimiser les nombreuses remarques originales et pertinentes qui se trouvent dans ce dossier. Cependant, la méthode suivie pose problème, dans la mesure où l'auteur prend ici comme point de départ de sa recherche, sa propre reconstruction du texte, qui est, comme nous l'avons vu, passablement artificielle. Une conséquence est qu'il semble fasciné par l'histoire «du» texte originel, considéré comme unitaire (cf. aussi p. 338, 345), et se prive d'explorer d'autres possibilités.

Une méthode plus saine, nous semble-t-il, aurait été:

1) d'établir les caractéristiques formelles de chaque famille (unitaire ou modulaire, dans quelles successions des chapitres ou des textes, avec quelles autres particularités du contenu). Puis, en utilisant les ressources habituelles de la critique textuelle, d'établir un *stemma codicum* de chacune d'elles. Il en résulterait un petit nombre d'hyparchétypes assez bien décrits;

2) d'analyser ces hyparchétypes et les confronter aux autres *Anastasiana antiiudaica* (sur cette expression, cf. ci-dessus), pour établir si tous les hyparchétypes dépendent d'un même texte, ou groupement de textes, originaux (proche du ms. Va?), ou s'il faut envisager l'existence de plusieurs «cristallisations» originelles des matériaux préexistants, peut-être totalement indépendantes les unes des autres;

3) de faire un bilan de tous les matériaux «originaux» utilisés dans les *Anastasiana*; identifier et nommer clairement toutes les unités littéraires utilisées dans les hypar-

[28] Cf. Bringel, Position de thèse, op. cit.

chétypes et les autres textes apparentés, notamment celles qui sont introduites par un titre;[29] analyser ces textes *per se*.

Nous ne voyons pas d'autre manière de progresser dans la connaissance de l'histoire littéraire des *Dial. Anast.*

Dans le second dossier (p. 310–321), consacré à la datation et à la localisation «du texte», l'auteure discute, de façon claire, les différents éléments de datation présents dans les *Dial. Anast.* Avec raison, elle souligne à la fois les différences de datation entre les divers passages du texte édité, ainsi que la fluidité des informations chronologiques entre les témoins d'un même passage. Pour les unes comme les autres, naturellement, se posent les questions de l'usage des diverses sources et de l'actualisation du texte par les copistes. Les données du problème sont bien posées et, à notre avis, il sera difficile de progresser sur cette question avant que ne soit établie une édition critique sérieuse de tous les *Dial. Anast.* Pour une synthèse sur les différents contextes de production possibles, nous renvoyons à nouveau au compte-rendu de V. Déroche. Insistons seulement sur les autres facteurs d'erreur concernant ces dates, par exemple les simples erreurs de copie, les erreurs de calcul dues à un usage maladroit des computs ou à un bon usage de computs défectueux, les généralisations, parfois à caractère symbolique. En conséquence, même en possession d'un texte bien établi, il sera nécessaire de se demander, à chaque occurrence, dans quelle mesure il est possible d'exploiter l'information au premier degré.

Ce qui déconcerte le lecteur, cependant, c'est que ce chapitre ne fait guère référence aux développements du commentaire, concernant les mêmes passages et les mêmes sujets. Par exemple, la «σφραγὶς τοῦ Χριστοῦ», mentionnée en 10.6, qui fait, aux p. 246–251, l'objet d'un beau développement, enrichi d'une page d'illustrations de monnaies, est traité en 4 lignes à la p. 312, sans aucun renvoi à la discussion précédente! De même, les deux discussions sur la chronologie impliquée par le chap. 16 s'ignorent superbement (p. 264–268, 312–315), ainsi que celles sur le chap. 18 (p. 269–271, 315–317), malgré le «come si dira» de la p. 270.

La brève discussion sur l'origine paraît suffisante dans l'état actuel du dossier. La mention de Raïthou, à la p. 320, semble contredire les conclusions des p. 282–283.

Les deux dossiers suivants (p. 321–338) sont consacrés aux relations littéraires des *Dial. Anast.* avec diverses œuvres anciennes.

Nous partageons l'analyse et les conclusions de l'auteur en ce qui concerne les relations avec la *Disputatio Iasonis et Papisci.* Le débat sur l'influence de ce texte est peut-être plus large qu'il l'imagine, puisque, bien après les controverses engendrées par les propositions d'A. Harnack, les travaux de P. Nautin et P. Monat, dans l'aire francophone, et de O. Skarsaune et L. L. Lahey, dans l'aire anglophone, pourraient amener le lecteur trop conciliant à considérer ce texte comme l'ancêtre le plus influent de toute la tradition antijudaïque grecque et latine ancienne[30].

En ce qui concerne les relations avec les autres *Anastasiana*

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[29] Idéalement, ces noms devraient être univoques et n'impliquer aucune position relative par rapport aux autres unités littéraires – donc être sans numérotation!

[30] Résumé chez P. Andrist, Les testimonia de l'Ad Quirinum de Cyprien et leur influence sur la polémique antijudaïque latine postérieure: proposition de méthode autour de Dt 28,66 et Nm 23,19, in A.D. D'Anna/C. Zamagni (eds.,), E. Jurassevich (collab.), Cristianesimi nell'antichità: fonti, instituzioni, ideologie a confronto. *Spudasmata* 117 (2007) 175–198.

Malgré le brillant exposé de C. Schiano dans son article de 2004, nous n'excluons pas que la *Disp. Anast.* dépende directement des matériaux de base, comme les auteurs l'affirment pour la *Quaestio 137* et les *Troph. Damasc.* Cependant, tant que les différents états textuels des *Dial. Anast.*[31] ne sont pas mieux établis, il nous semble difficile de résoudre cette question.

Le dossier sur les relations avec les *Troph.* est richement et clairement développé (p. 329–336). Pour cette question, attirons l'attention sur les titres des opuscules dans les ms. S, H et Va, qui affirment que tel ou tel texte est tiré de la n^e^ dispute. Par exemple, dans les ms. S et Va, le titre précédant le chap. 18, où la chronologie de Daniel est discutée, affirme que le texte est tiré de la quatrième dispute. Or, la quatrième dispute des *Troph.* traite du même sujet (cf. p. 330 n. 72). Bien que ces deux entités littéraires puissent théoriquement dépendre d'une source commune (le cas échéant, probablement écrite dans le genre littéraire du dialogue), il est nécessaire de reposer la question du lien direct entre les *Troph. Dam.* et cette version des *Anast. Dial.* Comme on le pressent, le résultat de cette analyse, basée sur des textes mieux établis, pourrait fournir une clef majeure pour la compréhension de l'histoire des *Dial. Anast.*

Quant à la *Quaestio 137*, l'auteure corrige opportunément l'idée incorrecte, imputable à l'influence du ms. P dans l'édition de McGiffert, selon laquelle on trouve souvent dans les *Anastasiana* et dans la *Quaestio* 137 du matériel littéralement identique, ou presque (p. 336; voir pourtant le Koutl. 571, cf. supra; et le Vat. San Pietro C 149, cf. p. 166–167). Il faut cependant noter que, dans la tradition manuscrite, ces deux entités littéraires sont souvent contiguës. Tel est le cas, par exemple, des ms. M_3, V_3 (cf. p. 145) et du Vatop. 555. En outre, les auteurs relèvent plusieurs fois le parallèle très intéressant entre les deux œuvres quant à l'interprétation chronologique de la prophétie de Daniel (cf. p. 270, 316, 337). Restons cependant prudent, parce que la *Quaest. 137*, elle non plus, n'est pas encore établie de façon critique.

Dans le dernier dossier, ainsi que dans la conclusion (p. 345–349), les auteurs répètent leur conception de la genèse littéraire des *Dial. Anast.* et partagent quelques réflexions plus générales sur leur contenu et leur influence. Ajoutons-en une. Comme les auteurs, nous utilisons fréquemment les termes «lacunes», «omissions» ou «ajouts» pour caractériser le contenu de tel ou tel témoin; cependant, dans la mesure où nous acceptons qu'un certain nombre de copistes intervenaient assez librement dans le texte (des copistes-auteurs selon l'expression claire du volume), et que nous n'excluons pas la possibilité qu'il y ait eu plusieurs traditions originelles parallèles, cette terminologie, qui présuppose une vision assez linéaire de l'histoire de ces textes et une certaine connaissance de l'Urtext, est-elle appropriée dans ce contexte? N'est-elle pas plutôt susceptible d'induire une distorsion dans notre perception de l'histoire littéraire de cet ensemble?

Puis viennent la bibliographie (p. 351–376), qui rassemble efficacement l'ensemble des titres cités, et les quatre index finaux (p. 377–399: références bibliques, manuscrits, noms antérieurs à 1700, noms postérieurs à 1700). Ces derniers sont à l'image du reste: très utiles, mais parfois insatisfaisants. Par exemple, parmi les noms antérieurs à 1700, on ne trouve pas les noms de lieux ou les noms des personnages mis en scène dans les textes, mais exclusivement les auteurs ou les personnages historiques; en conséquence on cherchera en vain les références à des textes comme la *Doctrina Jacobi*, le *Dialogus*

31 Cf. Andrist, Trois témoins, op. cit., p. 421.

Timothei et Aquilae ou les *Trophaea Damasci*, bien que ce dernier soit incontournable pour l'étude des *Dial. Anast.*

Ce qui a manqué à ce livre, nous semble-t-il, c'est du temps. Le temps de poursuivre le repérage et l'étude des manuscrits, d'affiner la répartition en familles, de remettre en question le schéma général induit par l'édition McGiffert et la quête de l'Urtext, le temps aussi de mieux regrouper ou référencer les développements, de relire le volume, d'établir et d'exploiter des index plus complets. À la décharge des auteurs, il faut garder à l'esprit que, dans le paysage universitaire européen actuel, entreprendre l'étude d'une tradition littéraire aussi compliquée correspond mal au canevas chronologique imposé aux thèses, ni aux attentes de publications pour les chercheurs confirmés. Peut-être devrions-nous, dans nos domaines comme cela se fait déjà pour d'autres disciplines, comme la médecine, tenter d'organiser une recherche sur 10 ans, au cours desquels plusieurs jeunes chercheurs se succéderaient et feraient leur thèse sur des aspects plus limités du problème ?

Que faire donc quand on n'a pas le temps ? Est-il raisonnable d'offrir un livre qui présente tous les chapitres habituels accompagnant une nouvelle édition critique d'un texte, alors que le recensement des manuscrits n'est pas achevé, que les familles textuelles sont encore flottantes et que le(s) *stemma codicum* n'est/ne sont pas établi(s) ? Il nous semblerait plus judicieux de procéder dans l'ordre indiqué ci-dessus. Pour de trop nombreux textes de polémique antijudaïque, la recherche n'en est encore qu'à faire le compte et l'analyse des manuscrits. Et c'est bien là la contribution la plus importante des auteurs, qui auraient certainement gagné à aller encore plus loin dans cette voie. Tant que cette tâche n'est pas achevée, et que le(s) texte(s) n'est/ne sont pas établi(s) de façon plus sûre, il nous paraît prématuré, et risqué, de procéder à une analyse littéraire trop serrée.

Mais retrouvons l'enthousiasme. Jamais jusqu'aujourd'hui autant d'énergie n'avait été dépensée pour tirer de l'ombre les *Dialogica Anastasiana* et en préciser les contours. Si la recherche sur cette entité littéraire devait être durablement stimulée, ce sera grâce à l'impulsion que lui aura donnée cet ouvrage. C'est pourquoi, pour la liste des manuscrits, la description de leur contenu et leur regroupement en familles, pour l'édition des parties non publiées par McGiffert, qui permet enfin à la recherche d'y faire référence et d'en tenir compte, pour les innombrables remarques pertinentes sur les relations entre les *Dial. Anast.* et d'autres textes, il faut être reconnaissant aux auteurs d'avoir publié leurs travaux, et les encourager vivement à remettre au plus vite l'ouvrage sur le métier, pour parvenir, tant que faire se peut, à une histoire des textes et à une ou plusieurs édition(s) définitive(s).[32]

Bern *Patrick Andrist*

[32] Nous remercions vivement le Fonds national suisse de la recherche scientifique, sans le soutien duquel la présente publication n'eût pas vu le jour.

Michel BALARD, La Méditerranée médiévale: Espaces, itinéraires, comptoirs. *Les Médiévistes français*, 6. Paris, Picard 2006, 200 S. 8 Karten. ISBN 2-7084-0773-2.

Scholars of late Byzantium are greatly indebted to Michel Balard for his works on Mediterranean trade, on Italian maritime cities, in particular Genoa, and on Byzantium. The present book is a compilation of nine earlier papers, here reconsidered, on such issues, published from 1974 to 2003 in various collective studies and journals. Here they are termed (p. 6) "autres versions des différents chapitres". The articles are organized in three parts: I. *Espaces* (p. 14–42), II. *Itinéraires* (p. 44–95), and III. *Comptoirs* (p. 98–181). They naturally form nine chapters.

In the Introduction, *La Méditerranée partagée* (p. 7–11), the author explains the theme that ties together all these papers: the Mediterranean Sea, this *mare nostrum*, shared in the past by ancient people and different cultures. It begins with the question "Qu' est-ce que la Méditerranée? Mille choses à la fois…" quoted from P. MATVEJEVITCH, La Méditerranée et l'Europe. Diversity is the hallmark of the Mediterranean from antiquity, which is one of the ideas that unifies the chapters of the book. With quick strokes, the author outlines the advance of the Italian cities Amalfi, Venice, Pisa and Genoa into the eastern Mediterranean in the 11th century. The Fourth Crusade and the fall of Constantinople to the Crusaders in 1204 mark the major turning point to the opening up of the eastern Mediterranean to western travelers, pilgrims, new economic resources, new markets and trade routes, thereby creating a swift and impressive expansion of Italian trade and shipping. The author touches briefly upon issues, such as types of ships used and their development, itineraries, the conditions and dangers of travels, and state supervision of the Venetian commercial fleet and regulations for its security and efficiency.

The first part, *Espaces*, contains two chapters. Chapter 1, *Une Méditerranée chrétienne (1000 à 1500)* (p. 14–30), serves as introduction to the chapters that follow: the situation before the great expansion of the westerners, when Byzantium and the Arabs dominated the Mediterranean, the first advances by the Italians in types of contracts for business ventures, which were influenced by Muslim practices, and in forms of credit. There follow the political changes from the First Crusade to the Mamluks (1250), which turned the Mediterranean into a Latin sea. New markets were opened and colonies established. The geographical range of trade was extended to all the areas of the eastern Mediterranean and the financial volume of the trading operations increased dramatically from 1150–1250. The intensification of long-distance shipping created maritime links between various cities, and the flow of goods and capital. Various commodities were bought and sold, from raw materials to luxury goods. Political developments from 1250 to the Black Death (1348–1350) are outlined. Technical improvements in ship design are stressed. The next subchapter outlines political developments from 1350 to 1500. The 15th century witnessed the greatest intensification in trade and transportation. The new attitudes of Italian merchants to business helped in the extension of operations. Such changes in attitude included the establishment of companies for long term replacing the earlier simple commercial agreements, the need for a network of information, new forms of credit and sophisticated maritime insurance for the protection of businessmen. The fall of Constantinople in 1453 caused a reduction in trade in the Aegean and the Black Sea.

By 1500 when the Turks had taken over the Muslim world after defeating the Mamluks, the great Italian cities lost their control of the international markets.

Chapter 2, *Les Occidentaux dans le monde égéen et balkanique au XIVe siècle* (p. 31–42), focuses on the Aegean and the Balkans. It is composed of three subsections, *Les phases de l'expansion occidentale, Les structures du grand commerce* (freedom of trade and tax exemptions), and *Routes, produits et conjoncture.*

The second part, *Itinéraires*, contains three chapters. Chapter 3, *Les transports des Occidentaux vers les colonies du Levant au Moyen Âge* (p. 44–60), offers glimpses of travel conditions and the colorful activities of shipboard travelers. This chapter is written in a different tone, and the methods of historical sociology are used successfully to elucidate the traditional narrative material of history. The author thereby shows the complexity of the problems faced in the trips. Chapter 4, *Escales génoises sur les routes de l'Orient Méditerranéen au XIVe siècle* (p. 61–74), offers another perspective by pointing out that the Mediterranean long-distance network involved anchoring at various ports on the way to the ultimate destination for various reasons, which included business transactions, repairs for the ships, provisions, or emergency stops on account of weather conditions and enemy and pirate attacks. Notebooks kept by the captains' scribe offer the details of the itineraries and the conditions that travelers encountered along the routes linking commercial destinations. One such account is given in appendix: 31.8.1369–01.1370 (p. 70–74).

Chapter 5, *Les Républiques maritimes italiennes et le commerce en Syrie-Palestine (XIe–XIIIe siècles*) (p. 75–95), is subdivided in eight sections: *Les premiers contacts des Italiens avec le Levant, L'implantation des Italiens en Syrie-Palestine, Les chartes concédées aux Italiens: répartition chronologique, La localisation des comptoirs italiens en Syrie-Palestine, Les privilèges accordés aux Italiens: leur nature, Marchands italiens et colons, L'organisation des activités commerciales, Le trafic.* This chapter offers a well-rounded treatment of the economic resources, markets and trade routes exploited by the Italians in Syria and Palestine in the context of the major political developments of the area, these being the invasion of the Mongols and the conquest of the Mamluks, which forced mercantile operations to follow more secure trade routes to the north, via Lesser Armenia and the Black Sea. In the conclusion, the author dissociates the prosperity of the Italian trade in Syria and Palestine from the Frankish conquest of the area. The Italians came half a century later and the decline of Italian trade ventures began about thirty years after the fall of the Latin states.

The third part, *Comptoirs* (p. 98–181), contains four chapters. Chapter 6, *L'organisation des colonies étrangères dans l'empire byzantin (XIIe–XVe siècles)* (p. 98–112), poses the question of whether the expansion in commercial activities of the Latins into Byzantine territory and beyond, resulted in the impoverishment of the empire and its citizens, thus forcing them to accept the Turks and refuse an alliance with the West. The author gives an outline of the establishment of the Italian colonies in Constantinople and the conditions in which they developed. He deals with numerous topics, namely, their location, the privileges they enjoyed, their autonomous administration, the types of commercial associations which followed Italian models, the role of the commercial establishment in Constantinople as transshipment stations and the commercial importance of Constantinople due to its location at the junction of two commercial seas, the Mediterranean and the Black Sea. Although the role of the Byzantines in the international trade conducted by the Italians was minor, the

Byzantines were exposed to new financial and commercial methods with all the benefits that the contact with new forms of commercial and financial capitalism could bring.

Chapter 7, *Chio, centre économique en Mer Égée (XIVe–XVe siècles)* (p. 113–120) focuses on the significant position of the island of Chios in the trade and maritime traffic of the Aegean. Taken over by the Zaccaria in 1304, the island prospered on account of its mastic production, its location in trade networks, its secure port and its proximity to Asia Minor.

Chapter 8, *Pouvoir et argent à Caffa au XVe siècle* (p. 121–131), examines social mobility in Kaffa in the Crimea, a major gateway to the eastern trade. The political and administrative posts in Kaffa, especially the leasing of taxes, opened the way to individuals to begin businesses and engage in commercial ventures. The notarial acts, when taken together with the official correspondence and the registries of the Treausury (*Massaria*), although fragmentary in nature, illustrate the social promotion by consuls and treasurers of low ranking officers, most notably, of the scribes.

Chapter 9, *Les Génois dans le royaume médiéval de Chypre* (p. 132–181), is the largest part of the book, and focuses on Genoese presence in Cyprus. The chapter is divided into nine subsections: *Historique des colonies génoises dans le royaume médiéval*, *Famagouste génoise: le cadre urbain*, *La population de Famagouste*, *Les institutions génoises de Famagouste: le capitaine et ses auxiliaires*, *Les trésoriers et la gestion financière – Dépenses et ressources*, *La justice et l'ordre public*, *Les problèmes de défense*, *La vie économique et le rôle de Famagouste dans le royaume de Chypre.* This is an exhaustive study, which employs a subtle analysis of the sources and addresses various issues. To begin with, the author offers an outline of the history of the Genoese presence on the island that focuses on Famagusta, and of the progressive strengthening of the privileged position that the Genoese merchants enjoyed, thanks to the privileges granted on 10 July 1232 by Henry I. It also focuses on the refugees from the Middle East escaping the advances of the Mamluks and then on the tensions with the Lusignans, the renewals of treaties and the beginning of the decline from the late 14th century. The city's layout vividly embodies the political and military space, namely, the walls, the palace facing the cathedral at the end of the avenue leading from the sea gate, the second large avenue from that point to the north with the administrative buildings of the western nations, and the simplicity of the furniture of the palace according to the inventory of 1447. The churches, monasteries, military orders and hospices lend a religious dimension to urban layout and life. Finally, there are the merchants' quarters organized from the late 13th century, together with the commercial enterprises on the harbor, establishments for collecting the taxes and for exchanging money, the central market by the barbers' quarter and the architecture of the loggia with the porticoes, all of which recall Italian forms. Such organizational patterns define the colony's commercial space. At the end of the 14th century, Niccolò de Martoni observed the urban decline of Famagusta, with its now uninhabited areas, gardens and ruined houses and public buildings. The cosmopolitan Genoese city was in decline on account of the consequences of the Mamluk advance and of the financial problems created by a corrupt administration. The study of the population of Famagusta rests on a subtle analysis of the sources, mainly the registry of Massaria. The changes in population, in the composition and in the proportion of the ethnic elements, are discerned and interpreted in the context of the political events of the period. The

complex system of administration was formed gradually, as the interests of Genoa increased, and as the Genoese presence on Cyprus was consolidated. It reveals the organization and the activities of the community. The subtle analysis of the expenses and revenues of Famagusta goes beyond the colony's finances, for it offers the social consequences of the taxation system, including the creation of a financial aristocracy from the leasing of taxes. The tables depicting the income derived from taxes (p. 171–173) and the table of the expenses, revenues and the balance from 1391 to 1461 (p. 174) make clear the decline in prosperity of the colony from the late 14th century. The next sections address the issues of justice and public order, and the problems of defence. Finally, the chapter concludes with a section on the economic life of Famagusta and its role in the Latin kingdom of Cyprus. In the early 14th century Famagusta plays a major role in the international trade, connecting the trade routes of Italy, Catalania and Province with those of Lesser Armenia and, further to the east, with those leading to Persia. From 1383, the situation changed. Famagusta became the only Genoese port in Cyprus with commercial privileges, thus enabling to establish a monopoly. Any ship that stopped at other ports could be arrested and its cargo confiscated. The conflicts with Venice arising from this brought about the isolation of Famagusta, for Venice prohibited its ships from stopping on the island. Famagusta, now excluded from the chief shipping lanes, declined. The effects of the monopoly established by Genoa were irreversible and had a harmful impact on the economy. Thus the book ends with a gloomy picture of the abrupt economic decline of Cyprus in terms of international trade, on account of the greed of Genoa itself.

At the end of the book is a list of the bibliography (p. 183–193) and indexes (p. 194–200).

The book is highly erudite and a most useful companion to the economic history of this period. However, at various points, the reader is left with the impression that the book offers summaries of complex historical problems and often a mere snapshot of key themes. Since the book is a collection of earlier studies, it is inevitable that there are repetitions in themes, such as, for example, technological advances in the shipping industry and new types of commercial agreements. However, there are no contradictory statements evident. The attempt to create a narrative in each one of the chapters makes it easy for the reader to keep hold of the general thread. In sum, the book covers a wide range of issues, many of them in survey form, but others offer the benefit of a subtle analysis.

Athens *Helen G. Saradi*

Henning Börm, Prokop und die Perser: Untersuchungen zu den römisch-sasanidischen Kontakten in der ausgehenden Spätantike. *Oriens et Occidens*, 16. Stuttgart, Steiner 2007. 382 S. ISBN 978-3-51509-052-0.

The goal of this book is to gather, categorize, and evaluate the historicity of the information contained in the works of the sixth-century historian Prokopios of Kaisareia regarding Sasanid Persia. This project faces two major challenges. First, few Persian sources survive. Information comes mostly from outsiders who were more

often than not hostile or from the later oriental tradition (Persian, Arabic), which is indirect and not always reliable. The second challenge stems from the literary nature of Prokopios' works and specifically from the classicizing modes of representation, narrative, and language that shape his reporting at every level. It is now widely recognized that narratives sources must be read as literature (for lack of a better term) before the "information" in them can be used by historians.[33]

Börm is a historian, and a good one at that, but is stronger in addressing the first of the two problems presented by his topic. He rather unselfconsciously practices a traditional scholarship, dividing *Realien* into familiar categories (the King; nobles; religion; etc.), summarizing it, and then evaluating its historical accuracy. He does this by "screening its plausibility" (83) or comparing it to the other sources, especially the oriental tradition. Börm overall finds in favor of the historicity of Prokopios' accounts, and so his conclusions repeat phrases such as "we can scarcely doubt that," or "we cannot prove that he was wrong," or "the oriental tradition confirms the essentials of Prokopios' rather bare account." The objective is "to verify or to refute" (126) and so the book's interpretive universe consists of facts and, occasionally, of errors or misunderstandings about facts. At one point he does place "historical reality" in quotation marks (83), though this is apparently only a rhetorical concession to the literary theory currently swirling around narrative texts. The book is basically grounded in a straightforward view of historical reality.

While this methodology is open to objection (see below), it can scarcely be doubted that Börm has held up his (historical) end of the bargain. *Prokop und die Perser* is a learned, thoroughly researched, systematic, and well-written work of historical scholarship. It accomplishes exactly what it sets out to do, illuminating an issue that can be inaccessible and intimidating to those who do not command the field of Sasanid scholarship. The argument for the plausibility of Prokopios' account is generally successful. I will summarize the book's conclusions and then critique the methodology from a literary point of view.

Chapters 1 and 2 are introductory (I note, by the way, the absence of any systematic discussion regarding how late antique narrative texts should be read). Chapter 3 summarizes what we know about Prokopios' life, times, and possible sources. Chapter 4 briefly surveys the image of the Persian in previous Graeco-Roman texts. The analysis proper consists mainly of Chapter 5, which is over 150 pages long. Taking the topics in order, the Persian *King* did command his armies, so Prokopios gets off to a good start (92–94). The historian even knew some aspects of royal ideology (95). It is hard to know whether the notion was held by the Persians that the King should avoid battle with Caesar's servants (to avoid humiliation) or whether that was a Roman projection (95). Prokopios is unhelpful when it comes to King and law and does not add much to what we know already (99). In short, he is reliable but vague (100). Some external evidence may indicate that the King had religious functions (102), which Prokopios implies. Other evidence confirms "or at least does not refute" his testimony for insignia and royal attributes (105). He was wrong to say that the Kings minted only silver but the limited circulation of their gold issues may explain why he believed that (107).

[33] E. g., J. Burke et al. (eds.), Byzantine Narrative: Papers in Honour of Roger Scott. Melbourne 2006; P. Odorico et al. (eds.), L'écriture de la mémoire: La littérarité de l'historiographie. Paris 2006.

About succession both the sources and the scholarship are too contradictory or inconclusive for us to know how to read his narratives, given that Prokopios postulates many potentially conflicting factors (111–119).

Prokopios generally sided with the *Nobility* against the King (126), which possibly reflects his (Roman) politics. Regarding the nobility, he is again true but vague (126–135), while on key issues, especially whether some positions were hereditary, there is no agreement in the scholarship. Prokopios is vague on noble assemblies so we cannot distinguish them (135–136). The section on *Offices, Titles, and Names* attempts to work out which were which, and their Persian forms (143–148). Prokopios probably did not know much Persian (148–151). On diplomacy he is a chief source: there is not much to correct here, we can only supplement him (151–157). The section on *Military Institutions* summarizes his testimony on structures and equipment (158–166). Other sources are discussed (166–169), but the verdict is that he was well-informed. There follow sections on sieges and population transfers (169–177). It is not clear what Prokopios knew about Persian *Religion*. His reports leave room for misunderstanding, so here he is "meager and vague" (184). Börm then treats Sun and Fire worship (181–184); burial (184–187); marriage customs (187–189); the magi (189–193); and other religions in the empire (193–199). Unlike the chapter on the military, the discussion here relies heavily on other sources. These sections are useful summaries of the state of scholarship on those questions, going beyond Prokopios' direct testimony.

Prokopios had some of his *Geography* from other authors (201–202). Börm identifies the places he mentions and offers commentary (202–206). The following sections discuss neighboring peoples: Huns, Saracens, and the Persian Caucasus (206–215). The main bibliographical omission in the book that I found concerns the Fortress of Forgetting (discussed at 216–217): G. Traina and C. A. Ciancaglini, 'La fortresse de l'oubli,' *Le Muséon* 115 (2002) 399–422. Prokopios assumed definite boundaries between Rome and Persia, a picture that Börm accepts, rightly in my view (against the relativism of scholars such as B. Isaac and C. R. Whittaker). The next section, on *History*, summarizes the anecdotes that preface the Persian War (222–228), followed by a commentary on the events themselves (228–230), though without interest in why Prokopios may have begun his history with these stories. There follow sections on the Mazdakite controversy (230–233) and the causes of war (233–239). The conclusion of the fact-checking part of the book is that Prokopios is a problematic source (243) and that we must resort to a case-by-case evaluation of his plausibility (244), which is what Börm does anyway.

Chapter 6 is on the image of the Persians in Prokopios. It begins by listing their positive and negative attributes (aggressive and effeminate but also brave and lawful) (247–253). The image is contradictory (253). We do not know what Prokopios himself thought behind all this (253–254). There follows a listing of the "factors" that "influenced" this image, including a brief (and inadequate) section on the classical tradition (254–257). It must be pointed out that it has been known since A. Cameron's book that Prokopios' classicism cannot be so neatly extracted from his works as a topic of analysis;[34] moreover, Börm reflects an outdated view of classical and Byzantine historiography, according to which authors passively succumb to their sources' "influence," lapsing into incoherence. These are among the weakest pages in the

[34] A. Cameron, Procopius and the Sixth Century. London/New York 1996.

book (257–262, on his sources, inevitably inconclusive). *Kaiserkritik* may have shaped Prokopios' presentation: (a) Persian successes in the East indicted Justinian, or at least the Roman armies; (b) Prokopios used hostile foreign speakers to criticize his emperor; and (c) he set up a parallelism between Justinian and the Persian Kings for polemical purposes (265–268).[35] Religion may have contributed to the wars between Rome and Persia and shaped policies, but we cannot speak with certainty of a notion of religious war in the *Wars* (268–273). The conclusions are vague: Prokopios had a Roman bias (260–262) and "various factors influenced his portrayal of the Persians" (273–275), which was incoherent partly because it relied on different sources. Prokopios did not demonize them but still they remained barbarians in his mind.

Prokopios was not alone in having a mixed view of Persia. In Chapter 7 Börm draws on Agathias' account of the philosophers' travel to Persia (277–283) and the fragmentary *Dialogue on Political Science* (283–289) to show that others could have a positive view of Persia or could use it to convey positive messages. The section on the positive aspects of Roman-Persian contact in this period (289–396) summarizes recent scholarship on the non-military relations between the two states such as cultural exchange and mutual influence (from ceremonial to administration and architecture). This is followed by a section on diplomacy for the period 363–540 AD (296–308, 318–325). Börm does not accept the historicity of the story of Arkadios entrusting the guardianship of his infant son Theodosios II to the Persian King and gives a long analysis of the proposal to adopt Chosroes (308–317), concluding with a summary of Roman-Persian relations in the sixth century (326–336).

In all, this is an impressive work of historical scholarship that will help bridge the gap between the study of the later empire and that of the Sasanids. I, at any rate, now have less doubt regarding the historicity of some of Prokopios' accounts. My main concern, however, has to do with Börm's cavalier disregard of the problems of literary representation that have emerged with the Linguistic Turn in the humanities and social sciences for some decades now. Here I can only state some of the key hermeneutical issues but I will give concrete examples of how they impact the specific readings of Prokopios in this book.

Börm's constant frustration is that Prokopios' information is vague, and this is how it must appear from a fact-checking standpoint. But this term really occludes a deeper facet of Prokopios' writing. He did not write in a literary or epistemological vacuum but rather against an ancient tradition of historiography in which ethnography was linked to political philosophy and social thought. By writing in Attic Greek and employing the conventions of the classical tradition, Prokopios elevated his narrative to a plane where his every statement resonated in a rich albeit demarcated semantic field. When he talks of "Persian Kings," "the best men" of Persian society, "vice and virtue," "avarice" and "innovation," and the ruler's "will" versus the "law," vague terms that frustrate the historian, he is basically transposing the Persian *Realien* into the terms of Greek thought. Börm at one point calls this *Interpretatio Graeca* (79–80),

[35] The reader will find a fuller version of these arguments in A. Kaldellis, Procopius of Caesarea: Tyranny, History, and Philosophy at the End of Antiquity. Philadelphia 2004, esp. ch. 4, which is oddly sidelined here. I note that the previously widespread idea that Prokopios was a partisan of Justinian, his wars, or his ideology, a notion that I argued against in my book, has been dropped here, albeit quietly.

but goes no further along this line of analysis. His cursory and superficial surveys of the Greek tradition (70–74, 84–89) are also not integrated into his argument. He quickly reduces the problem of *Interpretatio* to that of the *topos*, which, he then argues, does not necessarily mean that a narrative is unhistorical (80–83). This strategic contracting of hermeneutical horizons neutralizes the literary problem and so serves the modern historian's interests. But to fully engage with what Prokopios was saying about Persians and why we have to consider the full range of means by which he represented them as well as how he may have expected readers to respond to that image.

For example, Börm wonders whether Prokopios was aware of the Persian term *bandag* (or was indirectly reflecting it) when he referred to Persian subjects as "slaves" (134–135). But to pursue the legal nuances of Persian terms in this case is to miss the point: no such explanation is needed beyond the ideology of Greek *paideia.* Prokopios would have called them "slaves" no matter what the Persian terms, not because he was "influenced by *topoi*" but because that is what the subjects of tyrants such as Chosroes and Justinian actually *were* in his language, which was that of Greek philosophy. Börm seems to have precluded that the *Realien* are contaminated by the semantics of classical literature, but it is likely that in some cases "facts" were constituted by its language. In discussing the confusing evidence for succession, Börm neglects to consider what the classical sources had said (111–119), a major omission that reveals his method's blind spot. Prokopios did know those sources (see my *Procopius*, 86–87, esp. 102). As his fact-checking methodology precludes that Prokopios was doing anything other than reporting facts (or misreporting them), Börm misunderstands my reading of the "triumph of royal will over law and virtue" in the succession of Chosroes (118 n. 3): this schematic characterization of the three princes follows the terms of Greek philosophy and not of Sasanid institutions. Prokopios was making a point about the relative power of virtue, law, and royal will in a tyranny, but this narrative logic is missed when its axioms are flattened into facts. Börm had warned of the limitations of his thematic approach (90): the narrative context recedes when the facts are extracted, thus increasing the likelihood of misunderstanding. This has happened here. Likewise for Prokopios' account of the Mazdakite episode: Börm is interested exclusively in the historical "kernel" and not in the way in which the episode is represented, infused as it is with philosophical terms that could and, we know, did resonate with readers' *paideia* (*Procopius*, 82–83). Prokopios was not only writing *about* Persia but also deploying it as a semantic category *through* which to discuss the moral-political state of his times. In this way what at first appears as "vagueness" becomes, to the classical scholar, an allusive language that can draw upon a rich literary tradition to convey new ideas. Börm gives no indication that his author had such resources.[36] Similar concerns can be raised about other narratives in Prokopios that are analyzed literally as Persian customs and institutions by Börm, missing their moral, didactic, or philosophical aspect.

As noted, the methodological problem of what counts as an explanation for something in Prokopios is not addressed systematically. Consider the phrase "Chosroes the son of Kavades." Börm contends that this reflects the Persian use of royal

[36] Except in a unique passage which hints that Prokopios' "truth" may extend beyond "the facts" of his narrative to a "deeper truth" (72). This unexplained statement finds no correspondence in the rest of the book, whose epistemology is strictly empirical. For what it might mean, however, see Kaldellis, Procopius 63.

patronymics and is skeptical of my literary interpretation (149 n. 3). Yet Prokopios names Chosroes many times in the *Wars:* why does the patronymic form occur only when he is being violent and unjust, as Prokopios believed his father was also? But must this be an either-or question? Surely there is a middle ground on which both kinds of explanation can be deployed. But Börm does not seem to accept the legitimacy of literary interpretation (by which I do not mean being "influenced by the *topoi*" of the tradition, etc.). When he looks at the odd episodes that preface the *Persian War*, for example, he asks only whether they could have been true (or not) and what Prokopios's sources were. He does not, as far as I can see, offer any explanation for why they are there at all, especially as he concedes that Prokopios knew far more about Roman-Persian relations in the fifth century than is reflected in those stories.

Prokopios emerges as a vaguely accurate reporter on Persia who was at the mercy of his (contemporary) sources and a similarly vague Roman-Senatorial bias. That he engaged creatively with classical texts (the content of his education) is implicitly denied. Börm at one point reduces intertextuality to mere *mimesis* (314 n. 3), which he seems to equate with affectation. This gets thorny problems out of the way but turns the clock back thirty years on literary analysis in order to make Prokopios susceptible to the fact-checking approach, in which Börm is unquestionably strong. Börm shows an impressive command of the sources and scholarship for Sasanid Persia, but he is stronger in discussing historical Persians than their representation in Prokopios.

Ohio *Anthony Kaldellis*

Angelo Di Berardino (ed.), Patrology: The Eastern Fathers from the Council of Chalcedon (451) to John of Damascus († 750). English trans. by Adrian Walford. Cambridge, James Clarke & Co. 2006. xxxiii, 701 p. ISBN 0-2276-7979-2.[37]

This much-needed reference volume is a continuation of Johannes Quasten's *Patrology*, Vol. 3: The Golden Age of Greek Patristic Literature from the Council of Nicaea to the Council of Chalcedon (1960 English edition). It generally follows the format of Quasten's previous work, with which Angelo Di Berardino is very familiar: he had completed for Quasten the editing of volume 4: The Golden Age of Latin Patristic Literature from the Council of Nicea to the Council of Chalcedon (1978 Italian edition, 1986 English edition). There are some necessary and useful variations. For example, the chapters are arranged into regions and also languages: Literature From the Constantinople Area and Asia Minor, Greek Literature of Syria, Writers of the Palestine Region, Alexandrian and Egyptian Writers, Syriac Literature, Patristic Texts in Coptic, and Patristic Texts in Armenian. There are also entire chapters on Greek Exegetical Catenae and Canonical and Liturgical Literature. The nineteen contributors are distinguished specialists from around the world, including such venerable scholars as Berardino, Andrew Louth, Tito Orlandi, Paul Rorem, Karl-Heinz Uthemann, and others. The volume concludes with an Index of Names.

[37] First published in 2000 as Patrologia: I Padri orientali (secoli V–VIII). I am especially grateful to Fr. Joseph Munitiz, S.J., for critiquing an earlier version of this review.

It is comprehensive, well organized, and reliable, which make it an indispensable tool for the study of Patristics. This *magnum opus* includes complete sections on familiar and well-published authors, including the emperor Justinian (Karl-Heinz UTHEMANN), Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite (Paul ROREM), Maximus the Confessor (Andrew LOUTH), Severus of Antioch (Lorenzo PERRONE), John of Damascus (Basilio STUDER), John Philoponus (Salvatore LILLA), and Shenute (Tito ORLANDI).[38] *Patrology: The Eastern Fathers* brings information about each one up to date with respect to their biographies, their accepted canons and editions, and secondary studies. Yet it goes beyond an introduction to these well-documented writers. The erudite contributors sometimes discuss in detail select topics associated with a particular author. Thus *Patrology: The Eastern Fathers* in not only a compendious, authoritative, and clearly-written guide for students, but also a brilliant collection of new perspectives, arguments, and interpretations to inform and challenge the specialist.

Let one example serve as a microcosm of the rich and varied universe found in this volume. One had to wonder what Karl-Heinz UTHEMANN was going to do with his entry on the prodigious and multi-faceted emperor Justinian, and Uthemann's decision proved the mastery of this scholar and also of the editor, Angelo Di Berardino. After offering a brief biography, which goes back to Justinian's dominating role under Justin I,[39] Uthemann launches into a detailed discussion of Justinian's Christology, as revealed in his constant and difficult attempts to reconcile the warring factions of the protean Monophysite dispute. By focusing on this one religiously important aspect of the emperor's long reign, Uthemann admirably reveals the character of the emperor and touches upon many other remarkable achievements and failures, including his relationship to his wife Theodora, his codifying and interpretations of Roman and Byzantine law, the military conquests, the building enterprises, the court intrigues, etc. Uthemann's focus, however, always remains on Justinian's genuine commitment to finding the theological interpretation of the Council of Chalcedon that would unify Christians in the empire, both East and West.

Yet Uthemann's article on Justinian is important not only for the information that it gives us about the emperor's religious enterprises, but also for the masterful style in which Uthemann presents and argues his findings. First, he has made himself thoroughly familiar with the Christology of this era, as demonstrated by this article, his two *CCSG* editions of the works of Anastasius of Sinai, and his frequent articles on the topic. His tireless research is also apparent in his recent chapter on the "History of Christology to the Seventh Century" in *The Cambridge History of Christianity.*[40] Second, although he offers (for each section of his article) extensive bibliographies on both the primary and secondary sources, and although he sometimes comments on

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[38] There are a few repetitions from Volume 3 among the Syriac and Coptic writers in order to bring the scholarship up to date. Perhaps it would have been prudent to repeat a few others. For example, the *Dionysiaca* and the *Paraphrasis in Johannem* by Nonnus of Panopolis have now been dated to between 444 and 451; although technically outside the dates of this volume, the poems were highly influential during the period under study. See the entry Nonnus of Panopolis, in: A. GRILLMEIER (ed.) with T. HAINTHALER, Christ in Christian Tradition. Vol. II: From the Council of Chalcedon (451) to Gregory the Great (590–604). Pt. 4: The Church of Alexandria with Nubia and Ethiopia after 451. Westminster 1996, 92–99.

[39] See also now B. CROKE, Justinian under Justin: Reconfiguring a Reign. *BZ* 100 (2007) 13–56.

[40] A. CASIDAY/F. NORRIS (eds.), Vol. II: Constantine to c. 600. New York 2007.

observations made by other scholars in the field, thus keeping us aware of their perspectives, Uthemann always relies on a close examination of the primary texts. Yet he does not simply present an annotated list of Justinian's religious edicts and letters, but he explores the complex motivations behind each piece. In the process, he does not hesitate to seek out and examine texts by relatively unknown Byzantine writers. Few of these sources have been translated into a modern language, and several have not yet been edited. The results are refreshingly original and convincing.

What makes this volume especially valuable, however, is not just its treatment of often-discussed celebrities of the Eastern Church. I have nowhere else found such a thorough encyclopaedia of Byzantine authors, persons, and archives that are significant, but that have almost disappeared from modern scholarly studies and theological curricula. Thus among the most important of the articles in this volume is that on the prolific yet relatively obscure theologian Anastasius of Sinai.[41] What had hampered previous studies of this seventh-century monk and priest at St. Catherine's monastery is obvious: it was not until the publication of the *Viae dux* (*Hodegos*) by Uthemann in 1981 that a reliable edition of this monumental text became available to scholars.[42] This was followed by an edition in 1985 of Anastasius's *Homiliae i, ii, iii de creatione hominis* and several essays against Monothelites, also by Uthemann.[43] These, and especially the *Viae dux,* are the basis of his discussion of Anastasius in *Patrology: The Eastern Fathers.* What was not available to Uthemann at the time of his article was the Greek edition and French translation of the *Narrationes*, which appeared in the 2001 dissertation by André Binggeli.[44] And shortly after Uthemann's article was completed, the meticulously researched and carefully constructed edition of the *Quaestiones et responsiones* by Marcel Richard and Joseph Munitiz was published.[45] Because of the complexity of the manuscript tradition, Richard had spent decades sorting out the genuine Anastasian *erotapokriseis* from other traditional material added to the manuscripts – a herculean task that was continued and then completed in 2006 by Munitiz. Also published after the article was the *editio princeps* of the original Greek text of the Anastasian *Hexaemeron.* Books I through XI had previously been available to scholars only in a 1579 Latin translation by Gentian Hervet (found in *PG* 89). The editing of the complete Greek text had been started in the 1960's by John Baggarly, who with the help of Richard found over two dozen manuscripts in Europe. The edition was completed, with an English translation, by the present reviewer in 2007.[46] In Uthemann's treatment of Anastasius, he wisely avoids a detailed discussion of the canon of genuine Anastasian works, which topic had occupied many previous writers. Instead, he focuses on Anastasius's Christology and the *Viae dux*, the purpose

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41 Cf. the review of this volume and especially this article by E. Moore, in: *Theandros. An Online Journal of Orthodox Christian Theology and Philosophy* 4 (Fall 2006) <http://www.theandros.com/review-patro.html>.

42 Anastasii Sinaitae Viae dux. *CCSG* 8. Turnhout 1981.

43 Anastasii Sinaitae Sermones duo in constitutionem hominis secundum imaginem Dei, necnon opuscula adversus monotheletas. *CCSG* 12. Turnhout 1985.

44 Anastase le Sinaïte. Récits sur le Sinaï et Récits utiles à l' âme. Édition, traduction, commentaire. 2 vols. Unpublished PhD Thesis. Université Paris IV/Sorbonne 2001.

45 Anastasii Sinaitae Quaestiones et responsiones. *CCSG* 59. Turnhout 2006.

46 C. Kuehn/J. Baggarly (eds.), Anastasius of Sinai. Hexaemeron. *OCA* 278. Rome 2007.

of which was to provide orthodox Christians with effective weapons against Monophysites. Uthemann's erudition is staggering; his explanations are never simplistic.

There are several other factors, not discussed by Uthemann, that make Anastasius of Sinai important for scholars of Byzantium and Patristics. His written works show a deep familiarity with the Bible and earlier Eastern Fathers, whose opinions, whether quoted or paraphrased, are worked seamlessly into his arguments.[47] He was a skilful and fluent writer in a variety of genres popular at that time; he used a broad vocabulary stretching back to Homer and yet was not hesitant to create new words. He was a prolific theologian at a time of religious strife. Although he sometimes floundered in his theological arguments and repeated himself, he nevertheless understood the importance of their practical application in the changing world around him. Anastasius was a spiritual mentor for the monks at St. Catherine's, where he was priest and presbyter, and also a gentle and compassionate Father for the surrounding lay community. Finally, he was an enthusiastic traveller and, of special significance, an eye witness to the expansion of Islam in the seventh century.

Although Uthemann's treatment of Anastasius focuses quite aptly on his Christology (see especially p. 316–319), Manlio Simonetti wisely points out (p. 7) in the Introduction to the volume, that one of the primary motivations behind the Christological controversies was the question of how the individual believer stood in relationship to Christ. This is the question that Anastasius's *Hexaemeron* explores in depth. A typological exegesis of the beginning of Genesis, it is not unlike Gregory of Nyssa's famous exegesis *De vita Mosis.* But while Gregory focuses on the personal soul mystically approaching the divinity of God, Anastasius describes the whole Church, as Bride of Christ, mystically approaching and joining the divinity of God. In composing Genesis, Anastasius argues, Moses transscribed the words of an angel, and the account of Adam and Eve prophetically represented a type of the union of Christ and the Church.[48] The individual soul, inspired by the Holy Spirit, becomes an inseparable part of this unity, which incorporates and transcends its many human components. The spiritual integrity and the mystical transcendence of the Church, in fact, are the two abiding interests of the *Hexaemeron.* Quite important to any discussion of Byzantine Christology is the *Hexaemeron*'s section on the creation of man in the image and likeness of God (see *Hex.* VI.334–467, esp. 388–397). This topic was also covered by Anastasius in his surviving *Sermones.* Here, however, he emphasizes that all people are created *in the image of God* (Christ the man), but their individual actions, guided by the Holy Spirit, lead them up to be *like God* (the divine Logos) and thus able to join Him in the eternal marriage feast. It is not this opinion, though, but rather his statement about Holy Communion that led to the apparent censorship of the *Hexaemeron.*[49] Anastasius presents the unusual idea – one among several found in his normally orthodox and conservative works – that when a person receives the host, one is receiving only the Body of Christ (*Hex.* XII.316–320; cf. VIII.501–504). This

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47 Anastasius's use of *catenae* still needs to be fully explored. See the excellent chapters on *catenae* by C. Curti and M. Barbara, 605–664.

48 Traditionally, Anastasius of Sinai was referred to as "The New Moses".

49 All the surviving manuscripts except for *Codex Oxoniensis Collegii Novi* 139 at Oxford University had the final chapter or at least the end of the final chapter removed. See J. Munitiz, Foreword, in: Kuehn/Baggarly, Hexaemeron (as above note 46) ix.

explains why the Christians who receive the host and yet commit evil acts are thus barred from enjoying eternal life. Holy Communion itself is not a guarantee of Paradise. It is only through participation in the true bread from heaven – the Holy Spirit – that a person joins Christ and the righteous criminal in the spiritual Paradise, which is the true Church, and which is typified by Eve in the Genesis account. Thus Anastasius carefully points out (*Hex.* XII.139–231) that Eve remained behind in Paradise, protected by the flaming sword of the Cherubim, when Adam was exiled. Although he alludes to Monophysitism, Monothelitism, and Monoenergism, he strives in the *Hexaemeron* to go beyond the contentious issues dividing the Church – as is appropriate for a mystical anagogy.

For a clear explanation of these schisms, one would be well advised to read the general Introduction to the volume. Simonetti lucidly describes the social and political, religious, and literary developments of the period, and thus puts the contributors' more detailed discussions and arguments into their broader perspective. Especially useful are the succinct definitions of key religious terms, doctrines, and publications of the period, such as *hypostasis, person, nature,* and *subject*; Monophysite, Diphysite, Melkite, Monothelitism, Monoenergism, crypto-Nestorianism, and Neochalcedonianism; and the *Tomus ad Flavianum, Henoticon, Ekthesis,* and *Typos.* For example, he explains (p. 9): "Patriarch Sergius … sought to get round the one/two natures opposition by focusing on the concept of *energeia* (= activity), i.e. by maintaining that, even if Christ's natures were two, there was only one source of activity and operation in Christ, since this derived not from the natures but from the one person (hypostasis), seen as the one subject operating in a divine and human way (= Monoenergism)." Simonetti seems to concur with some other contemporary scholars that this period witnessed a general demise in the creativity of Christian writing, and that this was due on the one hand to "physiological exhaustion", and on the other hand to "distressing political events … [which] led to the intensification in the Empire of a climate of precariousness and uncertainty, certainly not favourable to the carrying on of literary activity" (p. 12). Perhaps in making this generalization, these scholars do not give full consideration to the remarkable flowering of mystical literature during the same period, and perhaps related to the same uncertainties of the times. One need only look at the unique works of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite (especially his *Mystical Theology*), Maximus the Confessor (*Four Centuries on Love*) – whom Simonetti calls "the greatest theologian of our whole period" – John Climacus (*The Ladder of Divine Ascent*), Anastasius of Sinai (*Hexaemeron*), and maybe even Dioscorus of Aphrodito (the encomia).[50]

Adrian Walford is remarkably deft in his English translation from the original Italian, as he was in his translation of the *Encyclopedia of the Early Church* (1992), also edited by Angelo Di Berardino. Walford is respectful of the consistencies, variances,

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50 The first three have individual articles with complete bibliographies in this volume: see P. Rorem, Dionysius the Areopagite, 45–53; A. Louth, Maximus the Confessor, 135–153; Idem, John Climacus, 311–313. For Pseudo-Dionysius, see also B. McGinn, The Presence of God: A History of Western Christian Mysticism. Vol. I: The Foundations of Mysticism. New York 1992, 157–182. For Dioscorus and his encomia, see L. Countryman, review of C. Kuehn, Channels of Imperishable Fire: The Beginnings of Christian Mystical Poetry and Dioscorus of Aphrodito, in: *Church History* 66 (December 1997) 787–9; see also T. Hainthaler, Dioscorus of Aphrodito, in: Christ in Christian Tradition, II/4 (as above note 38) 100.

and subtleties in the contributors' translations of key words and phrases from the original languages, whether Greek, Coptic, Armenian, or Syriac.

New Haven *Clement A. Kuehn*

Wolfgang Gaitzsch (mit einem Beitrag von Guntram Gassmann und Andreas Hauptmann), Eisenfunde aus Pergamon. Geräte, Werkzeuge und Waffen. *Pergamenische Forschungen*, 14. Berlin/New York, Walter de Gruyter 2005. XIV, 225 S. 29 Abb. im Text, 76 s/w. Taf. 1 Farbtaf. ISBN 3-11-018240-8.

Von der Ausgrabung in Pergamon, die zuvor schon zwei Monografien zur byzantinischen Metropole in Kleinasien hervorgebracht hat (K. Rheidt, Die byzantinische Wohnstadt. *Altertümer von Pergamon*, 15/2. Berlin 1991, J.-M. Spieser, Die byzantinische Keramik aus der Stadtgrabung von Pergamon. *Pergamenische Forschungen*, 9. Berlin/New York 1996, und M. Klinkott, Die byzantinischen Befestigungsanlagen von Pergamon mit ihrer Wehr- und Baugeschichte. *Altertümer von Pergamon*, 16/1. Berlin 2001) liegt mit diesem Band wieder eine Publikation vor, die eine unbekannte Materialgattung ins Bewusstsein der byzantinischen Archäologen rückt: Geräte, Werkzeuge und Waffen aus Eisen.

Die Publikation hat die Vorlage der gesamten, d.h. antiken bis osmanischen Eisenfunde der pergamenischen Grabungen von 1878 an zum Ziel. Zusätzlich wurden noch Eisenobjekte aus Priene mit aufgenommen, die die Materialvorlage komplettieren. Aufgrund der Natur der Objekte und den seit 1973 intensiv gegrabenen Flächen in der Unterstadt stammen davon ein großer Teil aus der byzantinischen Besiedlungsphase der Stadtgrabung und des Gymnasions (S. 6 und 162). Mit der Untersuchung des Materials soll „eine an den Funktionen orientierte Erfassung und Bestimmung der Geräte, Werkzeug und Waffen" durchgeführt werden, „die übergreifende Aussagen zu Handwerk, Produktion und Ausstattung von Haus und Militär ermöglicht" (Einleitung und Fundüberlieferung, S. 3); das Ergebnis soll dann ein Nachschlagewerk für Archäologen und Ethnologen bilden.

In der Vorstellung der Fundkomplexe sowie ihrer Datierung (S. 6–15) und dem dazugehörenden Katalog (S. 16–23) beleuchtet der Verf. kurz die Kontexte, in denen mehrere, d.h. mehr als drei Eisenobjekte in Gesellschaftung geborgen wurden. Der größte Teil dieser Komplexe wurde in der unter der Ägide von Wolfgang Radt durchgeführten Stadtgrabung gefunden und datiert in die spätbyzantinische bis frühosmanische Zeit. Nach der Vorlage der Architektur und Keramik (siehe oben) und nun den Eisenfunden wäre es wünschenswert, wenn eine Korrelierung der Bauten sowie der Befundsituation der Keramik und Kleinfunden wie Münzen und den Eisenobjekten vorgenommen werden würde, um so explizit eine Datierung der einzelnen Objekte und eine genaue Vorstellung über das Leben der spätbyzantinischen Bevölkerung von Pergamon zu erhalten. In kleinen Ansätzen wurde dies schon verwirklicht (B. Böhlendorf-Arslan, Glasierte byzantinische Keramik aus der Türkei, Teil I. Istanbul 2004; vgl. BZ 98, 2005, Nr. 3920, 194–200). Durch die beispielhaft durchgeführte Grabung und Dokumentation sowie den detailgetreuen Vorarbeiten von Klaus

Rheidt könnte eine solche Arbeit durchaus im Rahmen einer Hochschularbeit vergeben werden.

Der Verf. gliedert die Eisenobjekte nach handwerklichen Kategorien, wobei ihm bewusst ist, dass diese Gruppierung durch die multifunktionelle Funktion einzelner Objekte nur schwer zu halten ist. Den Beginn machen Geräte aus der Haus- und Hofwirtschaft (S. 24–62), Küchengeräte wie Bratspieße, Schüreisen, Teigschneider, Bratenwender, Gefäße, Messer, Scheren, Nadeln, Wollkämme, Schlösser und Schlüssel sowie Beschläge und Kleinteile (Nägel, Ösen, Haken etc.). Messer sind in so großer Zahl vertreten, dass eine neue Typologie für spätbyzantinische Messer (S. 31–35) erstellt werden konnte, die auch für andere Fundorte richtungsweisend sein wird. Ritzverzierte Messerklingen, die beispielsweise im mittelbyzantinischen Fundgut von Boğazköy durchaus üblich sind, kommen in Pergamon nicht vor, wenn man von dem mit einer Tauschierung versehenen Messer absieht. Die Gelenkscheren aus Pergamon datieren nach dem Kontext frühestens in das 13. Jahrhundert, wobei der Verf. die Frage aufwirft, wann die kurzen Gelenkscheren aufgekommen sind, da sie in dieser Art in kaiserzeitlichen oder frühbyzantinischen Kontexten nicht vorkommen. Nach einem Vergleichsfund aus Boğazköy scheinen diese kurzen Scheren schon im 10. oder frühen 11. Jahrhundert in Gebrauch gewesen zu sein.

Die in Pergamon gefundenen Schlüssel und Schlösser gehören überwiegend in die byzantinische Zeit. Sie werden nach ihrer Ausführung in getrennten Kapiteln behandelt (S. 42–52). Zum Verständnis hilfreich sind dabei die Skizzen zur Funktionsweise der Schlösser. Der in Pergamon in spätbyzantinischer Zeit am häufigsten verwendete Schlosstyp, das als Vorhängeschloss verwendete Spreizfederschloss, welches mit dem sogenannten Stabschlüssel aufgeschlossen wird, überwiegt auch an anderen mittel- und spätbyzantinischen Fundorten wie beispielsweise in Boğazköy oder Amorium. Die dort in unterschiedlichen Größen belegten Stabschlüssel und Teile der Spreizfederschlösser zeigen eindrucksvoll, dass nicht nur Türen mit diesem Schlosstyp verschlossen wurden, wie auf zahlreichen Abbildungen der Anastasis zu sehen ist, sondern auch kleinere Kisten und Kästen, in denen die Besitzer Wertvolles lagerten. Teile von Schlössern, Schlossplatten und verschiedene Schlüsseltypen auf den byzantinischen Illustrationen veranschaulichen den Gebrauch sowohl von Spreizfeder- und Schubriegelschlösser in mittel- bis spätbyzantinischer Zeit; in der Realität überwiegen allerdings in Pergamon und in den anderen mittel- und spätbyzantinischen Fundorten die Anzahl der Spreizfederschlösser und die zu ihnen gehörenden Stabschlüssel bei weitem. Das Spreizfedernschloss in Tiergestalt aus Pergamon weist der Verf. nach Vergleichen in das 12. und 13. Jahrhundert und vermutet eine seldschukische Herkunft. Ein sehr ähnliches Schloss und ein weiteres, etwas einfacher gearbeitetes in Tiergestalt wurden in einem byzantinischen Gehöft in Boğazköy gefunden und auf die zweite Hälfte des 10. bis erste Hälfte des 11. Jahrhunderts datiert.

Das vom Verf. als (Tür-)Beschlagband interpretierte Objekt B17 (S. 54, Katalog S. 165, Taf. 3) zeigt große Ähnlichkeit mit fragmentierten Prozessionskreuzen wie sie beispielsweise in Boğazköy gefunden wurden, deren Haspen, wie bei dem Stück aus Pergamon, ebenfalls kreisförmig ausgezogen sind. Sie besitzen auch Nieten, mit denen das Kreuz an einen Stab befestigt wurde. Für die Auslegung als Bruchstück eines Prozessionskreuzes muss die Zeichnung von Gaitzsch gedreht werden, die erhaltene Haspe und die Niete gehören nach unten.

Die zweite Gruppe der Eisenobjekte, mit der etwas unglücklich gewählten Bezeichnung Ausstattung und Zubehör (S. 63–69) versehen, umfasst Trachtbestandteile wie Schnallen und Schuhbeschläge, aber auch Feuerstähle, die besser zu den Hausgeräten gehören sollten, sowie Strigeles. Der Verf. rechnet zu dieser Gruppe auch die Kreuze, wohl weil er die wenigen Pektoralkreuze als Trachtbestandteil ansah. Da aber auch Prozessionskreuze gefunden wurden, hätten diese besser in einer getrennten Kategorie aufgenommen werden sollen. Das große Kapitel Handwerk umfasst Werkzeug zur Holz- und Steinbearbeitung (S. 70–88), Metallbearbeitung (S. 89–97) und Varia (S. 89–102). Leider zeigen sich auch bei dieser Einordnung kleinere Ungereimtheiten, da der Verf. unter Werkzeuge zur Holz- und Steinbearbeitung auch die Streitäxte (S. 73–75) rechnet, die, auch wenn sie sich typologisch an die Bartäxte anschließen, als Waffen verwendet wurden und daher besser unter diesen eingereiht werden sollten. Bestandteil dieses Kapitels ist eine kurze Abhandlung über Schmiede und deren Abfallprodukte, Eisenschlacken, die von zwei Metallurgen, Guntram Gassmann und Andreas Hauptmann, in einem Exkurs analysiert wurden (S. 91–95).

Im anschließenden Kapitel Landwirtschaft werden Geräte und Werkzeuge zur Bodenbearbeitung, Holzgewinnung und Tierhaltung (S. 103–116) vorgestellt. Da besonders die Eisenglocken in der Viehhaltung Verwendung fanden, schlägt der Verf. die Glocken der Landwirtschaft zu (S. 114–116), führt aber gleichzeitig an, dass sie in Pergamon auch für die Liturgie und als Trachtbestandteil dienten. Zum Kapitel passend folgt eine Abhandlung über Zaumzeug und Reitzubehör (S. 117–129) mit Trensen, Steigbügeln, Sporen, Hufeisen und Striegel.

Den Abschluss bilden die Waffen (S. 130–160), die sich in Schuss- und Wurfwaffen (Geschossbolzen, Pfeil-, Lanzen- und Speerspitzen, Pila) sowie Hieb- und Schlagwaffen (Schwerter, Dolche, Parierstangen, Streitkolben), gefolgt von Panzern und Schilde, aufteilen. Während die Geschossbolzen in die hellenistische bis kaiserzeitliche oder spätantike Phase der Stadt gehören, sind Pfeilspitzen auch aus byzantinischer Zeit belegt, die mit ihrem dreieckig-rhombischen Umriss und der Dornschäftung den üblichen Typ darstellen, wie er auch von anderen Fundstellen Anatoliens (Beşiktepe/Troas, Boğazköy etc.) belegt ist.

Dieser Einteilung folgt der angehängte Katalog, in dem die einzelnen Eisenfunde mit einer Beschreibung, Maßen, Datierung und kurzen Erwähnung des Fundorts tabellarisch behandelt werden. Hier sei kurz zu vermerken, dass die Fundstücke im Katalog nach den nicht immer logisch erscheinenden Abkürzungen (A für Äxte, B für Beschlag, aber F für Bratspieße und Kü für Teigschneider) alphabetisch aufgelistet sind. Unter der Bezeichnung „Varia“ fasst der Verf. alle Objekte zusammen, die wohl nur in geringer Zahl vertreten sind. Dabei lässt er die zuvor getroffene Aufteilung völlig außer Acht, so dass in diesem Abschnitt Waffen, Geräte und Kreuze ohne jegliche Ordnung geblieben sind. Die im Katalog vorgestellten Objekte sind, in der für die Pergamonbände typischen qualitätvollen Ausführung, als Strichzeichnung im Tafelteil abgebildet, einige ausgewählte gut erhaltene Stücke auch als Fotografie.

Trotz der oben genannten kleinen Ungereimtheiten in der Typologie, Kapitelleinteilung und Katalogisierung der Objekte gelingt es dem Autor, das ”spröde” Material Eisen in der alltäglichen Nutzung anschaulich und leicht verständlich zu Leben zu erwecken. Jeder Archäologe, der mit Eisen gearbeitet hat, weiß, wie schwierig es ist, mit dem Material umzugehen und die meist bis zur Unkenntlichkeit korrodierten Objekte zu interpretieren, einzuordnen und Zeichnungen von ihnen anzufertigen. Man

merkt dem Autor die breit gefächerte Auseinandersetzung und die Liebe zu dieser Materialgattung an, die sich nicht zuletzt in mit vielen Fotografien belegten rezenten Vergleichen zu Ansprache, Funktion und Gebrauch von Geräten niederschlägt. Mit der Vorlage der Eisenfunde der Stadtgrabung füllt der Verf. damit eine weitere Lücke in der Besiedlungsgeschichte des byzantinischen Pergamons.

Freiburg *Beate Böhlendorf-Arslan*

Ivan Jordanov, Corpus of Byzantine Seals from Bulgaria. Vol. II: Byzantine Seals with Family Names. Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Archaeological Institute with Museum, Sofia 2006. 552 S., 40 Taf. ISBN 978-954-91587-3-1.

In den letzten Jahrzehnten wurden in Bulgarien mehrere tausend Siegel gefunden, wovon zunächst zumindest Teile bulgarisch ediert wurden. Der Plan des führenden bulgarischen Sigillographen, Prof. Jordanov, diesen großen Bestand corpusartig in Englisch zu publizieren, fand demgemäß allgemein ein sehr positives Echo. Auf den ersten Band, der den Siegeln mit geographischen Termini gewidmet war (vgl. BZ 98, 2005, 129–133), folgte 2006 der zweite, der die Bullen mit Familiennamen, Beinamen usw. behandelt. Vorweg sei festgehalten, dass die meisten Lesungen (und Datierungen) verlässlich sind, dass allerdings bei so manchen griechischen Transkriptionen viele unnötige Fehler passiert sind, was nicht nur auf den Zeitdruck zurückzuführen ist.[51]

Es ist auch nicht nachvollziehbar, dass Siegel, die bereits im ersten Band ausführlich behandelt worden waren, in voller Länge wiederholt wurden, wenn auch ein Familienname vorhanden war; zumindest eine starke Kürzung des Kommentars wäre angebracht gewesen. Wenig weiterführend ist auch die häufige rhetorische Frage, an wen der Siegler wohl geschrieben haben mag, als hätten Siegel nur zur Sicherung von Briefen gedient. Andererseits ist es natürlich schon vorteilhaft, dass in vielen Fällen der Fundort bekannt ist, was tatsächlich in Summe gewisse Schlüsse erlaubt.

Die Abbildungen sind von guter Qualität, allerdings sind nicht alle Siegel reproduziert, was besonders bei recht fraglichen Lesungen mäßig erhaltener Bullen doppelt schade ist.

Zu vielen Namen werden alle dem Autor bekannt gewordenen Bullen (z. B. auch unpublizierte aus der Wiener Photothek[52]) erwähnt, aber nicht richtig ediert, weshalb die Frage allfälliger Identifizierungen häufig offen bleibt.[53] Im allgemeinen sind die reichhaltigen Kommentare aber recht nützlich.

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51 Das Werk sollte unbedingt zum Londoner Byzantinistenkongress erscheinen.

52 Wenn etwa das Zitat „Zacos III“ ohne Autorennamen erscheint, bedeutet das zumeist, dass hier das Wiener Photo eines (unpublizierten) Siegels der letzten Sammlung Zacos zugrunde liegt; viele dieser Bullen befinden sich heute in Paris.

53 Diese Abschnitte haben wir allerdings nicht systematisch durchgearbeitet.

Im Folgenden wollen wir einige Bemerkungen beisteuern:

19: Ein Parallelstück aus Böotien edierte M. Galane-Krikou im *Archaiologikon Deltion* 48 (1993) B1 – Chronika (Athen 1998) 85, Abb. 4.

27: Der Mann hieß wohl Leon Alyates.

28: Hier ist Alyates recht unsicher.

29–30: Alopos ist nur eine Möglichkeit.

31: Sollte man nicht eher Amiropolos überlegen?

32: Amastridos wäre sehr unwahrscheinlich; vielleicht Kallistenos.

33: Ein Parallelstück in Athen (Stavrakos, *Athen* 12, wo das Stück in Sofia sogar erwähnt wird).

39: Haplucheir ist denkbar.

46–48: Τζουρβαν(έλης).

55. Im 11. Jh. nahmen die Frauen noch nicht den Familiennamen des Gatten an!

58: Für den ersten Vers schlagen wir vor: Θρᾴκης σκέποις δοῦκα με κουροπαλάτην.

65: Artoklines überzeugt nicht.

70–71: Der Familienname ist sehr fraglich.

101–102A: Wenn in der letzten Zeile Φ zu lesen ist, sollte man an Nikephoros denken.

103–104: Käme MUCEΛI statt UPCENI in Frage?

113: Der Name Berroites ist von Berroia abzuleiten.

147–148: Der Familienname lautet Glykys.

166: Leider kein Photo dieses schlecht erhaltenen Stückes; der Genetiv des Artikels ließe am Ende einen geographischen Terminus wie etwa Dipotamon erwarten. Das im Kommentar erwähnte Berliner Siegel nennt eher einen Dipotamonites.

184–186: Als Familiennamen schlage ich Dux vor; vgl. Polemis, *Doukai* 10.

192–195: Die von Jordanov favorisierte Identifizierung von Groß Preslav mit Preslavica ist höchst unwahrscheinlich – man sollte also streng zwischen beiden Strategensitzen unterscheiden!

197: Ἀοίνου am Beginn der Legende ist abzulehnen.

198: Auf dem Revers ist zweimal die Ligatur Epsilon-Iota zu erkennen, nicht einfaches Iota.

199: Bei diesem Typus, von dem viele Exemplare (auch Fälschungen) bekannt sind, ist sicher δούξ und nicht der Familienname Dukas gemeint.

200: Bei der Mehrzahl der Siegel ist zu lesen: Σεπτὴ ξυνωρὶς τῶν σοφῶν ἀθληφόρων, doch bei zumindest einem Exemplar wird τῶν σοφῶν durch ἱερῶν ersetzt (*Βυζάντιο: Κράτος και Κοινωνία* 153, fig. 18; dieses Siegel befindet sich allerdings nicht in Österreich, wie dort angegeben).

203: Der Familienname Dukas wäre hier sehr zweifelhaft.

207: Bei dem im Kommentar vorgestellten Siegel der ehemaligen Sammlung Zacos eines Michael würde ich statt στρατηγῷ τῷ Δουκίτζῃ vorziehen: στρατηγῷ τῆς Λουκανίας, wodurch das Stück doppelt interessant wird.

208: Es ist sicher ἄνθρωπος zu lesen, keineswegs πρωτονοτάριος. Beim Beinamen des hl. Georg dachten wir schon in der Rezension zum 1. Band an ὁ μέγας Ἀπελάτης.

209: Die beste Form des Familiennamens ist Drimys. Der Mann war Topoteretes der Helladikoi.

210: Eirenikos ist unsicher.

212: Zur Verbesserung von Elikiotes zu Belikiotes und Verbindung mit Velikij (vielleicht Velikij Preslav) vgl. *Hypermachos* 91, zu Nr. 2.

215: Mit dem zitierten Aufsatz im JÖB sollten die Fragen um diesen Siegeltypus längst gelöst sein.

219: Eugeniotes hieß sicher Ioannes. Lesungsvorschlag: Φερωνύμῳ (oder Φερώνυμε,) σὴν φυλακὴν θείαν, μάκαρ, Εὐγενιώτῃ προσνέμοις, χρυσορρόα.

220–221A: Der Mann hieß Μουσῆς, nicht Μωσέως. Auch weitere Parallelstücke sind bekannt: DO 58.106.4595 und Gorny&Mosch 113, 18.10.2001, 6170 = Münz Zentrum Rheinland 124, 12.–14.1.2005, 1073.

224–225: [Φρούρει (;)] πρόεδρον Μανουὴλ τὸν Ζηλλάν(ην) (oder τὸν Ζηλβάνην oder τῶν Ζηλλάνων)? Ein interessantes, aber noch nicht sicher gelöstes Stück.

229–236: Ein weiteres Parallelstück aus Păcuiul lui Soare edierte Diaconu in den Pontica 25 (1992) 359–361.

238: Zur höchsten Stufe der Karriere des Ioannes Thylakas überlegen wir: πατρίκιος ἀνθύπατος βέστης, ὕπατος κ. ἐπείκτης (;) Ὀψικίου.

244: Hier ist eindeutig Kazakes zu lesen. Beim Stück in D.O. fällt die Wahl zwischen Kazanes (vgl. neugriechisch Kazakes) und Chazanes schwer.

247–249: Wir ziehen Marinos vor.

250: Am Beginn der 2. Zeile des Revers ist sicher die Ligatur Chi-Rho zu sehen, wohl für Chrysoteles; damit kommt das Stück in nächste Nähe zu Laurent, *Corpus* II 682, weshalb auch dort Kynochorites zu überlegen ist; das rumänische Siegel ist an der Stelle, wo Barnea Alpha und Iota vermutete, stärker beschädigt, und Ypsilon erscheint zumindest möglich.

260: Der Name Kannabutzes kommt letztlich von lateinischem „cannabis" (vgl. Caracausi, *Lessico greco della Sicilia* 265).

265 u. 266: Der Name lautet Kappadokes.

267–272: Der im Kommentar (S. 185, Nr. 3) erwähnte angebliche Georgios Karantenos eines Athener Siegels (640 α) hieß eher Gregorios Kamateros.

273–278: Da nach dem Rho des Namens kein Kürzungsstrich zu erkennen ist, hieß der Mann wohl Kardames, nicht Karantenos. Preslav ist hier u.E. Περδσκλ(άβα) transkribiert.

279: Stratt σφραγίς ist σφράγισμα zu lesen, wodurch auch ein Zwölfsilber zustande kommt. 12. Jh.

289–290: Es handelt sich wohl doch um einen Strategen des Themas Kassenon; zu dem bei Zacos II 425 edierten Siegel desselben Mannes als Hypatos (eher als Patrikios) und Strategos Kassenon mit demselben hl. Eustathios auf dem Avers gibt es ein Parallelstück in der ehemaligen Sammlung Hecht (vgl. Triton 11, 8.–9.1.2008, 1184), jetzt Sammlung Seibt 428.

291: Der Familienname Kasnitzes ist wenig wahrscheinlich. Sollte man an einen Strategen von X(A)NZ(IT) östlich von Melitene denken? Vielleicht gehört auch das Siegel, das Cheynet in REB 1991, 231 f., Nr. 15 publizierte, in diesen Zusammenhang, wenn dort XANZHTI oder Ähnliches steht.

308 A: Wenn der Mann Kelltzeniotes hieß, stammte er aus dem armenischen Gau Keltzene/Ekełeac' bei Erzincan.

309: Kindynos, nicht Kinadynos.

319: Mit ἀδελφάνακτος erhalten wir einen normalen Zwölfsilber.

320 A: Nicht Eirene Komnene sondern Ioannes Komnenos: Σκέποις με, μάκαρ, Κομνηνὸν Ἰωάννην. Publizierte Parallelstücke: Lichačev, *Vostok,* Taf. 65, 9; SBS 3, 110, Nr. 2; Weitere Parallelstücke: DO 58.106.2389 und in der ehem. Sammlung Zacos.

341: Das Kürzel am Ende des Familiennamens bedeutet ῶν, daher ist Κομνηνῶν zu lesen.

343a: Wohl nahe zu Schlumberger, *Sigillographie* 642, 17 (heute Ermitaž M-6792).

347: Für den 2. Vers ziehen wir vor: ὃν σαῖς λιταῖς σκέποις μοι, μάρτυς Κυρίου.

357: Lesungsvorschlag: Σφραγὶς γραφῶν ἔγωγε ἐντιμωμένων / Κοντοστεφάνου ἐπαινῶ (?) Νικηφόρου.

362: Die im Kommentar erwähnte Person ist viel jünger als erstere, weshalb eine Identifikation mit Sicherheit auszuschließen ist (vielleicht trennt die beiden fast ein Jahrhundert).

383 A: Da auf das Sigma ein eindeutiger Kürzungsstrich folgt, war Kurtikes Topoteretes der Thrakesier und nicht von Thrake.

387–388: Da auf das Iota des Vornamens ein Kürzungsstrich folgt, hieß der Mann Leontios, nicht Leon; vgl. Barnea – Seibt, JÖB 49 (1999) 91 f., Nr. 3.

397: Beim Athener Stück, auf das sich die Rekonstruktion stützt, ist allerdings nicht IW für Ioannes, sondern der Artikel TW zu lesen! Ca. 13. Jh.

401A: Av. Michael. Rv. wahrscheinlich: Λογαριαστὴν Βασίλειον σὺ σκέποις. Es könnte sich auch um das Amt eines Logariastes handeln.

402: Lopakas?

403: Lu allein kann auch Eigenname sein; vgl. zu Laurent, *Orghidan* 411: Seibt, JÖB 53 (2003) 201.

407: Der Beginn der Legende überzeugt nicht; vielleicht Τελῶ γραφῶν (oder Τῶν γραμμάτων) σφράγισμα.

412: Auch hier ist der Beginn der Legende recht hypothetisch.

415–417: Wenn überhaupt, dann eher Protobestes; leider kein Photo!

420: Auf dem im Kommentar unter Nr. 2 b) angeführten Siegel eines Katepano von Vaspurakan ist nicht Maniakes sondern Monomachatos zu lesen; vgl. Wassiliou – Seibt, *Österreich* II 273.

421: Ca. 2. Viertel 11. Jh.

422 A: Hier sind Av. und Rv. vertauscht. Lesungsvorschlag von A.-K. Wassiliou-Seibt: Σιδήρων ἐκ τύπων ἡ κλεὶς μολυβδίνη / τοῦ Μανιάκου τῶν γραφῶν Κωνσταντίνου / ὑπερτάτου δὲ πρωτονωβελλισίμων. Vgl. auch Stavrakos, in: Cl. Ludwig, *Siegel und Siegler* 167.

423: Auf dem Siegel ist sicher ΜΑΡΟVΛΗΚ zu lesen; vgl. *Hypermachos* 92 f., Nr. 6.

462: Meliton.

468: Der Vorname war ΕΙΡΙΝΗ oder ΗΡΙΝΗ geschrieben. Der Familienname lautet Μεταλινή.

473–480: Über dem Tau des Rv.-Monogramms befindet sich ein Omikron, kein Omega.

529–532: Der Vater des Konstantin Umpertos, nämlich Unpertos Patrikios, war sicher nicht Stratege und Domestikos der Uzen (S. 314 unten), sondern wohl der Optimaten.

533 A: Stratelates überzeugt nicht; vielleicht κουράτωρ τῶν κτημάτων?

553: Vielleicht eher Polites.

556: Nicht nur der Vorname ist hier recht fraglich.

558: Recht unsicher.

559: Pardos überzeugt nicht.

562: Pedianites?

563: λέγε entspricht den Spuren nicht.

566: Das am Ende des Kommentars angeführte Siegel hat mit Perdikes sicher nichts zu tun; es ist zu lesen: Σφραγὶς πέφυκα τοῦ θύτου Κωνσταντίνου.

572: Als Familiennamen vermuten wir Petruses.

592: Ptochites.

593: Der Typus passt besser in die 2. Hälfte des 10. Jh.

597 A: Frühes 11. Jh.

601–602: Protonobellisimos wäre sehr unwahrscheinlich. Vielleicht 1. Hälfte 11. Jh.

631–637: Δομέστικος τῶν ἱκανάτων τῆς Δύσεως.

644: Zur Lesung Sauloioannes vgl. bereits BZ 84/85 (1991/92) 549 zu Nr. 21.3.

647: Die Legende ist noch nicht voll gelöst.

649: Leider kein Photo. Die Buchstabenfolge –AX– findet sich in vielen Namen!

651–652: Synaites sollte nicht zu Sinaites verändert werden; der Mann stammte wohl aus Synaos in Phrygien.

667: Sunes?

668 u. 669: Vgl. jetzt auch *Hypermachos* 252 bzw. 254 f.

670 A: Vgl. *Hypermachos* 207, Nr. 14 (dort auf letztes Drittel 12. Jh. datiert).

672–674: Vielleicht Brabylenos? Βράβυλον ist eine wilde Pflaumenart.

675: Wenn das Stück nahe zu Zarnitz 581 (aus Münz Zentrum Köln 78, 7.–9. 9. 1994, 808) ist, wäre wohl Eustathios Brabylenos zu lesen. Auch dort auf dem Avers eine Büste der Theotokos Blachernitissa.

681: Vielleicht stand am Ende nicht ein Familienname sondern das Thema des Strategen.

697 u. 698: Tanuter bedeutet armenisch den „Hausherrn“.

699: Ca. 2. Drittel 11. Jh.

703: Ein Parallelstück aus Tulcea edierte Barnea in den *Études byzantines et postbyzantines* 3 (1997) 95 f., Nr. 4.

707–708: Kaum Tatukas; eher Tzukas oder ähnlich; vgl. den neugriechischen Familiennamen Tsukas.

709: Temises ist wohl mit türkischem *temiz* zu verbinden.

710: Lesungsvorschlag von A.-K. Wassiliou-Seibt: Ἐκ σοῦ μοναχὸς Ἀρσένιος Τζαμπλάκων, πάναγνε, κυροῖ καὶ γραφὰς καὶ πρακτέα.

713–715: Tzintzilukes.

730: Da die nun gute Abbildung am Ende der vorletzten Zeile keinen Kürzungsstrich erkennen lässt, lautet der Name Pharkopulos, was mit ungarischem Farkas („Wolf“) zu verbinden ist.

730 A: Diesen Strategen von Strumica datieren wir etwa in die 30er Jahre des 11. Jh.

731 Pharankopulos ist sicher abzulehnen; vielleicht Phurnitares, Phurnitiotes oder ähnlich.

732: Im JÖB 49 (1999) 89 wurde τῷ Φιλίππῳ vorgeschlagen.

737 A: In der 2. Zeile des Avers wohl die Ligatur Ny-Gamma, nicht nur Gamma.

746–748: Am Ende der Legende nicht Iota sondern ein Kürzungsstrich. Die Familie Χαψᾶς ist in Trapezunt belegt. Nicht δοῦλος, sondern δούλῳ σ(ου).

749: Chleberes/Chleveres; mehrere Parallelstücke in *Hypermachos* 201, Nr. 4.

755: Leontios Chrysobalanites. Im Kommentar ist unter 4 b) XPUCWRAΛANHTI zu lesen.

758: Chrusos?

759: Leider kein Photo; wäre Mesopotamites denkbar?

Wien *Werner Seibt*

C.L. Striker/Y.D. Kuban et al. (eds.), Kalenderhane in Istanbul. The excavations. Final reports on the archaeological expedition and restoration at Kalenderhane Camii 1966–1978. Mainz, Philipp von Zabern 2007. X, 287 p. 26 plates. ISBN 978-3-8053-3818-9.

The present second volume (announced as the last) on the work of Prof. Striker's and Prof. Kuban's teams comprises a series of studies on the excavations carried out between 1966 and 1978 in conjunction with the extensive restoration of the monument (already presented in 1997 in the first volume: Striker, Kuban et al., Kalenderhane in Istanbul: The Buildings …). The text and illustrations are elegantly printed, but (as for Vol. I) in a wide-margin format that is too large to fit on most library shelving (though, as I have noted in the case of another von Zabern product, the printed area falls just within an A4 photocopying format). The long and contorted history of work on the excavation finds is revealed on p. 1–6, though their final places of storage (some in museum, some on site?) are not indicated.

The seven chapters, by a number of authors (the stated coeditor, Y.D. Kuban, being here largely replaced by American latter-day assistants who helped to assemble the volume) are uncomfortably uneven in presentation. As stated at the outset, building sequences and coin finds are used to create the basic time-frame; however, the findspots of the latter, as on other urban sites, coincide with the site-phases only spasmodically (and the initial excavators were not all highly trained: see comments, p. 3, 6).

Chapters IV–VII, dealing with the coin finds, architectural pieces and brick-stamps, and human bones, are self-contained reports with full discussion (save that on the Ottoman coins, curtailed by author I. Artuk's death), and should stand the test of time. The excavation report, Chapter II, with its vital tables of excavated contexts and their contents, was put together belatedly, and presents a list of phases revised from that employed in Vol. I. The extensive Chapter III (by Herrin and Toydemir: p. 49–173, no plates) presents selected pottery (140 'Roman', 357 'Byzantine', 214 Ottoman), and glass vessel (72) finds, all as descriptive catalogue entries accompanied by good-quality line-drawings. This is a rather small proportion of the some 400,000 sherds recovered (see p. 49), which included (personal observation) a rather more complete sequence (e.g. from the 13th and 15th centuries) than is evident in this report. Explanations of the methodology used here, and, above all, discussion of the results obtained, are inexplicably absent (presumably the volume editors' decision). The few published comparanda cited scarcely go beyond 1985, and the Chapter III texts seem to date essentially from then. They are partly updated by the tables offered by Striker in Chapter II, which offers some context associations and lists most, but not all, of the

original site pottery code system (no full index of this being presented). This coding is cited also for the coins and glass finds. Toydemir's previous preliminary report in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 29 (1975) p. 315–17 (under her maiden name Sabuncu) is scarcely mentioned; the items illustrated there mostly do not reappear. Two significant 11th and 13th-century deposits (codes BMW and AZO: Byzantine cat. nos. 69–70, 81–98, nos. 123–4, 129, 138–44 and [for AZO] ibid. fig. 17.2–4) do not appear in the layer tables, figs. 25–26 (the plan fig. 35 half-locates one).

The editors and/or printers' copy-editors should certainly have taken more care with the contents, with less faith in automated computerized solutions, as when handling words in Greek (as in note 1 on p. 8). Coordination of text and illustrations has sometimes been inadequate – a common failing of editors nowadays –, with outdated captions: most drawings first presented at abnormal scales seem to have been resized by the publishers to 1:3 without corresponding corrections to the captions. Also, a number of drawings appear in two places (e.g. Roman no. 28 = Byzantine no. 246), with differing texts appended. Many essential cross-references are omitted: hence the unexplained Turkish "son cemaat yeri" (= "mosque service late-comers' space") pops up on p. 10 (last paragraph) without mention of the description of it at Vol. I, p. 73–74 (which I located only with difficulty). The result is too often the proverbial "parson's egg": the neatly organized approach seen in Vol. I has not been maintained here.

The portable finds from this work are enumerated after a valuable initial chapter presenting the excavation contexts along with their layer codes in tabular form. Some of these reports are in finished form, with accompanying discussion, but others (such as those on the pottery and glass finds, comprising p. 51–173) appear as bald catalogues of selected pieces accompanied by line-drawings only, without recourse to the project's photograph archive (which could have aided the reader). Trench and layer numbers (easily located on the Tables on p. 13–38) are provided for the architectural elements, whereas findspot layer codes (nowhere cross-referenced alphabetically) are listed for coins and ceramic objects, making it difficult to reconstruct assemblages. One is left wondering what the dates proposed for individual items really mean, and how they were arrived at. This may colour one's opinion of, e.g., the time-frame for the post-1197 Phase 7 (Main Church) rebuilding discussed on p. 8–9, for which the coin finds cited (nos. 633, 637–38, 643 in Hendy's catalogue: states of preservation not indicated, only one illustrated) could equally suggest a rapid pre-1204 completion (perhaps preferable) or one say 20–30 years later (which might imply different intended users). Indeed, one could argue that the AD 1197 fire intervened during the building of the Main Church, prior to the placing of its floor and internal fittings.

Sabuncu's report on the Ottoman pottery offers a wide range of material, here arranged by stylistic categories. The appended context and object dates give cause for some alarm, since some of the most complete finds are placed a couple of centuries before/after their find-contexts, which they should serve to date: were the layers in question contaminated, perhaps? The Introduction indicates that some of the student dig-assistants in the earlier seasons were inexperienced – is this now evident to all-comers? Which object and context dates are we to trust? We seem to lack a general discussion in which these issues are raised and resolved (the same applies to the other reports on pottery and glass). These issues, reasonably excluded from Vol. I, should have found a place here.

Progress in the general study of everyday items (such as pottery, minor metalware and organic remains) in Byzantine and Ottoman times has been retarded over the years by lack of solid datable evidence from Constantinople/Istanbul itself. Since the 1920 s publications of excavated finds from the city have appeared only spasmodically, and often with unacceptably long editorial delays. Hence the current excavators of the city have only a handful of primary sources as guides – as far as pottery goes, one may cite the British Academy work (1928–), the Great Palace reports (1947, 1958), the St. Irene report (PESCHLOW et al., in *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 27/28, 1977–78), and those from Saraçhane (published 1992, but submitted nine years earlier). Striker's own previous report on the Bodrum Camii included rather little stratified material, since the previous hasty 'restoration' work had bulldozed away almost all the build-up on its exterior. The new interim report on the Bosporos Tunnel operations (Gün ışığında – English edition forthcoming) and the recent exhibition catalogue Kalanlar/The Remnants (Istanbul, Koç Vakfı 2007) reflect this difficult situation.

The present volume, which, except for the coins, rarely ties down sequences more closely than to a century (in contrast to many datings proposed in the Saraçhane report), hardly advances the subject in general terms. The 'missing' centuries on other sites (e.g. late 8th to 9th, mid-13th to mid 15th, late 17th to 18th) are not revealed here, though some items are listed as being of these periods. Two examples: the near-complete bowl, Byzantine item no. 221 (= *DOP*, cit., fig. 18.2), assigned a Palaiologan date but given a 'late 18th cent.' context date (for layer AUO3) – yet cf. the context information on fig. 16; also no. 235, which seems to be the fig. 18.11 of the 1975 report, there given layer code BAK. In turn, the BAK code now locates an 18th/19th cent. candlestick, 'Byzantine' no. 58. Should the printed context for another large piece, the 10th/11th century no. 63, given as Canal 21, actually refer to Canal 20 (see table, p. 18–19)? This may also affect nos. 74, 87, 132 – another 11th century 'deposit'? The question is, then, one of approach – which I do not find here very innovative –, and of patchy editing.

One is forced to ask whether this is the last word on the project – or are correctives and text discussions planned to be issued in article form or the like? A slim supplement (of 100–150 pp.) could make a significant difference here, by supplying necessary indexes (to link both the published volumes), and presenting neglected classes of material (e.g. clay lamps? metal small finds? animal bones?), if they now remain accessible. The photographic record of the portable finds could also be further tapped. One might question whether the objectives of the original sponsors (Dumbarton Oaks) have yet been fully met, and whether future forays into Istanbul by outsiders may be compromised by this situation.

Notes

1) In the Roman and Byzantine pottery catalogues, Saraçhane (Istanbul) comparanda are numbered according to the original layer codes marked on the sherds and an unpublished preliminary deposit listing (of the 1970 s), both of which were superseded (and do not appear) in Excavations at Saraçhane I–II.

2) Dimension figures inserted on the pottery Figs. indicate radii (not diameters, as given in the Text).

3) The Roman/Late Roman pottery finds (Herrin's report) were generally scrappy, as were most of the Byzantine. The fine wares are fairly covered (though I miss a batch

of stamped 'Late Roman Unguentaria' from the 1975 report). However the numerous amphora finds (part-paralleling the Saraçhane series [pers. obs.], but with some 'missing' periods better attested here – see fig. 15 of the 1975 report) get short shrift – more evidence for the post-1200 sequence, at least, would have been welcome. The Ottoman finds, including several deposits with relatively complete vessels, could have been more thoroughly presented (preferably with some photos of decorated items added), to provide more building blocks for future excavators.

4) A combined general index for the two published volumes is still awaited, as is an inventory listing of items now in the Istanbul Archaeological Museums.

Oxford *John W. Hayes*

Nikos MALIARAS, Βυζαντινά μουσικά όργανα. *Ελληνικές Μουσικολογικές Εκδόσεις*, 6. Athena, Panas music 2007. 623 Seiten. ISBN 978-960-7554-44-4.

The study under review is a large monograph on musical instruments in Byzantium. Following an introduction that treats issues of method and discusses the history of research (p. 15–32), Nikos Maliaras (= M.) organizes his book in four chapters. The first chapter (p. 33–63) discusses various textual and visual sources for the study of Byzantine instruments; the second chapter (p. 64–154) examines the open-stringed, plucked string instruments of the "harp" and "psaltery" type; the third chapter (p. 155–266) is concerned with instruments used in the Byzantine army, while the fourth and longest chapter (p. 267–442) focuses specifically on the Byzantine organ. The book includes an exhaustive, thematically organized, bibliography (p. 445–480), a general index (p. 481–496), an annotated list of the iconographical source material (p. 497–506), a chronological list of the iconographic source material (p. 507–512), 207 monochrome and polychrome photographic plates (p. 515–575), and an appendix with all passages from the textual sources in their original wording (p. 577–623).

In the introduction, M. points to the serious difficulties in the study of instruments of past cultures. In most cases, no notation or actual instruments survive and, thus, a scholar is forced to study "non-acustic" material, such as texts and images. In the case of texts, the material can either be of a musical subject, for example, treatises on the theory of music, or, which is mostly the case, of non-musical content, for example, narrative sources (such as historiographical works, lives of saints, romances), rhetorical sources (such as letters, orations) and theological sources (such as sermons, treatises, commentaries). In the case of images, the material is mostly found (i) accompanying some text in manuscript form (for example, illustrations of narrative sources such as chronicles or romances, of the Bible, and of the homilies of Gregory Nazianzen), (ii) adorning some representation in monumental art (mosaics or frescoes), or (iii) included on some smaller luxury object (such as a cascet, metallic jar, ceramic plate etc.). Thus, a scholar needs, first, to study the material in its own context and medium (for example, the symbolic role of instruments in a fresco or the semiotic function of instruments in a narrative scene), in order, then, to be able to draw some sort of firmer conclusions on the "real" form and function of the instruments depicted or described. In other words, historical organology needs an interdisciplinary approach that will yield

methodologically satisfactory results[54]. And this is an unquestionably difficult task. Unfortunately, it is also a rather unrewarding exercise, in the sense that the relation of fact and hypothesis weighs heavily on the side of hypothetical conclusions.

Given these limitations, M.'s study represents a very successful attempt to balance fact and hypothesis in such a type of study. The conclusions to each of the four chapters testify to the author's high sense of scholarly honesty in describing carefully what is possible and impossible, probable and improbable. Through a detailed and judicious examination of all available material, M. offers a series of (i) weighty corrections to the often haphazard suggestions of older scholars, (ii) insightful analyses of the source material, and (iii) new solutions as to the form and function of various instruments in various contexts. Such an analysis did not materialize out of thin air. M. has written an excellent study on the history of the organ in 9th/10th-century Byzantium,[55] as well as a substantial article on the intruments in the Byzantine army,[56] where he had the opportunity to develop his method of analysis of the source material. In fact, as the author himself points out (p. 16 and 32), chapter 3 of his book is an expanded version of his 2001 paper, while chapter 4 is a condensed but revised and fully updated version of his 1991 monograph.

I would like to mention a few examples of such a successful examination of source material. One highly convincing interpretative analysis (p. 33–42) is the careful study of a passage from an alchemical treatise on music and chemistry (probably of the 8th century), where the anonymous author lists various instruments grouped in three broader categories, that is, stringed, wind and percussion instruments (*kitharika, auletika, nausta*). The specific passage is not only difficult because of its terminology and content, but also because of the problematic transmission of the work itself in a single 11th-century manuscript (Marc. gr. 299). M. succeeds in elucidating the obscure passage word by word, offering very plausible interpretations for the various instruments listed. Similarly, M.'s analysis of the different terminology for "square"-shaped and "triangular"-shaped polychord open-stringed instruments (the *plinthion* and the *psalterion/trigonon* respectively) in the sources, and his comparative examination with the visual material is excellent (p. 77–111). A similarly successful comparative discussion is offered at the end of the chapter on instruments in the army (p. 254–266), where the author demonstrates that, while the Byzantines took over the use of drums and cymbals from the Arabs, the Arabs (and later the Crusaders) took over the use of the metal trumpet from the Byzantines.

Despite the mass of uneven and dissimilar material spread over the "Byzantine millenium", M. has succeeded in offering, to the extent that this is possible, an informed documentation on each separate source item. Thus, the bibliography is fully updated, the references to date, place of provenance or composition exact and with knowledge of all problems concerned. In other words, the readers of the book will feel

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[54] The author could have profited from the similar theoretical problems discussed by M. G. Parani, Reconstructing the reality of images: Byzantine material culture and religious iconography (11th–15th centuries). *The Medieval Mediterranean*, 41. Leiden/Boston 2003.

[55] Die Orgel im byzantinischen Hofzeremoniell des 9. und des 10. Jahrhunderts. Eine Quellenuntersuchung. *MBM*, 32. München 1991.

[56] Die Musikinstrumente im byzantinischen Heer vom 6. bis zum 12. Jahrhundert. *JÖB* 51 (2001) 73–104.

confident in perusing the material and following the author's complex analysis in his attempt to understand the history of Byzantine musical instruments. Obviously, it would have been impossible not to avoid minor errors or inconsistencies, but these are of minimal impact on the actual analysis. Personally, I regret that M. did not consult an Arabist for the analysis of the Arabic sources (p. 43–46); it is imperative to re-examine the original texts, rather than to base one's analysis on well-intended but often highly problematic older renderings of Arabic texts.[57]

In some instances, the analysis lacks a more problematized examination of the visual depiction in a manuscript, the text it accompanies and its sources. For example, a well-known miniature in the Madrid Skylitzes (f. 78v) of Gryllos and his companions (all of them belonging to the *hetaireia* of Emperor Michael III) ridiculing Patriarch Ignatios at a street corner in Constantinople, depicts a group of four men playing a fairly large pear-shaped lute, a slightly cone-shaped wind instrument (probably of the shawm type), a triangular polychord string instrument of the psaltery type and a set of cymbals. However, Skylitzes (Thurn 110.32–35) and his immediate source[58] refer only to songs accompanied by *kitharai.* M. (p. 55–56 and 102–103) does not explain the discrepancy between the 11th-century text, its 10th-century source and the 12th-century image. Does the miniature depict a 12th-century instrumental ensemble as it might have been found in the court of Norman Sicily (where the Madrid Skylitzes was probably composed)[59] and that was used for vocal/instrumental dance music in 12th- and 13th-century Italy?[60] Does it reflect a "stereotyped" Byzantine image of a ridicule-scene, such as the Mocking of Christ in Palaiologan art?[61] The fact that scenes such as this one where used by pro-Macedonian propaganda to construct the negative image of

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57 For the problems of studying from old translations of Arabic texts see now the recent studies by M. Mavroudi, A Byzantine book on dream interpretation. The *Oneirocriticon of Achmet* and its Arabic sources. *The Medieval Mediterranean*, 36. Leiden/Boston 2002 and N. M. El Cheikh, Byzantium viewed by the Arabs. *Harvard Middle Eastern Monographs*, 36. Cambridge, Massachusetts 2004.

58 This is the scene as depicted in Book 4 of *Theophanes Continuatus* (Bekker 200.15–201.17), which Skylitzes paraphrases only slightly. The scene is also included in a substantial digression denigrating Michael in the *Vita Basilii* (Book 5 of *TheophCont*); there, however, the scene is rhetorically amplified and stylistically elevated (Bekker 244.3–246.5). M. believes that here a reference is made to cymbals, but the phrase (Bekker 245.18–19: καὶ Πανικῶς καὶ Σατυρικῶς σκιρτῶντες καὶ κυμβαλίζοντες) does not allow, in my opinion, for such a conclusion, because it plays on the noises produced by pagan bacchanals. The equivalent scene in Pseudo-Symeon (Bekker 661.13–662.16) is an abbreviated copy of the *psogos* version from the *Vita Basilii.*

59 One should note, for example, that two of the musicians are wearing head-gears that resemble the helmets and turbans worn by the Saracens as depicted by the same artist in the Skylitzes manuscript (see f. 54^v for the helmet and f. 75^v for the turban).

60 Reflected, for example, in the collection copied out in a quite unique 14th-century North Italian manuscript, now kept in the British Library (Additional 29987).

61 For example, in a splendid fresco from the Church of St. Nicolas Orphanos (1310–1320) in Thessaloniki; see Ch. Mpakirtzes (ed.), Ἅγιος Νικόλαος Ορφανός: Οι τοιχογραφίες. *Aipos*, 25. Athens/Thessaloniki 2003, pl. 46. The scene includes two cone-shaped tubular wind instruments (probably trumpets, rather than shawms), one pair of cymbals, wooden clappers and a two-sided deep drum beaten with sticks. On such depictions and their symbolic function see G. Galavaris, Musical images in Byzantine art, in: Λιθόστρωτον. Studien zur byzantinischen Kunst und Geschichte. Festschrift für Marcell Restle. Stuttgart 2000, 79–91.

Michael III[62] and that, more often than not, such scenes could be wholly fabricated,[63] demands a more diversified analysis of the sources in their historical and literary depth.

Be that as it may, the author has offered us an important and useful study on Byzantine musical instruments, that sheds new light to many a dark corner in the history of secular music in Byzantium. We can only hope that Nikos Maliaras will continue his efforts by publishing similar in-depth studies of other important groups of instruments, such as the "lute", "rebec/fiddle" and "recorder/flute" families.

Nicosia *Panagiotis A. Agapitos*

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62 P. A. Agapitos, Η εικόνα του αυτοκράτορα Βασίλειου Α΄ στη φιλομακεδονική γραμματεία 867–959. *Hellenika* 49 (1989) 285–322, spec. 312–315 on Michael's negative image in the *Vita Basilii.*

63 I. Anagnostakis, Το επεισόδιο της Δανιηλίδας: Πληροφορίες καθημερινού βίου ή μυθοπλαστικά στοιχεία;, in: Ch. Angelide (ed.), Η καθημερινή ζωή στο Βυζάντιο. Τομές και συνέχειες στην ελληνιστική και ρωμαϊκή παράδοση. Athens 1989, 375–390.

Karin METZLER, Eustathii Thessalonicensis De emendanda vita monachica. *CFHB*, 45. Berlin/New York, De Gruyter 2006. VIII, 56*, 270 p. ISBN 978-3-11-018904-9.
Karin METZLER, Eustathios von Thessalonike und das Mönchtum. Untersuchungen und Kommentar zur Schrift De Emendanda Vita Monachica. *Supplementa Byzantina*, Texte und Untersuchungen, 9. Berlin/New York, De Gruyter 2006. XIII, 624 p. ISBN 978-3-11-018905-6.

Eustathe de Thessalonique, ce lettré représentatif de la vie intellectuelle à Constantinople au XIIe siècle, est l'un des rares auteurs byzantins à avoir pu maintenir intact l'intérêt des chercheurs envers leur œuvre et leur personnalité. Ces dernières années notamment, grâce au travail systématique de plusieurs byzantinistes, souvent jeunes, des éditions modernes ont paru[64], ou sont encore sur le métier aussi bien des textes déjà connus par de très vieilles éditions que, surtout, des œuvres inédites d'Eustathe. Ainsi la possibilité est-elle offerte d'étudier l'ensemble de son œuvre en profondeur et de manière combinée pour, d'une part, résoudre des questions particulières concernant la carrière de l'auteur, mais surtout faire avancer l'étude de l'aspect littéraire de ses textes et évaluer sa contribution à la formation des caractéristiques et des préférences littéraires de son temps.

En 2006 est parue l'édition exemplairement méthodique, due à Karin Metzler, d'une œuvre particulièrement exigeante d'Eustathe, intitulée *Ἐπίσκεψις Βίου μοναχικοῦ*. Le travail de K. Metzler est réparti en deux livres: l'un contient l'édition du texte grec accompagnée d'une traduction allemande en regard (dorénavant *De emendanda*); l'autre (dorénavant *Untersuchungen*) comporte, d'une part, une recherche étendue sur les données historiques, les aspects littéraires et l'arrière-plan théologique du texte, qui permet de répondre à diverses questions importantes telles celles de savoir à quelle

64 Voir à titre indicatif P. WIRTH (ed.), Eustathii Thessalonicensis Opera Minora. *CFHB*, 32. Berlin 2000; F. KOLOVOU (ed.), Die Briefe des Eustathios von Thessalonike. *Beiträge zur Altertumskunde,* 239. München/Leipzig 2006; S. SCHÖNAUER, Eustathios von Thessalonike, Reden auf die Große Quadragesima. *Meletemata*, 10. Frankfurt am Main 2006.

occasion le texte a été écrit (?)/prononcé (?), à quel public il s'adressait, à quelle nécessité il répondait; d'autre part, un Commentaire riche et varié qui éclaire le texte. Ces deux ouvrages ont constitué l'habilitation de Karin Metzler, soutenue à la Freie Universität Berlin en 2004. Le mode d'organisation et de présentation de la matière dans les deux livres donne à penser que le but est qu'ils puissent être utilisés indépendamment l'un de l'autre, obéissant ainsi visiblement aux principes éditoriaux du Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae et des Supplementa. Ainsi, par exemple, dans le *De emendanda*, on lit au premier chapitre des Prolégomènes à l'édition une présentation très sommaire en trois pages (3*–5*) de la vie et de l'œuvre d'Eustathe, alors que dans les *Untersuchungen*, c'est vingt pages (3–24) qui sont consacrées au sujet. L'entreprise est, dans une large part, une réussite et les deux livres constituent réellement des contributions autonomes, à une petite exception près, en ce qui concerne l'apparatus fontium, question sur laquelle nous reviendrons plus bas.

Le deuxième chapitre des Prolégomènes du *De emendanda* (p. 6*–10*) offre au lecteur, sous la forme d'un tableau, l'articulation du texte en unités thématiques, leur correspondance aux chapitres particuliers et leur contenu sous forme de titres qui, d'une part, nous donne immédiatement une image de la structure et du contenu de ce texte très long, et d'autre part, facilite la recherche des divers thèmes abordés dans l'œuvre. Viennent ensuite, dans un troisième chapitre, la présentation des trois manuscrits qui transmettent le texte, l'exposé des leçons qui les accordent ou les opposent, et enfin, la proposition de stemma (11*–22*). En annexe est donné un extrait très intéressant du manuscrit de la bibliothèque universitaire de Bâle (A III 20), les paragraphes 80–85 du texte, où sont respectées l'orthographe, la ponctuation et l'accentuation du manuscrit. Cette présentation montre clairement que pour le lecteur contemporain (et non l'auditeur) l'édition de ce texte sous cette forme en aurait certainement compliqué la compréhension.

Dans le quatrième chapitre, les chercheurs spécialistes de la liturgie de la tonsure des moines (μεγαλόσχημοι, μανδυῶται, εἰσαγωγικοί) ont à leur disposition un inventaire des passages du texte de cette liturgie en ses différentes versions, d'après les éditions de l'Euchologe par Goar et Wawryk, qui se rencontrent, souvent répétés, en plusieurs endroits du texte d'Eustathe. Ces passages sont également signalés dans l'apparat des sources, avec un renvoi au chapitre concerné.

Le rappel des éditions et des traductions du texte qui ont précédé est suivi de la bibliographie, très riche. Enfin, sont exposés les principes qui ont été adoptés dans la restitution du texte, la rédaction de l'apparat critique et de l'apparat des sources et la constitution des index. La question de la ponctuation et de l'accentuation des mots sur la base de la tradition manuscrite a préoccupé l'auteur et, bien que le manuscrit de Bâle, comme elle le signale, soit très proche de l'autographe et que l'image de l'orthographe qu'il présente aurait pu faire l'objet d'une étude, elle aboutit à la conclusion que la reproduction de sa ponctuation aurait rendu le texte difficile à comprendre (voir ci-dessus). Ainsi déclare-t-elle opter dans l'édition du texte, en général, pour le mode conventionnel de présentation: la ponctuation et l'écriture des majuscules ou des minuscules suivent l'habitude allemande dans les éditions modernes de textes grecs, les enclitiques et l'accentuation obéissent à la grammaire scolaire. Ces choix de principe de l'auteur sont les plus sages, notamment quand on a affaire à un texte aussi complexe et difficile dans sa structure et que la recherche dans le domaine

de la grammaire médiévale du grec et, d'autant plus, de la prononciation orale de la langue au cours des diverses périodes chronologiques en est encore au berceau.

On ne peut que féliciter l'auteur de sa peine et de son travail systématique dans la restitution du texte, car non seulement elle a examiné les leçons de tous les manuscrits, mais ses choix, spécialement quand ils se démarquent de la leçon que transmet le codex de Bâle sans qu'il s'agisse manifestement d'erreurs, sont toujours justifiés de manière circonstanciée dans le Commentaire des *Untersuchungen.* Nous ferions simplement remarquer que parfois, le choix de la ponctuation nous pose problème. Il est dit dans les Prolégomènes que c'est le mode allemand habituel dans l'édition des textes grecs qui est suivi; c'est ainsi, par exemple, que se justifie la séparation par une virgule d'une proposition conjonctive par rapport à l'expression verbale dont elle dépend; mais dans certains cas, nous pensons que la virgule est superflue: voir par exemple des cas comme 20.1–3: Ἀναδιδάσκεται δὲ καί, ὅτι ἄγγελοι παρεστᾶσιν ἀπογραφόμενοι ἅπερ αὐτὸς ὁμολογεῖ· μανθάνει δὲ καί, ὅτι ὁ οὕτως ἀποτασσόμενος σταυρὸν καὶ θάνατον ἐπαγγέλλεται. De même, 43.1: Ἔμαθες καί, ὅτι σταυρὸν ἐπαγγέλῃ καὶ θάνατον. Il y a d'autres exemples. En d'autres endroits, le choix global de la ponctuation, à notre avis, ne facilite pas réellement la compréhension de la syntaxe du texte, spécialement dans les périodes longues, si appréciées par Eustathe et les rhéteurs du XII[e] siècle. Nous en donnons l'exemple suivant.

Nous lisons au par. 31.5–8: ἐγὼ δὲ ἀφιεὶς αὐτοὺς κατὰ τὰ θυμομαχοῦντα τῶν θηρίων διατεθεῖσθαι καὶ προσφωνησάμενος ἀναμένειν ἡσυχῇ τὸν ἐπ'αὐτοῖς λόγον τῶν ἐμῶν πάλιν μεγάλων μοναχῶν γίνομαι καὶ εἰς νοῦν αὐτοῖς τίθημι, ὁποῖα μὲν τῷ θεῷ εὔξαντο, οἷα δὲ ἐπιδείκνυνται· οὐχ' ἁπλῶς ἑτερεοῖα ἢ ἀλλοῖα ἢ ἄλλα ἢ διάφορα, ἐναντία δὲ εἰς τὸ πᾶν, ὡς εἴπερ μὴ ἠρωτήθησαν ἐπὶ διορθώσει κακιῶν καὶ ἐπ'ἀναλήψει ἀρετῶν, ἀλλ' ἵνα τὰ φαῦλα ἐπεγνωκότες ἀνδρίσωνται ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις καὶ ἑρμηνευθέντες τὰ δεινά, οἷς ἐκπολεμεῖται ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ ἄνθρωπος, προσχωρήσωσιν ἐπ' αὐτὰ καὶ φιλιωθέντες ἔλθωσιν εἰς ἓν αὐτοῖς καὶ μὴ ἔχωσι τοῦ λοιποῦ ἐξ ἐκείνων πράγματα δεδιότες οἷον μή ποτε ὁ θεῖος ὁπλισμός, ὃν ἀναληφθέντα ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ θεὸν θωρακείου περίκεινται, ὡς ἀνόπιν ὁ λόγος ἐδήλωσεν, οὐ δεφενδεύσῃ αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀσφάλειαν οὐδὲ δυνήσονται κατασβέσαι τὰ πεπυρωμένα βέλη τοῦ ἐχθροῦ· ἅπερ κατὰ μὲν σιδηρέου θώρακος τοῦ κατὰ θεὸν καὶ κατὰ στερεοῦ θυρεοῦ, ἔτι δὲ καὶ παντὸς ἐρυμνοῦ τειχίσματος μικρὰ ἢ οὐδὲν ἐνεργοῦσι, κατὰ δὲ καλάμης καὶ χόρτου καὶ λοιποῦ συρφετοῦ δύνανται εἰς ἐκφλόγωσιν καὶ ἀπώλειαν.

Je propose la ponctuation suivante: ἐγὼ δὲ ἀφιεὶς αὐτοὺς κατὰ τὰ θυμομαχοῦντα τῶν θηρίων διατεθεῖσθαι καὶ προσφωνησάμενος ἀναμένειν ἡσυχῇ τὸν ἐπ'αὐτοῖς λόγον, τῶν ἐμῶν πάλιν μεγάλων μοναχῶν γίνομαι καὶ εἰς νοῦν αὐτοῖς τίθημι ὁποῖα μὲν τῷ θεῷ εὔξαντο, οἷα δὲ ἐπιδείκνυνται, – οὐχ' ἁπλῶς ἑτερεοῖα ἢ ἀλλοῖα ἢ ἄλλα ἢ διάφορα, ἐναντία δὲ εἰς τὸ πᾶν, ὡς εἴπερ μὴ ἠρωτήθησαν ἐπὶ διορθώσει κακιῶν καὶ ἐπ'ἀναλήψει ἀρετῶν, – ἀλλ' ἵνα τὰ φαῦλα ἐπεγνωκότες ἀνδρίσωνται ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις καὶ ἑρμηνευθέντες τὰ δεινά, οἷς ἐκπολεμεῖται ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ ἄνθρωπος, προσχωρήσωσιν ἐπ' αὐτὰ καὶ φιλιωθέντες ἔλθωσιν εἰς ἓν αὐτοῖς καὶ μὴ ἔχωσι τοῦ λοιποῦ ἐξ ἐκείνων πράγματα, δεδιότες οἷον μή ποτε ὁ θεῖος ὁπλισμός, ὃν ἀναληφθέντα ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ θεὸν θωρακείου περίκεινται, ὡς ἀνόπιν ὁ λόγος ἐδήλωσεν, οὐ δεφενδεύσῃ αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀσφάλειαν οὐδὲ δυνήσονται κατασβέσαι τὰ πεπυρωμένα βέλη τοῦ ἐχθροῦ, ἅπερ κατὰ μὲν σιδηρέου θώρακος τοῦ κατὰ θεὸν καὶ κατὰ στερεοῦ θυρεοῦ, ἔτι δὲ καὶ παντὸς ἐρυμνοῦ τειχίσματος μικρὰ ἢ οὐδὲν ἐνεργοῦσι, κατὰ δὲ καλάμης καὶ χόρτου καὶ λοιποῦ συρφετοῦ δύνανται εἰς ἐκφλόγωσιν καὶ ἀπώλειαν.

De cette façon, déjà, la proposition finale «ἵνα τὰ φαῦλα ἐπεγνωκότες ἀνδρίσωνται…» ne reste plus en suspens.

On pourrait proposer des améliorations de ce genre en d'autres endroits. Par exemple, 14.5: on peut ajouter une virgule après le mot νοερόν; 14.15: après le mot ἐπιφαίνεται, on mettrait plutôt une virgule qu'un point en haut; 66.7: une virgule après le mot παρεκρούετο; 66.11: il faut une virgule avant le mot ἐκέλευσεν; 93.2: une virgule avant ὥστε νεκροῦσθαι ἐμφαίνεις, etc.

On pourrait formuler certaines objections concernant l'apparatus fontium. Dans les Prolégomènes l'auteur déclare que dans l'apparat des sources elle cite les sources des passages repris mot à mot ou des réminiscences de passages par l'indication cf., parfois sous la forme d'exemple (cf. e.g.). En outre, elle dit qu'elle ne citera pas les passages parallèles dans d'autres œuvres d'Eustathe, manifestement pour ne pas alourdir l'apparat, et elle renvoie au Commentaire des *Untersuchungen*, où sont indiqués d'autres passages identiques.[65] Il en va de même pour la détermination de certaines sources qui exigent discussion. Par conséquent:

1. Dans divers cas, recourant à l'apparat pour localiser la source, nous lisons: v. comment. (par exemple, 56.4–24, 74.19, 109.11, 125.11, 161.11–12, 167.21, 171.1–2, 171.9–10, 178.81, 183.6). Effectivement, on trouve dans le Commentaire des *Untersuchungen* une discussion circonstanciée et des renvois à des textes qui éclairent le passage, sans que l'on puisse affirmer dans la plupart des cas qu'Eustathe emprunte directement aux textes concernés. Ainsi se justifie, bien entendu, le choix de l'auteur de ne pas les citer dans l'apparat. Mais le problème, à mon avis, est que les *Untersuchungen* ne sont pas un deuxième volume du *De emendanda*, qui y resterait indissociablement lié. Par conséquent, la lecture serait plus facile si les commentaires / textes de sources concernés existaient aussi dans ce volume, éventuellement sous la forme de notes brèves (?).

2. Nous observons dans plusieurs cas que l'infatigable auteur, dans le Commentaire par vers, signale de nombreux passages d'auteurs qui ont sans doute inspiré Eustathe. Mais le choix est fait de ne pas les mentionner dans l'apparatus fontium. Nous citons en guise d'exemples quelques cas représentatifs

15.1 ἄρκτου ἔμβρυον: dans le Commentaire, il est fait renvoi à Galien, *De comp. edic. sec. loc.* t. 12 p. 425.15–426.1 Kühn. Dans le Commentaire, nous lisons que parallèlement, Eustathe connaissait certainement aussi le passage de Plutarque, *De amore prolis* 494c. N'aurait-il pas mieux valu avoir les deux renvois, puisque Plutarque est un auteur auquel Eustathe a recours, de même que Galien? Voir aussi ci-dessous:

Le paragraphe 21.4–5, comme nous le lisons dans le Commentaire, est considéré dissimuler une réminiscence de Plutarque, *De lib. educ.* 12a, qui est cité de manière beaucoup plus flagrante au paragraphe 121.15. Peut-être cela devrait-il être dit aussi dans l'apparat.

23.8–9: il est déclaré dans le Commentaire que la phrase «οἳ σχεδὸν μόνους ἑαυτοὺς κέκτηνται» est une définition du moine identique à celle de Cassiane, p. 367.74 Krumbacher. Pourquoi cela n'est-il pas dit dans l'apparat?

[65] L'apparat des sources serait nettement allégé si K. Metzler n'avait pas souvent choisi, mais pas toujours, de citer intégralement le passage du texte emprunté par Eustathe. C'est là un choix excessif notamment quand il s'agit d'un texte de la liturgie de la tonsure, qui est aussi donné au quatrième chapitre des Prolégomènes et qu'il y a un renvoi interne.

27.5–6, ξυνωρίδι: selon le Commentaire, le moine se laisse entraîner par deux chevaux, les chevaux réels de son chariot et ses appétits bestiaux (c'est-à-dire le ἐπιθυμητικόν, voir aussi 52.8–10) et il est signalé que la métaphore est certainement une réminiscence du mythe du *Phèdre* de Platon, 246b 1–2.

56.5–6 θάρσος, ὃ θεία τις ἄρσις ἐστίν. Nous lisons dans le Commentaire Scholia et glossae in Sophoclis Ajacem 364a1–2 Christodoulos [sic Christodoulou] (τὸ μὲν θαρσὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ θεία ἄρσις). Pourquoi pas dans l'apparat?

56.24: κατὰ τοὺς παλαιούς, μαλακός ἐστιν ὁ βλὰξ καὶ χαῦνος: dans le Commentaire, cela est considéré comme un lieu commun et des renvois sont faits à différents textes, parmi lesquels Platon et son scoliaste Olympiodore. L'entrée de la Suda β 314.1 Adler, où nous lisons Βλάξ· μαλακός, χαῦνος· ἐκλελυμένος· ἢ μωρός, pourrait au moins être citée.

53.12–15 ἀνόμοιον–ἀποστολικόν: il est dit dans le Commentaire que le passage de Proclus, *In Plat. Alc.* 325.13–326.4, est très proche dans l'esprit d'Eustathe, avec un renvoi spécial d'ailleurs à un commentaire précédent sur 11.2, où il est dit que de nombreux passages du texte prouvent un lien non négligeable avec Proclus. Ici au moins, on pourrait avoir une référence dans l'apparat, d'autant plus que Proclus n'apparaît pas du tout dans l'index des sources.

12.12, συλλογιστικαῖς ἀνάγκαις. Nous lisons dans le Commentaire que c'est une expression particulière qui désigne en Logique la conclusion motivée et qu'elle est utilisée principalement dans les Commentaires d'Aristote (un exemple donné). Ne pourrait-on avoir ici un e. g.?

59.12–13 σχοινίον ἁμαρτίας τρίπλοκον. Au Commentaire elle cite le passage du *Ps* 118, 61 (σχοινία ἁμαρτωλῶν): pourquoi pas, au moins, comme cf., dans l'apparat également? Disons pour compléter ici que sur ce point, le passage d'Isaïe 5.18 (οὐαὶ οἱ ἐπισπώμενοι τὰς ἁμαρτίας ὡς σχοινίῳ μακρῷ καὶ ὡς ζυγοῦ ἱμάντι δαμάλεως τὰς ἀνομίας) pourrait aussi être cité. En tout état de cause, ce passage d'Isaïe devrait être mentionné comme inversé quant à son sens par Eustathe pour le vers 152.19 «ἐν σχοινίῳ μακρῷ, τῷ κατ' ἀρετὴν». Dans le commentaire du paragraphe 59.12–13, il est dit qu'il y n'a pas de modèle.

80.7–8 τραπέζας ἐξαρτύον, ὁποίας εὐλογεῖ ὁ Θεός. Dans le Commentaire, le passage de Jean Chrysostome, *De sancto hierom. Phoca*, *PG* 50, 706,26 καὶ τὸν Θεὸν ἕξομεν ἐν τῷ μέσῳ καὶ τὴν τράπεζαν εὐλογοῦντα, est donné comme parallèle.

84.11, Pour la comparaison de la Ville à un tronc. Dans le Commentaire, il est fait renvoi à Platon, *Lois* 964e, et à Polybe, 5.29.8. Rien de cela dans l'apparatus fontium. Etc.

Notons également quelques compléments:

8.2–3 βαπτίσματι–βεβαπτισμένων et 8.4–5 τελεταρχοῦνται: ici se dissimule sans doute l'écho de la *Catéchèse* 27 de Théodore le Stoudite, p. 188.18 Papadopoulos-Kerameus: [Jean le Précurseur réagit à la demande du Christ de le baptiser] ἐνενόει γάρ, ὡς εἰκός, καὶ ἐφθέγγετο τοιαῦτα: «πῶς τελετάρχου σχῆμα ὑποδήσομαι ὁ βραχὺς ἐγὼ καὶ τέλεστος καί σε τὸν παντέλειον θεὸν τελεταρχήσω;

86.7–9 τῷ θυμιάματι…κατευθυνομένῳ ἐνώπιον θεοῦ ὅτε τις προσευχόμενος ἰθυτενῶς ἀνωφορεῖται πρὸς αὐτόν: cf. Ps.140.2 κατευθυνθήτω ἡ προσευχή μου ὡς θυμίαμα.

44.20–21 καθ' ἣν ἀγνοεῖ τις οὐ δεξιὰ καὶ ἀριστερὰ μόνον: écho de l'Évangile selon Matthieu 6.3.

Coquilles typographiques: Dans le texte, 12.11, ἂν τε doit être corrigé en ἔν τε. – 193.66 καταχρεματίζων doit être corrigé en καταχρεμετίζων (voir le mot correctement noté dans les *Untersuchungen*, p. 125). – Dans l'apparatus fontium, pour le vers 7.4–5, le renvoi interne doit être corrigé en p. 27* au lieu de 22*, et de même au paragraphe 19.17–19.

Le deuxième livre (*Untersuchungen*) se divise en deux parties: dans la première, l'auteur examine le cadre historique dans lequel s'insère le texte (3–75), ses aspects philologiques (76–183) et son arrière-plan théologique (184–309). Dans la seconde partie (p. 310–600) figure le Commentaire du texte. Le livre s'achève par la bibliographie (p. 601–624). Il n'y a pas d'index des personnages et des choses. Dans le chapitre sur les données historiques, deux grandes questions retiennent l'auteur: d'une part, la carrière d'Eustathe et les problèmes provoqués par les contestations de ses paroissiens de Thessalonique auxquelles il avait à faire face régulièrement, et d'autre part, les différents aspects du monachisme, l'organisation des monastères et leurs relations avec la hiérarchie ecclésiastique à son époque. Sur la première question, il est clair que l'auteur n'a pas l'ambition de rédiger une nouvelle biographie d'Eustathe ni d'apporter une solution à différentes questions encore ouvertes concernant l'évolution de sa carrière, mais qu'elle entreprend une présentation analytique et critique des points de vues formulés jusqu'à ce jour,[66] le but essentiel

[66] À mon avis, c'est une omission de ne pas citer, dans un travail aussi méthodique, l'article de V. Laurent, Eustathe, métropolite de Thessalonique. *DHGE* 16 (1967) 33–41. En outre, on observera que pour ce qui est de la date des deux discours au patriarche Michel Anchialos (*Untersuchungen*, p. 8 et n. 32), sont cités l'opinion de P. Wirth, qui date le premier discours en général dans la période 1174–1178 et le second en 1174, et l'opinion de A. Kazhdan, Studies on Byzantine Literature of 11th and 12th Centuries. Cambridge 1984, 127, qui situe le second discours en 1177, mais que l'opinion de Kazhdan (ibid., 122) selon laquelle le premier discours fut prononcé vers 1170, n'apparaît pas, non plus que celle de P. Magdalino, The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos 1143–1180. Cambridge 1993, 292, 455, 484, qui situe également le texte en 1173. Nous avons récemment proposé dans notre article intitulé «Questions de dates à propos de trois discours d'Eustathe de Thessalonique» (M. Hinterberger/E. Schiffer (éds.), Byzantinische Sprachkunst, Studien zur byzantinischen Literatur gewidmet Wolfram Hörandner zum 65. Geburstag. Berlin 2007, 209–217), preuves à l'appui, que la date du premier discours se limite aux samedis 28 mars 1170, 20 mars 1171, 8 avril 1172, et que le second discours date du samedi 31 mars 1173. Ainsi le cadre chronologique dans lequel ces discours ont été rédigés se limite-t-il à 1170–1173 et non 1174–1178, comme proposé par Wirth et accepté par Metzler, Untersuchungen, p. 8, et *De emendanda*, p. 5*. À la p. 10 et n. 55, elle laisse entendre que les deux lettres de Grégoire Antiochos adressées depuis la Bulgarie à Eustathe furent envoyées à Constantinople quand ce dernier devint métropolite de Thessalonique tout en restant dans la capitale. Cette opinion avait été formulée non sans de fortes réserves par A. Kazhdan, Grigoriy Antiokh. *VV* 26 (1965) 98; Studies, 132 et n. 54, qui avait des doutes sur la certitude de la datation de lettres de 1173 par J. Darrouzès, Deux lettres de Grégoire Antiochos écrites de Bulgarie vers 1173. *Bsl* 23 (1962) 278–284; 24)1963) 65–73. Des chercheurs plus récents, comme P. Magdalino, op. cit. 135 et A. Sideras, Ein unedierter Brief des Gregorios Antiochos an Eustathios von Thessalonike. *Göttinger Beiträge zur byzantinischen und neugriechischen Philologie* 3 (2003) 88; Der unedierte Brief des Gregorios Antiochos an Eustathios von Thessalonike. *Bsl* 63 ([2005) 162, admettent la date de 1173, à laquelle, en aucun cas, Eustathe n'était déjà métropolite de Thessalonique.

étant de dater l'*Επίσκεψις* en la replaçant dans le contexte historique de la vie d'Eustathe. Enfin, admettant que la querelle d'Eustathe avec les paroissiens a eu deux phases et s'appuyant sur la place qu'occupe l'*Επίσκεψις* dans le manuscrit de Bâle, entre le discours funèbre de l'empereur Manuel (1180) et le récit de la prise de Thessalonique par les Normands (1186), elle propose, non sans réserve, de dater l'*Επίσκεψις* d'une période entre 1180 et 1185.

La deuxième question qui retient l'auteur concerne la vie monastique et l'organisation des monastères. À partir d'une rétrospective de l'évolution historique du monachisme depuis le début du phénomène à Byzance et des différentes phases et problèmes qu'il a rencontrés au fil du temps, et s'appuyant sur les conclusions de la recherche menée jusqu'à ce jour, elle repère dans l'*Επίσκεψις* les endroits où Eustathe exprime (ou n'exprime pas) son point de vue sur des questions graves et nombreuses, comme l'option entre cénobitisme ou anachorétisme, l'activité économique et le travail des moines, les laïcs comme gestionnaires financiers, les monastères comme fondations pieuses, le monachisme féminin et masculin, les relations avec les autorités ecclésiastiques, l'éducation des moines, l'habillement et l'apparence, les moines errants. Il résulte de cette longue présentation la conclusion très intéressante que même si le texte comporte de nombreux éléments tirés de la réalité, souvent présentés sur un style fortement polémique, proche de la caricature, il ne reflète pourtant pas si directement la vie monastique de l'époque. Eustathe est préoccupé presque exclusivement par la question de la morale, et quand il s'élève contre les activités commerciales des monastères, il discute uniquement les effets néfastes du point de vue moral et les tracas occasionnés aux moines, sans prendre en compte les règles qui ont été posées lors de la fondation du monastère non plus que sa situation économique et les modalités de l'entretien et de la subsistance du monastère. Enfin, le texte ne peut pas vraiment être considéré comme un appel à une réforme du monachisme, parce qu'il ne fait pas de propositions. Eustathe n'exerce pas de critique sur l'organisation des monastères aristocratiques et ne met pas en cause l'ensemble du monachisme cénobitique en proposant une version améliorée de l'ascétisme érémitique. Même sur la question de la désobéissance des monastères à l'évêque local qui le préoccupe tant, il néglige la réalité de son époque puisqu'il ne prend pas en compte les expériences précédentes du monachisme et la fonction des monastères dans la société donnée dont ils dépendent (p. 74). La recherche de K. Metzler fait clairement ressortir que le texte d'Eustathe, malgré son caractère acerbe, n'a pas l'immédiateté de la critique qui caractérise d'autres textes de l'époque, comme par exemple celui du patriarche d'Alexandrie Jean Oxeitès, qui s'en prend au charisticariat (*REB* 33 [1975] 77–132) ou à la conduite des moines du monastère des Odègôn (*REB* 22 [1964] 128–157). Signalons ici les similitudes thématiques avec un discours anonyme sur l'ascèse, daté du XI[e]–XII[e] siècle, récemment publié par D. Krausmüller (*BZ* 100 [2007] 101–124).

Dans le deuxième chapitre (p. 76–183), Metzler examine *l'Επίσκεψις* du point de vue littéraire. Analysant ses caractéristiques thématiques, structurelles, stylistiques et lexicologiques, elle entreprend de définir, d'une part, les genres littéraires que combine ce texte et, d'autre part, de le situer dans la tradition des textes aussi bien classiques que chrétiens. Elle remonte à la théorie ancienne d'Aristote sur la division des genres de la rhétorique, qu'Eustathe, sans aucun doute, connaissait parfaitement, et distingue dans le texte des éléments du discours judiciaire et du discours épidictique (*lalia* et blâme [p. 81]). Ensuite, étudiant différents genres de la littérature chrétienne en prose,

elle pense que le caractère parénétique du texte, qui donne l'impression qu'il est délibéré, le rapproche du Sermon, alors que ce qui est dit sur le monachisme idéal renvoie à l'Apologétique et à la Dogmatique chrétiennes. Plus précisément, selon Metzler, le texte a de nombreuses caractéristiques communes, dans la forme et le contenu, avec la Diatribe cynique de l'Antiquité tardive, qui a évolué en sermon chrétien (p. 76–79). L'existence de l'élément satirique est également notée, sans toutefois que le texte appartienne au genre littéraire de la Satire (p. 83–86).[67] Des développements particulièrement importants sont consacrés à l'analyse des niveaux de style et des moyens linguistiques employés (p. 95–161). Le but est de prouver qu'Eustathe combine deux niveaux stylistiques, le style maniéré (de la rhétorique élevée et savante) et le style de la *lalia,* ce genre rhétorique de l'Antiquité tardive qui cherche à donner l'impression de l'immédiateté, de la spontanéité et de l'oralité. Pour prouver ses dires, K. Metzler présente en détail le vocabulaire et les moyens expressifs mis au service du style élevé et, parallèlement, le vocabulaire et les moyens expressifs qui siéent au genre de la *lalia.* Elle dresse des listes des hapax, des mots rares, des mots probablement empruntés à des dictionnaires ou à un jargon spécial ou une terminologie spécialisée, et ce à partir de recherches dans les dictionnaires-outils bien connus (Stephanus, Du Cange, LSJ et LSJS, Lampe, *LBG*, Kriaras, *DGE*) et dans le *TLG* (édition CD-1999 et version en ligne août/septembre 2004). Sont considérés comme rares les mots qui sont attestés pour moins de neuf occurrences dans le *TLG* 1999. La peine que s'est donnée l'auteur à dresser ces listes est sans conteste énorme, mais je m'inquiète du mode «mécanique» de classement des mots, en particulier du critère de la fréquence qu'elle a posé pour placer dans la catégorie des mots rares (*selten*) certains mots. Par exemple, quand un mot comme «κατάλιθος» se rencontre déjà chez les Septante (Exode, 8.17, 36.17) puis a une présence stable, certes peu fréquente, mais diachronique, pourquoi est-il rare? Le mot «ἰσαπόστολος» se rencontre, comme on pouvait d'ailleurs s'y attendre, vu son sens, dans une multitude de textes de genres différents (historiques, hagiographiques, hymnographiques, juridiques, rhétoriques, etc.). K. Metzler le classe parmi les mots rares parce qu'il en est ainsi dans le *TLG* 99, mais non 2004, et, bien sûr, il n'en est pas du tout ainsi dans le *TLG* de janvier 2008 (62 concurrences), puisque de nombreux nouveaux textes ont désormais été inclus dans la base de données (hagiographiques, hymnographiques, synodiques, juridiques, *Typika*, etc.). Cet exemple (la même chose vaut pour d'autres mots, comme par exemple «κοσμοσωτήριος») montre, je pense, combien la tentative de catégoriser le vocabulaire d'un lettré byzantin du XIIe siècle sur le critère de la fréquence est encore risquée. Même la remarque «hapax» est peu sûre (voir e.g. καταχρεμετίζω: d'après *TLG* 2008 le mot figure aussi deux fois chez Cyrille d'Alexandrie et une fois chez Doucas; ὑπέραρχον: mot utilisé aussi par Nicolas de

[67] Il est vrai que l'étude de la satire byzantine comme genre littéraire en soi et de l'élément satirique qui apparaît particulièrement fréquemment dans des œuvres nombreuses et de genres variés du XIe et du XIIe siècle sont un objectif de la recherche. La bibliographie en la matière est encore maigre et superficielle. Cependant, les remarques de K. Metzler sur les tendances satiriques du texte et son originalité par rapport à d'autres œuvres (*Historia arcana* de Procope, *Timarion*, satires d'animaux) sont très intéressantes, notamment la comparaison et le relevé des similitudes avec un texte anonyme très peu connu sur l'état des routes à Constantinople (G. Mercati, Gli anecdoti d'un codice Bolognese, dans: Opere Minori. *Studi e Testi*, 76. Vatican 1937, 498–500).

Methône [ὑπέραρχος μονάς], Nicolas Mesaritès [ὑπέραρχος τριάς]). Une enquête lexicologique, éventuellement sous forme électronique, dans d'autres grandes séries de textes, comme par exemple les *Acta Sanctorum*, diversifierait encore davantage les résultats. La technologie moderne offre de nouveaux outils à la philologie et, vu les progrès rapides, quasiment quotidiens, et l'offre de données de plus en plus nombreuses, peut-être est-il besoin de redéfinir les questions scientifiques. En l'occurrence, ne serait-il pas intéressant, par exemple, d'observer quels mots, parmi ceux qui sont qualifiés de rares, se rencontrent plus fréquemment ou presque exclusivement dans des catégories précises de textes/auteurs/époques? Par exemple, le mot «ἐγγωνιάζω» qui, dans le *TLG* 2008, est attesté désormais 27 fois, se rencontre presque exclusivement chez des auteurs qui sont pour la plupart des rhéteurs du XIIe ou du début du XIIIe siècle. La même chose vaut pour le mot «σιμβλοποιῶ». Mais à nouveau, à mon avis, tant que le *TLG* continue à s'enrichir, toute conclusion restera jusqu'à un certain point incertaine. Il va de soi que ces remarques n'altèrent en aucun cas la conclusion de l'auteur, selon laquelle Eustathe utilise dans ce texte un style maniéré qui repose aussi sur l'usage du vocabulaire.

La troisième question très intéressante qui préoccupe l'auteur dans ce chapitre est celle du contact d'Eustathe avec l'auditoire auquel il s'adresse et, bien sûr, l'identification des destinataires (p. 162–183). La présentation extrêmement détaillée et circonstanciée des différentes façons dont Eustathe s'adresse aux destinataires de son œuvre révèle manifestement, dans l'*Επίσκεψις*, un auditoire de moines auquel le texte est envoyé depuis Constantinople pour qu'il soit lu devant eux; mais en réalité, l'œuvre ne s'adresse pas directement à ces récepteurs, mais à un autre public, sous-entendu, particulièrement cultivé, qui est séduit par des histoires et des anecdotes, qui joue le rôle de juge. Enfin, le troisième chapitre (p. 182–288) explore l'arrière-plan théologique du texte et examine sous différents angles l'idéologie d'Eustathe en matière de monachisme et son herméneutique. En annexe est livré un répertoire commenté des termes monastiques de base qui se rencontrent dans l'*Επίσκεψις*[68]. L'étude s'achève sur l'évaluation des résultats de la recherche qui précède, menée à plusieurs niveaux, et donne une réponse convaincante à la question cruciale de savoir à qui s'adresse le texte et quel est son but (p. 290–309).

Le reste de l'ouvrage est consacré à des commentaires riches et variés, par chapitre et par vers, qui éclairent le texte. On a déjà signalé plus haut combien il est indispensable que le lecteur du texte ait recours au Commentaire pour avoir une image complète de l'arrière-plan philologique et idéologique de l'*Επίσκεψις* et des passages qui se rencontrent dans d'autres œuvres d'Eustathe. Particulièrement utile, le fait d'avoir admis en tête de chaque chapitre un résumé de son contenu, accompagné de la mention des termes monastiques essentiels qui s'y rencontrent.

Quelques coquilles typographiques de peu d'importance ont été relevées dans certaines numérotations de sous-chapitres: p. 63, la lecture correcte est 2.4.3; p. 64, il

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[68] C'est par inadvertance, manifestement, que dans les observations sur le mot ὄρος (p. 248), il est dit que la «Vita Mosis» est une œuvre de Grégoire de Naziance au lieu de Grégoire de Nysse, comme le montre la référence correcte au texte, quelques lignes plus loin. L'erreur réapparaît dans les commentaires 50.13, p. 386. En outre, n. 20 de la p. 6, figure un renvoi, pour le terme «γωνία», à l'index concerné, qui n'existe pas. L'auteur veut peut-être renvoyer aux commentaires, 1.2–3, p. 315.

faut lire 2.4.4; p. 73, lire 2.5.5, et immédiatement après, 2.5.6. – P. 122, lettres latines à la fin du mot ἐπιστημονάρχης, la même chose p. 125, sur καταχρεμετίζω. – P. 362, au lieu de 29.2–3, lire 29.12–13.

Rhethymno *Marina Loukaki*

Florence Meunier, *Le roman byzantin du XIIe siècle. À la découverte d'un nouveau monde?* Essais Sur Le Moyen-Âge, 36. Paris, Champion 2007. 325 p. ISBN 878-2-7453-1607-3.

It may well be argued that France has a special relationship with the Byzantine novel, and above all with the prose novel *Hysmine & Hysminias*, which attracted much interest especially in the 18th century. After the first translation into Italian, printed in Florence in 1550 (repr. Venice 1560 and 1566), the Renaissance and the Baroque saw a whole series of translations into European languages. The first French translation was printed as early as 1559 (repr. 1582) and after the *editio princeps* of Gaulmin (1617) yet another translation was printed in 1625. The 18th century seems to have been even more charmed by Makrembolites' novel, possibly via the shortened and reworked version of Pierre-François Godard de Beauchamp, published in 1737: *Les amours d'Ismene et d'Ismenias.* Of special interest is the preface, bringing to the fore his creative and free approach to the original work: «Souvenez-vous, s'il vous plaît, que vous ne m'avez point assujéti à la seche exactitude d'une traduction litterale: j'use de la liberté que vous m'avez donnée; je change, j'ajoûte, je retranche: j'évite des fautes; j'en fais de nouvelles: vous gagnerez d'un côté, vous perdrez de l'autre. Les Sçavants s'en scandaliseront: ils ne manqueront pas, si par hazard ils se donnent la peine de me lire, de me faire un crime de leze-antiquité de ne point trouver dans mes Amours d'Ismine & d'Ismenias celles d'Eusthathe.»

In light of the long mimetic tradition that the Byzantine 12th-century novels belonged to – being more or less free adaptations of the ancient novels, in their turn used as models and inspiration for the so-called Palaiologan romances – Beauchamp's remark becomes an expression not only of his own method, but also of the entire tradition linked to *Hysmine & Hysminias:* a chain of texts from late antiquity all the way into modern times.

The modern French translation of *Hysmine & Hysminias* was published in 1991 as *Les amours homonymes.* Even if one may object to the habit of publishing Byzantine texts under explanatory titles such as "a Byzantine novel" or "a Byzantine epic", this choice of title must be seen as particularly apt: the homonymity of the protagonists is not only a way of creating and sustaining the intrigue, but it is transferred to the structure of the text itself as well, based on balance, repetition and symmetry. The French translator, Florence Meunier (M), has now produced the first French monograph of the Komnenian novels, a rich and ambitious book with the suggestive subtitle "À la découverte d'un nouveau monde". Curious readers immendiately ask themselves what this new world might be that they are about to discover.

The book is divided into three main parts (1. Conditions de production et réalité romanesque: l'émergence du réel dans le texte?; 2. La fiction: matière, structure et

cadre romanesques; 3. La mimesis), preceded by a short introduction and followed by a rather brief conclusion, bibliography and indices. The titles of the respective parts immediately suggest that M's book is unique, even from an international perspective. Roderick BEATON's The Medieval Greek Romance (1989, 2nd rev. and enl. ed. 1996), which introduced the Byzantine novel to a wider audience, covered the Palaiologan romances as well and therefore was less focussed and analytical. The more recent monograph by Panagiotis ROILOS, Amphoteroglossia. A Poetics of the Twelfth-Century Medieval Greek Novel (2005), is indeed analytical and focussed from a rhetorical point of view, but tends to isolate the novels from a wider literary tradition. M obviously aims at both description and analysis, placing the novels firmly in an historical context. Accordingly, the first part of her book gives a careful account of the political, economic and socio-cultural situation of the 12th century, after which the novels are placed in this context according to their expression of contemporary realia: "de quelle manière ils s'inscrivent dans la réalité proprement byzantine" (39).

It is obvious that the relationship between novel and society is one of M's main areas of interest, suggested already in the introduction's reference to Lucien Febvre and his wish for a literary history in which history and literature would be reconciled instead of disassociated (7–8). After a survey of different kinds of political and social realia, from battle machines to family structures, M states that even though there is quite a bit of "reality" in the Komnenian novels, their content orients itself primarily towards novelistic fiction (67). This takes us to the second part of the book, treating the structure and content of the novels. Here too the focus is primarily on realistic aspects, such as the geographical setting, historical time vs. the time of the novel, or the relationship between the pagan gods of the novels and the Christian historical situation. An hypothesis gradually takes shape: the fictional world of the novels, their "refusal" to relate to contemporary society and inscribe themselves in a geographical and historical context, is understood by M as a sort of escapism, a denial of a society in potential crisis (94). The novel creates an internal space where one can be free even from the burden of religion and experiment with ideas about divine providence (152). A discussion of the novel's relationship with ancient epics, tragedy and pastoral closes the second part of the book, while also introducing the final, third part: entitled Mimesis, but to a large degree treating rhetoric, another of M's primary research interests.[69]

Here we get a feeling of approaching the core of M's analysis. In the first two chapters she shows, in a clear manner, how the language and the rhetorical devices function not only on a purely technical level, but also as constitutive components in the novels as individual works. Particularly rewarding is the discussion of "sound figures" and their effects, a rarely acknowledged aspect of the novels (195–198). The focus then shifts to questions of imitation in a chapter with the somewhat unfortunate title

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69 To judge from her previous work, starting with the thesis entitled *Roman et société à Byzance au XIIe siècle* (Lille 1999), M's studies of the novel have focussed on society and rhetoric (for the latter, see e.g. the preface to the translation of *Hysmine & Hysminias*, and: La rhétorique dans les romans byzantins du XIIe siècle: besogne ou plaisir? *Erytheia* 21, 2000, 51–71). A more recent article: Le voyage initiatique dans le roman byzantin: à la découverte d'un nouveau monde?, in *Byzance et ses périphéries*, Mélanges en hommages à Alain Ducellier. Toulouse 2004, 149–163, pointed clearly towards the ideas of the present book.

Question des sources: le poids du passé? (221–257). The frequency of more or less rhetorical questions and the implied "burdens" of tradition, religion and rhetoric, is by now beginning to irritate slightly at least this reader. Yet here we are, at what will turn out to be a crucial point of the book, because after a rather traditional survey of the novels' "references" to ancient and Byzantine literature and a short discussion of the ancient novels (until now barely mentioned), M approaches medieval texts as possible sources of inspiration: hagiography, *Digenis Akritas*, occidental and oriental (Arabic) sources. It is not until now, in this context, that M's view of the novels' internal relationship becomes clear: *Hysmine and Hysminias* is held to be the last of the Komnenian texts, possibly inspired by *The Thousand and One Nights* rather than by the ancient novels (254–255). These ideas are then summarised and further discussed in the final conclusion, to which I shall return.

Reading this interesting and indeed welcome monograph on the Komnenian novels, some essential questions concerning disposition and presentation of material need to be addressed. In regard to M's socio-historical interests, it may seem self-evident to use contemporary society as a point of departure, and it is indeed of crucial importance to try to understand texts in their socio-cultural context, to take their writers and readers into consideration. I also understand the ambition to let the Byzantine material "speak for itself", rather than just viewing it against the ancient background, which is too often represented as more sophisticated and more interesting. This must be the reason for just mentioning the ancient novels in the introduction (8) and then not returning to them until the last chapter of the book, and then only briefly (227–233). If, however, one adopts the perspective of reception aesthetics that M herself seems to advocate (7–8), one also has to take into consideration the Byzantines' particular relationship to tradition, the very *mimesis* that M brings to the fore and emphasises. The continuous reworking of ancient material, ancient story stuff as well as ancient forms (both language, text type and genre), was a crucial part not only of the production of texts but also of the reception of them, so that the recognition and acknowledgement of the recycled material and the applied forms (and the subtle *changes* to these) were part of the Byzantine literary experience.

If, for instance, we see the banquet scene of the Komnenian novel only as an expression of 12[th]-century customs ("une réalité particulièrement représentative du XII[e] siècle", 58), we dismiss at least one of the text's levels of significance, since we do not consider the meaning of the literary motif that has been lifted from the ancient novel, and which in turn may have been lifted from some other ancient text. From this perspective, the contemporary references to "reality" (a problematic concept which might have deserved a more nuanced discussion) are to be seen rather as a level of meaning added to the mimetic layers of tradition, a reminder of or a playful reference to the social situation in which the text was produced or performed. It was exactly this unbroken chain of literary works, recycling and recreating each other, that created tension and meaning for the Byzantines; the Byzantine "reality" cannot be isolated, because it incorporates both the literary and the cultural tradition, whether it regards banquets, virginity or pirates.

It consequently seems a somewhat backward step to present first the Byzantine *realia* of the novels, then their relation to ancient literature in general, then finally their hypertexts, the ancient novels. Let us take another example from M's book: the representation of pirates/barbarians in the novels of Prodromos and Eugenianos. The

opening scenes of the respective novels are first analysed from the point of view of 12th-century problems with Arabic pirates (49–50), then in relation to the Homeric epics (166–168), and finally a brief mention of the Homeric features being found also in Heliodoros' *Aithiopika*, whose opening scene is the literary model for both Komnenian novelists (229–230). It is of course possible to regard this method as a way of "excavating" the subsequent layers of the texts, a sort of archaeological/literary project, but the presentation of the results runs the risk of becoming confusing and partly misleading. This particular example may be used also to show another of my concerns with M's book, namely the way to employ and refer to previous research. The opening scenes of Prodromos and Eugenianos have actually been analysed by Panagiotis A. Agapitos in relation to both Heliodoros and Homer, yet in consideration of the contemporary rhetorical context; a discussion of that article would have been expected here.[70]

In fact, references to other research are scarce throughout the book. Even if the bibliography is relatively thorough and up-to-date,[71] any reader who is not already familiar with the field needs references in the notes in order to find the right material.[72] The book would certainly have profited from defining its own place in relation to current research, not least as regards the dating of the novels and their internal order, a question that is still open to debate. Above all it would have profited from a clear presentation of the author's own standpoint rather than the kind of gradual revelation that tends to keep the reader in somewhat irritated suspense.[73] Moreover, it would have been of great interest to know how M's interpretation of the Komnenian novel as a kind of fictional escape from reality relates to Beaton's rather similar interpretation,[74] or to Karl Plepelits' allegorical reading.[75] Such considerations would have given

70 P. A. AGAPITOS, Narrative, rhetoric and 'drama' rediscovered: scholars and poets in Byzantium interpret Heliodorus, in R. L. HUNTER (ed.), Studies in Heliodorus. Cambridge 1998, 125–156.

71 Though with some strange and significant omissions. There is, for instance, not a single reference to the works of Corinne JOUANNO, while one of my own articles in Swedish, presumably of little or no interest to a French or international audience, has been curiously included.

72 There is also a certain discrepancy between the notes and the bibliography, e. g. the article by S. V. POLJAKOVA in n. 290 (Sur la question des liens littéraires byzantino-français. *Revue byzantine de l'Académie des Sciences d'Union soviétique* 37 [1976] 114–122), is not included in the bibliography.

73 The dating is discussed on p. 36–38 with references to different interpretations in n. 24. The reader has to assume that M places the novels in the order she presents them, but without proper argumentation or explanation. Her hypothesis is not revealed until p. 254 (on which see above). Simularly for the ancient novels: the dating in n. 4 is drawn from A. Billault, without any reference to the still on-going debate of the dating and internal order of the texts.

74 On the geographical borders and the mentality of Byzantium in the 12th century and its consequences for the revival of the novel (264), cf. BEATON 1996, esp. 9–21, 52–59. It is interesting and relevant to consider such interpretations of the revival of the novel in light of similar views of the birth of the ancient novel, also seen as an attempt to escape a frightening reality filled with new gods and pirates. They may in fact be seen partly to mirror our own expectations as regards the cultural production of periods like Late Antiquity and the 12th century. Cf. the recent study of rites of passage in the ancient novel by Sophie LALANNE, discussing issues similar to the concerns of M: Une éducation grecque: rites de passage et construction des genres dans le roman grec ancien. Paris 2006.

more depth and stamina to the main hypotheses of the book, which are partly new, certainly exciting, and in need of further discussion. But the most interesting hypotheses risk escaping the attention they deserve, due in my view to the somewhat unfortunate arrangement of the book.

This is because, as already mentioned, the reader has to wait until the end of part 3 (esp. 233–257) and the conclusion (259–268) in order to get a clear idea of M's interpretation of the Komnenian novels. Here too one would have wished for more references to recent research, not least to balance the image of the Komnenian novel as an isolated phenomenon, an introvert genre consciously shutting out the rest of the world.[76] At the same time, it is an exciting and challenging image that appears: medieval hagiography, *Digenis Akritas* and Arabic sources inspired and influenced to different degrees the Komnenian novelists. *Hysmine & Hysminias* was the last novel to be written, it is argued, defining itself as a new kind of novel and consciously distancing itself from the ancient predecessors (265–256). What the Komnenian novels did have in common, according to this interpretation, was their refusal to inscribe themselves in the historical, geographical and religious context, instead expressing an introvert quest for love. It must be this inner, fictive world – gazing towards the Orient as a sort of reaction against a reality confronted with the Occident – that is the new world that M in her title encouraged the reader to discover.

The parallels in French medieval literature of the 12th to 17th centuries are briefly discussed (and partly dismissed), but this is certainly an area where further study would yield interesting results.[77] French medieval texts that seem to have been influenced by or were at least familiar with the Byzantine novels, like *Aucasin et Nicolette* or even *Roman de la Rose*, represent the beginning of a relationship that leads up to Beauchamp's liberal adaptation of the 18th century as well as M's own version in *Les amours homonymes* – in extension also to the ideas developed in the present monograph. I hope this book will be read and discussed widely.

Uppsala *Ingela Nilsson*

75 The translations of Plepelits are included in the bibliography, but no reference is made to his interpretations, as would have been expected e. g. in the discussions of geographical space and initiation.

76 For instance, M. Mullett's studies of the Life of St Cyril Phileotes would have been highly relevant for the discussion of novel and hagiography: Literary biography and historical genre in the life of Cyril Phileotes by Nicholas Kataskepenos, in P. Odorico/P. A. Agapitos (eds.), Les vies des saints a Byzance: genre litteraire ou biographie historique? Paris 2004, 387–410, and: Novelisation in Byzantium: narrative after the revival of fiction, in J. Burke et al (eds.), Byzantine narrative. Melbourne 2006, 1–28 (the latter probably appeared too late to be taken into account). Other recent studies of 12th-century literature have shown the novels to be well integrated with the cultural milieu of the capital, not quite as isolated as previously believed.

77 Here too one would have expected references to at least the relevant studies of M. Alexiou, C. Cupane (both included in the bibliography, but not referred to in the notes) and E. Jeffreys (not included in the bibliography: The Comnenian Background to the Romans d'Antiquité. *Byzantion* 50 [1980] 455–486).

Y. Modéran, Les Maures et l'Afrique romaine (IV[e] – VII[e] siècle). *Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*, 314. Rome, École française de Rome 2003. 900 p. ISBN 2-7283-0640-0.

Nach 900 Seiten beendet Y. Móderan (M.) seine überaus geistreichen und fundierten Ausführungen mit der Formulierung eines Paradoxons: Der wirkliche Bruch in der Geschichte des römischen Afrika sei nicht – wie Teile der Forschung annehmen – das Eindringen der Vandalen gewesen, sondern erst die byzantinische Rückeroberung. Ohne sie hätte die Entwicklung mit einer gewissen Wahrscheinlichkeit in einen Maghreb geführt, in dem die römische Kultur mit einheimischen Elementen in einer eigenständigen und stabilen berberisch-römischen Zivilisation ähnlich derjenigen im merowingischen Gallien zusammengeflosssen wäre. Diese Möglichkeit wurde durch die byzantinische Rückeroberung durchkreuzt. Vielleicht – so Modéran – haben die Byzantiner, die eigentlich die Romanitas retten bzw. wiederherstellen wollten, in dem sie das Berbertum bzw. Maurentum bekämpften, gerade damit dazu beigetragen, dass diese Romanitas nicht überleben konnte?

Hier wird deutlich, welch entscheidende Rolle den so genannten Mauren, die M. als die sozusagen antiken Väter der Berber ansieht, innerhalb der Entwicklung des römischen Nordafrika in den drei Jahrhunderten vor der arabischen Eroberung zugewiesen wird. Und dies ist keineswegs eine originäre Einschätzung M.s. Vielmehr beurteilt die moderne Historiographie diese Rolle fast übereinstimmend schon lange als entscheidend für den historischen Prozess, allerdings, wie M. zu Recht feststellt, ohne sie jemals genau zu erklären. Es gab bisher keine exakte, umfassende und vor allem streng wissenschaftlich an den Quellen orientierte Untersuchung dieser Rolle des Maurentums. Damit ist gleich das Forschungsdesiderat formuliert, das den Grund für die Arbeit M.s gab, und auch das Ziel, nämlich diese Lücke zu schließen.

Was M. mit seinem wahrhaftigen opus magnum vorlegt, sind die Früchte einer über eine lange Zeit gehenden, äußerst intensiven Beschäftigung mit einer Thematik, deren Wichtigkeit und Brisanz im Kreis der Fachleute nicht mehr begründet zu werden braucht. M. begann seine Untersuchungen 1980 und legte 1990 seine Thèse, die u. a. von Jehan Desanges betreut wurde, dazu vor. In den vorliegenden voluminösen Band flossen zusätzlich dazu noch zwei weitere Studien aus dem Jahre 1996 ein. Das Ergebnis darf ohne zu übertreiben als eine Darstellung bezeichnet werden, die als Standardwerk über Jahre Bestand haben dürfte und an der kein Forscher mehr vorbei kommen wird, der sich ernsthaft mit dieser Zeit und Region auseinandersetzt. Dabei ist es relativ egal, ob man die von M. formulierte Theorie letztendlich teilt bzw. sich ihr zur Gänze anschließt oder ob man sich mit neuen Gedanken daran reibt. Die wirklich herausragende und innovative Leistung M.s besteht in zwei Dingen. Einmal ist es die umfassende und tiefgründende Auseinandersetzung mit den bisherigen Forschungsmeinungen, die in ihrer politisch und historischen Bedingtheit aufgeschlüsselt und profund diskutiert werden. Noch mehr besticht jedoch die auf einer umfassenden Kenntnis basierende Auseinandersetzung mit den – hier sei der Hinweis auf ein gewisses Defizit erlaubt – vorrangig literarischen Quellen. Zwar stehen die Werke des Prokop (*Bellum Vandalicum, De aedificiis*) und des Afrikaners Flavius Cresconius Corippus (*Iohannis*) ganz stark im Fokus der M.schen Betrachtung, aber darüber hinaus rekurriert M. immer wieder auf den gesamten Schatz an literarischer Überlieferung, den wir für die Zeit ab Konstantin bis zum Beginn des 8. Jh.s besitzen und

über den er souverän verfügt. Für den Althistoriker ist es natürlich ein besonderer Gewinn, dass M. auch die – in der Regel späteren, mittelalterlichen – arabischen Quellen präsentiert (im Zentrum stehen hier diejenigen Teile der Universalgeschichte Ibn Khaldouns, die sich mit der Historie der Berber beschäftigen) und in seine Überlegungen einarbeitet. Epigraphische und archäologische Zeugnisse bleiben zwar nicht völlig außen vor, spielen aber in der Theoriebildung M.s nur eine randliche Rolle.

Für den Leser ist es manchmal zwar mühsam und streckenweise erscheint es etwas langatmig, wenn er den akribischen, bis ins letzte Detail gehenden, zum großen Teil streng hermeneutischen Interpretationen der Quellentexte folgt, aber letztlich ergibt sich daraus eine beeindruckende Menge an Informationen und Erkenntnissen. Mit großer Intellektualität und fachlichem Wissen werden die aus den Texten gewonnenen Sachverhalte in ein Theoriegebäude eingebunden, das die Rolle der Mauren in dem Beziehungsgeflecht Römer – Vandalen – Byzantiner zu verorten sucht. Dabei rückt sehr schnell die Frage nach der Identität derjenigen, die in den Quellen als Mauren bezeichnet werden, in den Vordergrund. Wie sieht diese Identität aus? Bleibt sie über den gesamten Zeitraum hinweg konstant? Wie ist die Kultur und Lebenswelt der Mauren beschaffen? Wie sehen die Mauren sich selbst? – eine sehr schwierig seriös zu beantwortende Frage, da uns keine autochthonen maurischen literarischen Quellen vorliegen. Und schließlich: gibt es überhaupt *den* Mauren? Oder wenn nicht, wie können, müssen wir differenzieren?

M. beginnt seine Untersuchung nach einer umfänglichen Einleitung, in der die bisherige Forschungsgeschichte und -ideologie sowie seine eigene Intention formuliert werden, mit dem Versuch einer Analyse der Mauren und ihrer Umwelt in der ersten Hälfte des 6. Jhs., also zu dem Zeitpunkt, als die vandalische Herrschaft in Nordafrika durch die Invasion Belisars ihr Ende findet. Dies ist gleichzeitig auch der Zeitrahmen, der von Prokop und in dem epischen Gedicht Iohannis des Corippus beschrieben wird.[78] Schnell kommt M. hier zu seiner Kernfrage, nämlich der, welche Kriterien sind konstituierend für die Kategorie „Maure“? Es wird also nach der Identität der Mauren und der Geschichte dieser Identität gefragt. Beide Fragen ziehen sich wie ein roter Faden durch das gesamte Werk und werden in den Folgekapiteln sowohl zeitlich mit Blick zurück (4. und 5. Jh.) und mit Vorausschau auf die weitere Entwicklung bis zur arabischen Eroberung hinein wie auch thematisch vor unterschiedlichen Folien (ökonomisch, politisch, sozio-kulturell) gespiegelt. M. entwickelt schließlich aus den Quellen die Theorie, dass die Definition von Maurus im 6. Jh. auf seiner Nichtzugehörigkeit zu einer städtischen Körperschaft basiert. Zu den Mauren zählen also die Teile der autochthonen Bevölkerung, die politisch und soziokulturell in tribalen Gruppierungen verortet werden können. Das Fundament ihrer kollektiven Identität ist die *gens* (Stamm). Sowohl in Hinblick auf die ethnische Zuordnung, wie der Lebensform oder dem Grad der Romanisierung bzw. Vertrautheit mit und Einstellung gegenüber der römischen Kultur, weist die Gruppe in sich große Unterschiede auf. Es ist also bei jeder Betrachtung der Mauren vor einer Generalisierung zu warnen, im Ge-

[78] Dazu G. Waldherr, „Turba Maurorum“. Byzantiner und Mauren in Nordafrika, in: Ad Fontes. FS. für G. Dobesch, hrsg. v. H. Heftner/K. Tomaschitz. Wien 2004, 829–839. Ders., Lagua(n)tan und Austur – Invasion aus dem Osten oder Ethnogenese „vor Ort“, in E. Olshausen/H. Sonnabend (Hrsg.), „Troianer sind wir gewesen“ – Migration in der antiken Welt. Stuttgart 2006, 158–166.

genteil scheint eine weit gefächerte Differenzierung sehr notwendig, um die zahlreichen sozialen und kulturellen Facetten erfassen und so ihrer jeweiligen politischen Wirkkraft näher kommen zu können.

Bei aller Verschiedenheit lassen sich aber, und diese Kategorisierung geht bereits auf Corippus zurück, zwei große Gruppen von Mauren unterscheiden. Nämlich einerseits diejenigen Mauren, die außerhalb des Imperiums, also jenseits der Limesgrenzen leben. Gemeint sind damit vor allem die Stämme der Halbwüste Tripolitaniens und südlich des z.T. sehr schmalen fruchtbaren und klimatisch begünstigten Küstensaums im Syrtenbereich und der Kyrenaika. Und andererseits die in den Aurès- und Nementcha-Bergen Numidiens sowie im Süden bzw. Südwesten der Byzacena (Region der Chotts) aber auch z.T. in der tunesischen Dorsale lebenden Mauri interiores. Gerade letztere Gruppe zeichnet sich durch ein hohes Maß an Heterogenität aus, die vor allem in der unterschiedlichen Nähe einzelner Untereinheiten zur Romanitas gründet. Und eben diese letztere Gruppe ist es auch, die im Laufe der Betrachtungszeit entscheidende Veränderungen sowohl hinsichtlich ihrer Quantität wie auch der inneren Struktur durchläuft. Die Gründe dafür können nicht völlig erkannt werden, stehen aber wohl in engem Kontext mit einem Wandel der ökonomischen und sozialen Lebensbedingungen der ländlichen Bevölkerung im Inneren der römischen Provinzen Numidien und Byzacena, der im Laufe des 5. Jh.s begann. Gleichzeitig damit wird auch das Verhalten der Sahara-Bewohner Tripolitaniens gegenüber Rom aggressiver und das Konfliktpotenzial vor allem in der Limeszone nimmt zu. M. kommt schließlich zu dem Schluss, dass letztendlich aber erst die Ignoranz der Byzantiner zum Clash zwischen Römer und Mauren führt. Die grundsätzliche, kaum differenzierende Maurenfurcht Ostroms entfremdete auch die Mauren aus dem Inneren der Provinzen zusehends dem Römertum und trieb sie näher an die „äußeren“ Mauren. Beide verbündeten sich gegen die byzantinischen Eroberer. Trotz des Zusammengehens blieb jedoch eine Zweiteilung erhalten, die sich noch Jahrhunderte später in der Kategorisierung Botr und Branès wiederfindet, mit der die arabischen Quellen diese Dichotomie der nunmehr Berber genannten Gruppen bezeichnen. Zusammen wiederum verbündeten sich aber beide Maurengruppen im 7. Jh. mit den arabischen Invasoren gegen Ostrom, was schließlich zum schnellen und kompletten muslimischen Sieg und zum Zusammenbruch der römischen Kultur, verbunden mit ihrem weitgehenden Verschwinden in Nordafrika in nur wenigen Jahrzehnten nach 642 führte.

Zum Schluss bleibt festzuhalten, dass die Theorie, mit der M. die Rolle der Mauren im Prozess des Übergangs der einstigen römischen Provinzen Nordafrikas in den muslimisch beherrschten Maghreb zu erklären versucht, in ihrer Gedankenführung überzeugt. Noch mehr liegt aber nach der Meinung des Rezenenten der wahre Wert des Buches in der herausragenden Bearbeitung von zum Teil bisher vernachlässigten Quellenmaterials sowie der klaren und trotz der Umfänglichkeit des gesamten Werkes dennoch stringenten Argumentation und der Diskussion der jeweiligen Zwischenergebnisse vor der Folie der bisherigen Forschung.

Regensburg *Gerhard Waldherr*

Jan Olof Rosenqvist, Die byzantinische Literatur. Vom 6. Jahrhundert bis zum Fall Konstantinopels 1453. Übersetzt von Jan Olof Rosenqvist und Diether R. Reinsch. Berlin/New York, De Gruyter 2007. IX, 239 S. 978-3-11-018878-3.

Das vorliegende, im Jahre 2003 auf Schwedisch erschienene Buch entstand an der Universität Uppsala in Zusammenhang mit einem „Kursus der byzantinischen Literatur für nicht griechischkundige Studenten". Dementsprechend findet sich kaum ein griechischer Buchstabe, nicht einmal „mimesis" (S. 188) erscheint so, lediglich die Partikel ἄς und νά (S. 179) werden mit griechischen Lettern wiedergegeben.[79]

Die Darstellung beginnt mit der Regierungszeit Justinians im 6. Jahrhundert und lässt somit die großen Namen des 4. und 5. Jahrhunderts (Libanios, Synesios, Gregor von Nazianz, Basileios, Ioannes Chrysostomos) unerwähnt, welche allerdings ein bemerkenswertes Nachleben als Vorbilder sowohl in der profanen als auch theologischen Literatur bis in die spätbyzantinische Zeit hatten. In der Palaiologenzeit erlebt etwa Libanios ein *revival* und ist als Inspirationsquelle nicht wegzudenken (z. B. im Kreis um Kaiser Manuel II.). Ist es legitim, die spätantiken Autoren, die im allgemeinen dem byzantinischen Jahrtausend zugerechnet werden, gesondert zu behandeln?

Libanios ist auch ein hervorragendes Beispiel dafür, dass mit ihm eine literarische Gattung definitiv an Bedeutung gewinnt: die griechische Epistolographie.

Bezüglich seiner Periodisierung argumentiert Rosenqvist in zweierlei Hinsicht: einerseits sei das 4.–6. Jahrhundert als eine Zeit des Überganges zu werten und andererseits werde Byzantinistik im Anschluss an Klassische Philologie und Altertumskunde betrieben. Diese pragmatische Erklärung und Einteilung geht nicht unbedingt mit der (derzeitigen) Fachausrichtung an mitteleuropäischen Universitäten konform, wenngleich in der neuesten Einführung zur byzantinischen Geschichte eine ähnliche Periodisierung vorgenommen wird.[80]

Rosenqvist ordnet seine Darstellung in sechs chronologisch arrangierte Abschnitte, wobei innerhalb der Kapitel eine weitere Untergliederung in Literaturgattungen gemacht wird. Im siebten Kapitel widmet sich der Autor allgemeineren Fragen zur Literaturgeschichte. Eigentlich sollte dieses am Anfang stehen, denn dort findet man Abschnitte wie „Byzantinische Literatur: eine Randerscheinung?", „Die byzantinischen literarischen Gattungen" oder „Byzantinisches Griechisch", die sehr anschaulich und prägnant in die Thematik einführen.

Rosenqvist zitiert selten Passagen aus byzantinischen Texten: zwei Stellen aus der Chronik des Malalas (S. 19–20) und eine aus dem Strategikon des Kekaumenos (S. 109). Man hätte sich mehr Mut zu weiteren Leseproben gewünscht, weil damit die Chance bestanden hätte, einen noch anschaulicheren Eindruck von der Buntheit mittelgriechischer Texte zu vermitteln.

Da Griechischkenntnisse in der Konzeption Rosenqvists nicht vorausgesetzt werden, sind bei den meisten byzantinischen Autoren auch Übersetzungen angegeben.

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79 Der schwedische Titel des Buches lautet: Bysantinsk litteratur från 500-talet till Konstantinopels fall 1453 – und hat im Gegensatz zur deutschen Ausgabe auch 37 Abbildungen und 2 Karten.

80 P. Schreiner, Byzanz: 565–1453. *Oldenbourg–Grundriß der Geschichte*, 22. München ^{3}2007 (eine Besprechung hier s. unten S. 871–76).

Man vermisst zusätzliche Hilfsmittel wie die Verzeichnisse von Emily Hanawalt oder von Wolfgang Schule.[81]

Die Schwerpunktsetzung dieser kompakten Einführung spiegelt die Forschungsausrichtung des Verfassers wieder, aber das ist legitim, schafft Rosenqvist es doch, 850 Jahre Literaturgeschichte sehr anschaulich zu vermitteln. Manche Anspielung wird bei fachfremderen Rezipienten bzw. Studienanfängern möglicherweise Stirnrunzeln auslösen.[82]

Am Ende des Buches wird eine Liste der Regierungsdaten der Kaiser beigegeben. Dies scheint eine Muss bei Einführungen zu sein, doch wird der/die Benützer/in verwirrt, da teilweise auch die Daten des Mitkaisertums von byzantinischen Herrschern angeführt sind (z. B. Basileios II. 963–1025; zudem Druckfehler bei Konstantinos IX, Romanos II.). Wäre es für eine literaturgeschichtliche Einführung nicht zielführender, ein Diagramm mit den Lebenszeiten von byzantinischen Autoren herzustellen und dabei auch eine Grobeinteilung in früh-, mittel- und spätbyzantinische Periode vorzunehmen?

Nach der Kaiserliste werden „Worterklärungen" beigegeben. Die wichtigsten Begriffe aus Geschichte und Literatur, die auch in der Darstellung verwendet werden, werden kurz erklärt. Allerdings fehlen Ausdrücke wie Epistolographie, Menologion, Mimesis oder Roman. Warum auf den Dualis hingewiesen wird, wenn explizit des Griechischen Unkundige angesprochen werden, bleibt unklar. Die Lexika wie das „Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium" (Oxford 1991) und das (vor allem für den deutschsprachigen Raum wichtige) „Tusculum-Lexikon der griechischen und lateinischen Autoren" (Zürich 1982) fehlen in der Literaturliste.[83] In der schwedischen Ausgabe werden unter „Internetresurser" vier weiterführende web-links zu elektronischen Übersetzungssammlungen angegeben, die in der deutschen Ausgabe fehlen.

Dem Verlag DeGruyter ist zu danken, dass der byzantinischen Literatur eine Darstellungsmöglichkeit eingeräumt wurde. Die Grundidee, interessierten Studieren-

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81 E. A. Hanawalt, An annotated bibliography of Byzantine sources in English translation. Brookline, Mass. 1988; W. Schule, Bibliographie der Übersetzungen griechisch-byzantinischer Quellen. Wiesbaden 1982.

82 Z. B. S. 185: „Mullett kennzeichnet die Situation u. a. mit Hilfe eines Zitats aus einem bekannten Buch eines britischen Kollegen. Dieser scheint, wenn man ihm beim Wort nimmt, zu sagen, dass die griechische Literatur am Ende des Altertums aufhörte und erst in der Renaissance tausend Jahre später wieder auferstanden ist, und zwar in dem Sinne, dass sie wiederentdeckt wurde" (das Zitat bezieht sich auf M. Mullett, Theophylact of Ochrid. Aldershot 1997, 2 Fußnote 6, wo wiederum N. Wilson, Scholars of Byzantium. London 1983, 1 angeführt wird).

83 Minima: Generell versieht Rosenqvist alle Eigennamen mit Betonungszeichen, was verdienstvoll ist (hin und wieder fehlen sie, wie auf S. 44 bei Studites). – S. 69: Die Zusammenfassungen der Briefinhalte beim Anonymen Professor sind deutsch. – S. 127: von der Eroberung Thessalonikes durch die Normannen gibt es auch eine deutsche Übersetzung von H. Hunger, Die Normannen in Thessalonike: die Eroberung von Thessalonike durch die Normannen (1185 n. Chr.) in der Augenzeugenschilderung des Erzbischofs Eustathios. *Byzantinische Geschichtsschreiber*, 3. Graz/Wien ^{2}1967. – S. 189: Für Neugierige: Der erste Band des *CFHB* war Gy. Moravcsik/R. J. H. Jenkins, Constantine Porphyrogenitus de administrando imperio. Washington, D.C. 1967. – S. 195: Der zweite Band von Kazhdans Literaturgeschichte ist mittlerweile erschienen, s. A. Kazhdan, A history of Byzantine literature. 2. 850–1000. Athen 2006. – Die Hadesfahrt des Mazaris fehlt.

den eine knappe, übersichtliche Einführung in die byzantinische Literaturgeschichte an die Hand zu geben, ist geglückt. Dass eine derartige Einführung ins Deutsche übersetzt werden muss, soll der deutschsprachigen byzantinischen Philologie und Literaturwissenschaft allerdings zu denken geben.

Münster *Michael Grünbart*

Peter Sarris, Economy and Society in the Age of Justinian. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press 2006. VIII, 258 S. ISBN 978-0-521-86543-2.

Die antike Wirtschaft ist ein dorniges Feld. Der Gegenstand als solcher ist komplex, die Quellenlage zumeist katastrophal, so daß Historiker häufig kapitulieren, weil sich das Thema letztlich nicht angemessen, schon gar nicht umfassend oder gar erschöpfend behandeln läßt. Entsprechend rar sind fundierte Arbeiten auf diesem Feld, und die Verfasser der wenigen Untersuchungen, auf die man überhaupt zurückgreifen kann, müssen sich methodisch zumeist zwischen zwei Alternativen entscheiden: Entweder sie konzentrieren sich auf einen verhältnismäßig kleinen Zeitraum bzw. auf eine ausgewählte Region, weil dafür jeweils ganz zufällig eine vergleichsweise günstige Materialgrundlage existiert, oder sie gehen von komplexen Theorien aus und versuchen diese mit Blick auf die Antike anzuwenden und dabei die wenigen vorhandenen Zeugnisse in irgendeiner Weise einzubinden. Beide Möglichkeiten sind nicht sonderlich befriedigend, letztlich aber als Kompromißlösungen unvermeidlich. Einen ‚dritten Weg' hat jetzt immerhin Armin Eich mit seiner fulminanten Untersuchung zur „politischen Ökonomie" im antiken Griechenland beschritten;[84] seine eigenwillige, mitunter freilich etwas überladene Studie könnte Vorbildcharakter für weitere Unternehmungen auf diesem Gebiet gewinnen – gleiches gilt für die hier anzuzeigende Arbeit von Peter Sarris. Anders als Eich, der eine holistische Perspektive gewählt hat und zu umfassenden Thesen und Erklärungsversuchen gelangt, hat Sarris seinen Blick auf einen wesentlich stärker eingegrenzten, freilich noch immer höchst komplexen Gegenstand gerichtet: das Oströmische Reich im 6. Jahrhundert. Dies ist aus zweierlei Gründen sinnvoll: Zum einen bietet dieser zeitliche und geographische Rahmen insbesondere aufgrund der papyrologischen Quellen eine Materialgrundlage, aus der sich aussagekräftige Erkenntnisse gewinnen lassen; zum anderen schaffen flankierende, nicht genuin wirtschaftshistorisch auswertbare Zeugnisse einen Gesamtrahmen, in den sich das „Hauptmaterial" gut einordnen läßt, so daß Erkenntnisse grundsätzlicher Natur möglich sind, ohne allzu sehr dem Bann spekulativer Hypothesen zu verfallen.

Der Titel des Buches ist freilich leicht irreführend. In den zentralen, das Material diskutierenden Kapiteln befaßt sich der Autor nämlich keineswegs umfassend mit "economy and society", sondern behandelt – dem selektiven Charakter der Quellen geschuldet – einzelne Aspekte des Wirtschaftslebens in Ägypten, und dies auch keineswegs nur für das „Zeitalter Justinians"; vielmehr entstammen gerade die meisten der von Sarris diskutierten Papyri aus dem Apionen-Archiv der nachjustinianischen

[84] A. Eich, Die politische Ökonomie des antiken Griechenland (6.–3. Jahrhundert v. Chr.), Köln/Weimar/Wien 2006.

Phase. Eine der großen Leistungen des Autors besteht aber darin, dieses Material im zweiten Teil des Buches vor einem umfassenderen Hintergrund zu erörtern und einzuordnen und damit dann doch eine weitere Perspektive zu bieten. Insofern stellt seine Untersuchung eine grundlegende Arbeit zu Aspekten der „Wirtschaft" im Oströmischen Reich des 6. Jh.s (in einem weiteren Zugriff sogar für die Phase vom 4. bis zum 7. Jh.) dar und erbringt überdies auch grundlegende sozialhistorische Resultate.

Die Untersuchung schreitet in 11 Kapiteln voran, in deren Zentrum die Auswertung wichtiger Papyri aus dem Apionen-Archiv sowie aus dem Umfeld des Dioskoros von Aphrodito steht (Kap. 1–6).

Das erste Kapitel (10–28) besitzt weitgehend Einführungs- bzw. Überblickscharakter, insofern der Autor noch einmal konzise die wirtschaftliche Bedeutung Ägyptens für das spätantike *Imperium Romanum* nachzeichnet. Es folgen wichtige Bemerkungen zur einflußreichen Familie der Apionen und ihrer Geschichte (mit grundlegenden prosopographischen Hinweisen, 17 ff.) sowie zum Apionen-Archiv (24 ff.). Letzteres steht sodann im Zentrum der folgenden Kapitel (29–95): In subtiler Kleinarbeit werden die einschlägigen Papyri untersucht, um ein Bild von der Art und Weise zu gewinnen, wie die Apionen ihre enormen Güter verwaltet und in wirtschaftliches (und politisches!) Kapital transformiert haben. Auf die vielfältigen Einzelheiten, die herauszuarbeiten dem Autor gelungen ist, braucht an dieser Stelle nicht näher eingegangen zu werden. Wichtig erscheint mir das dabei sich formende Gesamtbild einer hochgradig differenzierten Güterverwaltung, die keineswegs einheitlichen Vorgaben und Prinzipien folgt, sondern jeweils auch lokalen Rahmenbedingungen angepaßt werden konnte und den Mitgliedern der Apionen-Familie zudem sozialen und wirtschaftlichen Einfluß bis auf die Ebene der Dörfer sicherte – eine Flexibilität, die sich insbesondere auch bei der Betrachtung der von den Apionen geschlossenen ‚Arbeitsverträge' zeigt, die aufschlußreiche Einblicke in die soziale Herkunft von Gutsverwaltern, ‚Managern' und sonstigen ‚Angestellten' geben (50 ff.).

Die Apionen-Papyri aus Oxyrhynchos werden im weiteren mit einer anderen Gruppe von Dokumenten konfrontiert, den Papyri aus Aphrodito, die insbesondere für Konflikte zwischen kleineren Landbesitzern und den reichen Magnaten interessantes Material bieten (96 ff.). Überlegungen zur Frage, inwieweit die für Ägypten diagnostizierten Modelle für weitere Regionen des Reiches angenommen werden können, sowie zu den Modi und Problemen der Zusammenarbeit zwischen den Großgrundbesitzern und Vertretern der Reichsregierung schließen sich an (115 ff.). Sie erweitern die Perspektive hin zu Überlegungen grundsätzlicher Natur, die Gegenstand vornehmlich der beiden letzten Kapitel sind (177 ff.): Im Rückgriff auf die Resultate der Auswertung des papyrologischen Materials und unter Hinzuziehung einzelner Zeugnisse der kaiserlichen Gesetzgebung wird die Entwicklung des „Großgrundbesitzes" seit dem 4. Jahrhundert nachgezeichnet, wobei der Autor zu zeigen sucht, wie nach dem "'golden age' for the early Byzantine aristocracy" unter Anastasios (202) insbesondere Justinian versucht hat, die Spielräume der reichen, zunehmend unkontrollierbaren Landbesitzer-Elite wieder energisch einzuschränken und auf die Zentrale in Konstantinopel hin auszurichten.

Vor diesem Hintergrund stellt Sarris' Buch nicht nur einen wichtigen Beitrag zu Aspekten der wirtschaftlichen Struktur des spätrömischen Reiches dar; es vermittelt zudem auch aufschlußreiche Erkenntnisse zur Interaktion von Provinzialeliten und Zentralregierung, es zeigt die enge Vernetzung zwischen beiden Seiten auf und führt

vor, wie es den Mitgliedern der landbesitzenden Oberschicht gelingen konnte, auch politischen Einfluß innerhalb der Reichsadministration zu gewinnen.

Zur Frage nach dem „Funktionieren“ des Oströmischen Reiches in der ausgehenden Spätantike gibt Sarris’ Arbeit eine Reihe erwägenswerter Antworten, mit denen man sich in Zukunft wird auseinandersetzen müssen.

Tübingen *Mischa Meier*

Peter Schreiner, Byzanz 565–1453. *Oldenbourg Grundriss der Geschichte*, 22. 3., völlig überarbeitete Auflage. München 2008, XVI, 340 S. mit 2 Karten. ISBN 978-3-486-57750-1.

Unsere Zeit wird einerseits durch die abnehmenden historischen Kenntnisse der Studenten und Anfänger und andererseits durch eine immer stärker werdende Spezialisierung der Forschung geprägt, die ihrerseits nicht wenig zur Unübersichtlichkeit beiträgt. Dies gilt auch für ein Orchideenfach, wie die Byzantinistik es – zumindest in Deutschland – ist. Insofern braucht die Notwendigkeit von soliden Einführungen nicht eigens betont zu werden. Verstärkt wird sie noch dadurch, daß die letzte Einführung in deutscher Sprache von G. Moravcsik bereits 1976 publiziert wurde und selbst die, wenn auch erweiterte, Übersetzung eines älteren Buches aus dem Ungarischen war, das 1966 erschienen ist.[85] Auch die hier zu besprechende Einführung Schreiners ist in der ersten Auflage bereits 1986 und in einer überarbeiteten zweiten 1994 publiziert worden.[86] Jedoch ist die jetzt von Schreiner vorgelegte 3. Auflage sowohl im Umfang massiv erweitert als auch in der Konzeption nachhaltig verändert worden, so daß man diesen Band durchaus als neues Werk ansehen kann: Zum einen ist der Umfang um fast ein Drittel vergrößert worden, und zum anderen hat Schreiner den Anteil der politischen Geschichte zugunsten anderer Bereiche, die eher der Kulturgeschichte zugerechnet werden können, verringert, was auch, wie er selbst schreibt, mehr seinen eigenen Interessen entspreche. So verständlich das sein mag, logisch ist es nicht unbedingt, denn man sollte von den Lesern nicht erwarten, daß sie neben der aktuellen Auflage weiter die früheren Fassungen oder aber andere Einführungen in die politische Geschichte benützen, um sich ausreichend über dieses Gebiet zu informieren.

Problematisch ist aus meiner Sicht nach wie vor die grundsätzliche Einteilung des Bandes, für die freilich nicht der Verfasser verantwortlich ist, sondern die der Verlagskonzeption entspricht. Die Aufteilung in drei Abschnitte, von denen der erste einen allgemeinen historischen Abriß, der zweite eine Diskussion des Forschungsstandes und der dritte eine lange, im wesentlichen dem Inhalt der beiden vorange-

[85] G. Moravcsik, Einführung in die Byzantinologie. Darmstadt 1976; neuere Überblicke bieten J. Haldon, Das byzantinische Reich. Geschichte und Kultur eines Jahrtausends. Aus dem Englischen von J. Ehrhardt. Düsseldorf 2002 (Übers. der englischen Ausgabe: Byzantium, a history. Gloucesterhire 2000) und R.-J. Lilie, Einführung in die byzantinische Geschichte. *Urban-Taschenbücher*, 617. Stuttgart 2007.

[86] P. Schreiner, Byzanz. *Oldenbourg Grundriß der Geschichte*, 22. München 1986 (2. überarbeitete Auflage München 1994); vgl. die Anzeigen in *BZ* 81 (1988) 71 f. und *BZ* 88 (1995) 183.

henden Abschnitte folgende (unkommentierte) Literaturliste enthält – dazu ein Glossar, zwei nicht sehr aussagekräftige Karten, eine Herrscherliste und verschiedene Indices –, führt zu Doppelungen und ist eher geeignet, den Anfänger zu verwirren, an den das Buch sich ja richten soll. Immerhin hat Schreiner es verstanden, die daraus resultierenden Überschneidungen durch unterschiedliche Schwerpunkte etwas zu entschärfen.

Zwei grundsätzliche Probleme bleiben: Schreiner sieht in dieser dritten Auflage keine Einführung mehr, sondern „eine Bestandsaufnahme des Phänomens Byzanz", das zwar ein – nicht existierendes – Handbuch nicht ersetzen könne, das aber eben doch viel mehr sein will als eine einfache Einführung[87]. Entsprechend angefüllt ist diese dritte Auflage mit Material. Genannt seien nur die größeren Abschnitte. Der erste Teil umfaßt: Phänomen Byzanz; Geographische Voraussetzungen; Grundlinien staatlicher Entwicklung; Wirtschaft und Sozialgeschichte; Verwaltung; Verfassungsgeschichte; Kirche und Mönchtum; Kulturelles und geistiges Leben. Im zweiten Teil (Grundprobleme und Tendenzen der Forschung): Byzantinistik als Wissenschaft; Quellenprobleme; Zeitgrenzen, Kontinuität und Veränderungen; Byzanz und andere Völker; die slawischen Nachbarn, die Russen; Kaiser, Staat, Kirche; Freiheit und Abhängigkeit; Literatur und Lesekreis; Kunst und Archäologie; schließlich Perspektiven der Byzantinistik.

Das alles auf knapp 230 Seiten! Im Endeffekt führt diese Materialballung zu einer Darstellung, die eher wie eine Aneinanderreihung von Lexikonartikeln erscheint – was vom Verfasser selbst beklagt wird – und in der Schreiner, der ohnehin zu apodiktischen Aussagen und Wertungen neigt, dem oftmals komplexen Stand der Diskussion zu dem jeweiligen Thema nicht mehr gerecht werden kann, wenn er es denn überhaupt will. Nur ein Beispiel hierfür: Die unter dem Titel „Geographische Grenzen, historische Landschaften, Klima, Naturkatastrophen" zusammengefaßten Themen werden auf gerade zwei Seiten abgehandelt. Selbst für eine Einführung wäre das sehr kurz. Für eine „Bestandsaufnahme" ist es schlicht ungenügend.

Tatsächlich ist das Buch für den, der sich mit Byzanz näher auskennt, eine hilfreiche, wenn auch sehr kurze und infolge dieser Kürze im Einzelnen nicht immer zutreffende Übersicht des Forschungsstandes. Für den Anfänger verwirrend und für den Fachmann manchmal ärgerlich ist die Angewohnheit des Autors, viele der zitierten Arbeiten ohne zureichende Begründung zu werten. Die ausführliche Literaturliste wird man hingegen gerne benutzen. Ob allerdings gerade der Anfänger mit der komprimierten Darstellungsform dieser „Einführung" viel anfangen können wird, ist eher fraglich. Hier wäre es vielleicht sinnvoller gewesen, sich auf weniger Themen zu beschränken und diese dafür ausführlicher zu behandeln.

Das mag eine Frage der persönlichen Einstellung sein. Völlig inakzeptabel ist aber die von Schreiner vorgenommene Verkürzung der byzantinischen Geschichte auf die Jahre von 565 bis 1453! Die vor 565 liegende Zeit bezeichnet Schreiner als „praebyzantinisch" und ordnet sie dem Bereich der Spätantike zu, während das eigentliche

[87] Das in Wien 1988 von O. Mazal veröffentliche „Handbuch der Byzantinistik" sieht Schreiner offenbar nicht als Ersatz an. In der Tat ist es in der Anlage problematisch, für einen Anfänger zu unübersichtlich und außerdem gleichfalls seit langem vergriffen. Zu verweisen ist allerdings auf das für 2008/09 angekündigte Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies, das von E. Jeffreys, R. Cormack und J. Haldon herausgegeben wird.

Byzanz erst 565 begonnen habe. Konsequenterweise zieht das Schreiner'sche Frühbyzanz sich dann bis 850, Mittelbyzanz erstreckt sich von 850 bis 1204, und Spätbyzanz nimmt, mit leichten Modifizierungen im Einzelnen, die letzten 250 Jahre zwischen 1204 und 1453 ein. Als Begründung für den späten Beginn gibt der Autor an, daß „nur wenige Erscheinungsformen dieses Zeitraums das 6. oder die erste Hälfte des 7. Jh. überdauerten". Selbst wenn man diese Behauptung akzeptierte, spräche das immer noch nicht für 565, sondern allenfalls für 602, als nach dem Sturz des Maurikios mit der Usurpation des Phokas tatsächlich zumindest im Kaisertum eine gewisse Zäsur festgestellt werden kann, oder für die Regierungszeit des Herakleios in der ersten Hälfte des 7. Jh.s, die nun wirklich in vielen Bereichen als eine Übergangszone von der früh- zur mittelbyzantinischen Zeit angesehen werden kann. Immerhin war Phokas der erste dauerhaft erfolgreiche Usurpator seit Konstantin I., und unter Herakleios verlor das Reich wesentliche Provinzen zunächst an die Perser und dann an die Araber, was in der Tat zu tiefgreifenden neuen Entwicklungen führte. 565 hingegen war zwar das Todesjahr Justinians I., aber für Byzanz hatte dieser Tod weder im Inneren noch im Äußeren so gravierende Folgen, daß man hier von einer Epochenwende sprechen könnte.

Aber davon abgesehen, stimmt der gesamte Denkansatz Schreiners nicht! Zwar hat es natürlich in der byzantinischen Geschichte große Änderungen gegeben. Aber die Grundlagen für das gesamte staatliche Leben von Byzanz, für seine Gesellschaft und die von ihr getragene Kultur wurden zwischen dem 4. und dem 6. Jh. gelegt oder doch wesentlich geformt bzw. aus dem heidnischen Rom der Kaiserzeit transformiert. Dies von der späteren byzantinischen Geschichte abzutrennen und zu einem eigenen Gebiet zu erklären, wäre so, als würde man eine menschliche Biographie grundsätzlich erst nach der Pubertät beginnen und die Kindheit von der späteren Entwicklung abkoppeln, da der Mensch nach der Pubertät ja ein grundsätzlich anderer sei als das Kind davor. Eine solche Einstellung mag das Schreiben eines ohnehin mit Stoff überladenen Buches erleichtern, dem Gegenstand wird es nicht gerecht. Es ist durchaus bezeichnend, daß die Forscher, auf die Schreiner sich bei dieser Einschätzung vor allem beruft, keine Byzantinisten, sondern ausgesprochene Vertreter der spätantiken Geschichte sind: Alexander Demandt und Mischa Meier. Es ist nicht weiter überraschend, daß Demandt und Meier einer Ausweitung ihrer Disziplin das Wort reden, aber daß ein prominenter Byzantinist das ohne Not übernimmt und die byzantinische Geschichte um mehr als ein Viertel verkürzt, ist einigermaßen unverständlich und konterkariert darüber hinaus geradezu die Bemühungen, die Byzantinistik, die ohnehin von Kürzungen massiv bedroht ist, als Universitätsfach am Leben zu halten.

Berlin *Ralph-Johannes Lilie*

Lydia Thorn-Wickert, Manuel Chrysoloras (ca. 1350–1415). Eine Biographie des byzantinischen Intellektuellen vor dem Hintergrund der hellenistischen Studien in der italienischen Renaissance. Bonner Romanistische Arbeiten, 92. Lang, Frankfurt/M. u.a. 2006. 319 S. 6 teilw. farb. Abb. ISBN 3-631-55460-5.

Manuel Chrysoloras war der griechische Lehrer des Abendlandes schlechthin, auch wenn er nur drei Jahre einen Lehrstuhl in Florenz innehatte, und später, vor und neben seiner diplomatischen Tätigkeit, gerade noch neun Jahre privaten Unterricht gab. Seine griechische Grammatik, die „Erotemata" bildeten in gewissem Sinn die Grundlage des Griechischunterrichts im Westen des 15. Jh. und darüber hinaus. Es ist daher fast erstaunlich, dass dieser Persönlichkeit bisher noch keine eigene Biographie gewidmet wurde, wenngleich sein Name in keiner Geschichte der Renaissance und des Humanismus fehlt und in jüngster Zeit durch Christina Billò, Enrico Maltese, Anna Pontani, Antonio Rollo und Nicolò Zorzi grundlegende Forschungen zu seiner Person und seinem Werk geleistet wurden.

Die Biographie, eine Bonner romanistische Dissertation aus dem Jahr 2005, widmet sich nach einer Einleitung über den Forschungsstand in ihrem zentralen Teil (S. 11–133) den Lebensstationen des Gelehrten, wendet sich dann (S. 147–209) unter dem Titel „Das philologische Grundlagenmaterial des Manuel Chrysoloras in Florenz" dem Werk zu und gibt im Anhang neben einer biographischen Zeittafel einen von Editions- und Inhaltsangaben begleiteten Überblick über die 15 erhaltenen „Briefe", die auch Traktate und Denkschriften (aber immer mit einem Adressaten) umfassen. Ein mehrfach untergliedertes Literaturverzeichnis, ein Handschriftenregister und ein Register der Personennamen (leider nicht auch der Orte) schließen das Buch ab.

Im ersten Teil, der eigentlichen Biographie, fasst die Verf. die bisherigen Ergebnisse zum ersten Lebensabschnitt bis zum Ruf nach Florenz (1396) auf der Basis der bisherigen byzantinistischen Forschungsergebnisse zusammen. Recht hypothetisch bleibt dabei die topographische Festlegung des Wohnsitzes in Konstantinopel auf Grund des Zeugnisses über den Brand einer nahe gelegenen Bibliothek, die, nicht nachvollziehbar, mit der des Patriarchats identifiziert wird. Die verschiedenen kleineren Kapitel über das politische und geistige Leben in Byzanz (der „Hintergrund"), mögen in der ursprünglichen romanistischen Dissertation ihren Platz haben, sind aber in der Druckausgabe weitgehend entbehrlich. Der Abschnitt, der dem Aufenthalt im Westen (1396–1415, ausgenommen 1403–1406) gewidmet ist, stützt sich fast ausschließlich auf lateinische und italienische Quellen, oft bisher unbekannt oder in seltener Sekundärliteratur versteckt und stellt einen wirklichen Forschungsfortschritt dar, der auch den romanistischen Kenntnissen der Verf. und ihrer Vertrautheit mit Sprache und Land zu verdanken ist. Hier ist wenig und eher Beiläufiges nachzutragen: Im Hinblick auf die Gesandtschaften, auch von ihren speziellen Charakter in der Paläologenzeit her, ist hinzuweisen auf E. Malamut, De 1299 à 1451: au coeur des ambassades byzantines, in Ch. A. Maltezou/P. Schreiner (a cura di), Bisanzio, Venezia e il mondo franco-greco (XIII–XV secolo). Venezia 2002, 78–124; die Diskussion um die Überbringung der Grabrede Manuels II. auf seinen Bruder (S.85) ist jetzt wohl ebenfalls klargestellt (P. Schreiner, Ein seltsames Stemma, in: Lesarten. Festschrift für Athanasios Kambylis. Berlin 1998, 211–225). Besonders hervorzuheben sind in diesem Abschnitt die Auflistung der „Schüler" (S. 99 ff) und die überzeugende Umdatierung der Reise des Guarino da Verona mit Chrysoloras von Bologna nach Venedig (nicht 1403, sondern

1414). Aufschlussreich und auf eigenen Recherchen beruhend sind die Ausführungen über den Tod des Humanisten in Konstanz (S.111–126), die in die bedauerliche Feststellung münden: „Es lässt sich weiterhin keine eindeutige Grabstätte identifizieren, denn das Dominikanerkloster wurde nach der Säkularisierung (1785) baulich verändert". Immerhin bietet uns die Verf. auf einer Farb-Falttafel ein Historienfresko (1904) im heutigen Inselhotel, das die Beisetzung des Chrysoloras zeigt.

Im zweiten Hauptteil stellt die Verf. in kritischer Sichtung der bisherigen Literatur, gestützt vor allem auf die Untersuchungen von Rollo, die Handschriften zusammen, die sich im Besitz des Humanisten befanden. Abgesehen von vier Hss, die seinen Namenszug tragen, stellt in den übrigen (29) der autographe griechisch-lateinische Eintrag über den Hauptinhalt der jeweiligen Handschrift das Indiz für die Zuweisung dar. Einer vergleichbaren Weise des Besitzeintrages bediente sich übrigens auch, in der Fachwelt noch kaum bekannt, Bessarion (vgl. L. Labowsky, Bessarion's Library and the Biblioteca Marciana. Rom 1979, 20–23). Diese tabellarische Zusammenstellung wird begleitet von einem nützlichen bibliographischen Kommentar zu den genannten Handschriften. Das anschließende Kapitel über die Schrift des Chrysoloras ist m.E. methodisch nicht geglückt. Zum einen hat Chrysoloras sehr wenige gesicherte Zeugnisse seiner Schrift hinterlassen, darunter in erster Linie die Schenkungsnotiz in der Louvre-Handschrift des Dionysios Areopagites. Seine Kopistentätigkeit (S. 177–178) ist wegen der nachahmenden Hände seiner Schüler schwer einzugrenzen, auch wenn Rollo einige Kopien überzeugend nachweisen konnte. Die von der Verf. als „charakteristisch" erachteten Buchstabenformen (S. 168–172) erweisen sich im Gesamtkontext der Buchschriften des 14. und 15. Jh.s als nicht beweiskräftig (etwa: ein Trema über iota und ypsilon, kappa in Majuskelform u.ä.). Ohne eine umfassende Kenntnis der paläographischen Entwicklung sind solche Definitionen wenig hilfreich.

In großer Ausführlichkeit geht die Verf. auf die „Erotemata" ein, die griechische Formenlehre, und stellt sie in den Kontext der noch relativ spärlich erforschten Literatur zur Schulgrammatik des 15. Jh.s. Sie beruhen auf Unterrichtsmitschriften, Abschriften und Ergänzungen mehrerer Lehrer- und Schülergenerationen, als sie 1496, achtzig Jahre nach dem Tod des Autors, in griechischer (die Verf. sagt zurecht: sogenannter) Originalform im Druck erschienen. Sie waren damals inhaltlich überholt, auch wenn, wie richtig betont ist, die Grammatiken der zweiten Generation ohne Chrysoloras schwerlich denkbar sind.

Der erläuternde Überblick zu den „Briefen" (S. 216–243) wird jetzt durch einen eigenen Beitrag der Verf. ergänzt (in E. Konstantinou, Der Beitrag der byzantinischen Gelehrten zur abendländischen Renaissance. Frankfurt 2006, 17–28). Die Bibliographie (S. 247–312) ist etwas überbordend und viele der nur einmal zitierten Titel hätten auch im Text Platz finden können. Störend wirkt der kleine Druck, vor allem im reichen Anmerkungsapparat, und der minimale Rand, Faktoren, die freilich nicht der Verfasserin anzulasten ist, sondern dem „papiersparenden" Serienprogramm des Verlages. Als unschön empfindet man auch das didaktische System der konsequenten Dezimalklassifikation.

Frau Thorn-Wickert hat in dieser gediegenen und gründlich recherchierten Arbeit den sehr verstreuten, aktuellen Forschungsstand resümierend zusammengefasst und ist in der Biographie der italienischen Jahre des Humanisten zu wichtigen neuen Resultaten gekommen. Die Erforschung des griechischen Humanismus hat durch die ge-

wonnenen Ergebnisse einen gesicherten und gut nachprüfbaren Ausgangspunkt für weitere Untersuchungen erhalten.

Köln *Peter Schreiner*

III. ABTEILUNG

BIBLIOGRAPHISCHE NOTIZEN UND MITTEILUNGEN

Gesamtredaktion: Albrecht Berger, München, Sonja Güntner, Köln, und Raimondo Tocci (München)

Die bibliographischen Notizen wurden bearbeitet von

I. In den einzelnen Ländern: Australien: *A. Moffatt* (Canberra), Belgien: *C. Macé* (Leuven), Deutschland: *M. Altripp* (Greifswald), *A. Berger* (München), *M. Dennert* (Freiburg), *P. Schreiner* (Köln), *F. Tinnefeld* (München), Griechenland: *Ch. Gasparis* (Athen), *S. Kalopissi-Verti* (Athen), *S. Kotzabassi* (Thessaloniki), *M. Leontsini* (Athen), Großbritannien: *D. Stathakopoulos* (London), Italien: *A. Acconcia Longo* (Rom), *L. Bianchi* (Rom), *F. D'Aiuto* (Rom), *A. Luzzi* (Rom), Österreich: *M. Grünbart* (Wien), Rumänien: *T. Teoteoi* (Bukarest), Rußland: *O. Etinhof* (Moskau), *S. Ivanov (Moskau)*, Schweden: *J.-O. Rosenqvist* (Uppsala), Serbien: *Lj. Maksimović* (Belgrad), Spanien: *J. Signes Codoñer* (Madrid), Türkei: *E. Laflı* (İzmir), USA: *A. Cutler* (Pennsylvania), *W. Kaegi* (Chicago), *A.-M. Talbot* (Washington)

II. Nach Sachbereichen: Diplomatik: *Ch. Gastgeber* (Wien), *O. Kresten* (Wien), Jurisprudenz: *F. Goria* (Turin), *S. Troianos* (Athen), Medizin: *A. Touwaide* (Washington), Musik: *Ch. Troelsgård* (Kopenhagen), Numismatik: *J. Baker* (Oxford), *C. Morrisson* (Paris), Paläographie und Kodikologie: *E. Gamillscheg* (Wien), Sigillographie: *W. Seibt* (Wien), Theologie: *A. von Stockhausen* (Erlangen), Sprache und Lexikographie: *G. Karla* (Athen), *I. Manolessou* (Athen), Volkssprachliche Literatur: *M. Hinterberger* (Nikosia)

Die Notizen umfassen den byzantinischen Kulturkreis im Zeitraum ca. 330 bis ca. 1453, doch finden auch die angrenzenden Jahrhunderte noch eine gewisse Berücksichtigung, besonders in der Abt. 14 („Byzantinoslavica"), die in angemessener Auswahl Beiträge bis zum Jahr 1700 ca. aufnimmt. Allein die Bereiche 1 C, 12 B und 12 C werden in Auswahl bis in die Gegenwart fortgeführt. Zu räumlichen und inhaltlichen Begrenzungen sei auf das Vorwort zu BZ 84/85 (1991/92) verwiesen. Die Einteilung innerhalb der Bereiche folgt im allgemeinen dem alphabetischen Prinzip.

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1. PROFANLITERATUR

A. HOCHSPRACHLICHE LITERATUR

a. Allgemeine Darstellungen

Aragione G., *Aspetti ideologici della nozione di plagio nell'antichità classica e cristiana.* – **D'Anna A./Zamagni C./Jurissevich E.** (eds.), *Cristianesimi nell'antichità: Fonti, istituzioni, ideologie a confronto* (Nr. 3711) 1–15. – Zum Begriff des Plagiats in der antiken profanen und christlichen Literatur. – Tinnefeld. [2047

Reinsch D. R., *Die Literatur Kretas in byzantinischer und venezianischer Zeit.* – **Haustein-Bartsch E.** (Hrsg.), *Kreta. Kunst und Kultur im Mittelalter. Beiträge der Tagung am 15. Oktober 2006 in Recklinghausen* (Nr. 3741) 21–33. – „Wenn man vom Beitrag Kretas zur griechischen Literatur sprechen will, hat man alles Recht, nicht vor der byzantinischen Zeit beginnen zu wollen; denn davor gibt es so gut wie nichts, und auch zur Zeit der Existenz des Byzantinischen Reiches sind solche Beiträge dünn gesät." (S. 21). – Schreiner. [2048

b. Literaturgattungen

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Alcaro M., *Filosofie della Natura. Naturalismo mediterraneo e pensiero moderno.* Roma, Manifestolibri 2006. 223 p. ISBN 88-7285-442-3. – From author's abstract: "… nelle filosofie premoderne che si susseguono nell'area mediterranea, da Atene a Roma al Rinascimento, la natura è pensata come un organismo vivente, come una Grande Madre-Terra ricca di potenzialità e di valori simbolici …". – Touwaide. [2049

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Rashed M., *Essentialisme. Alexandre d'Aphrodise entre logique, physique et cosmologie* (Nr. 2081). – Berger.

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Syros B., *Η πρόσληψη της αριστοτελικής έννοιας της επιείκειας στην πολιτική σκέψη του Μαρσιλίου της Πάδοβα και η πολιτική και κοινωνική πραγματικότητα στην Πάδοβα στο μεταίχμιο 13ου και 14ου αιώνα* (The perception of Aristotle's concept of equity in the political thought of Marsilius of Padua and the political and social realities prevailing in Padua at the turn of the 14th century). Εώα και Εσπέρια 6 (2004–06) 75–96. – Gasparis. [2055

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Rhetorik

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B. VOLKSSPRACHLICHE LITERATUR

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2. PALÄOGRAPHIE, KODIKOLOGIE, DIPLOMATIK, PAPYROLOGIE

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Klingshirn W. E./Safran L. (eds.), *The early Christian book.* CUA Studies in Early Christianity. Washington/DC, Catholic University of America Press 2007. XIV, 314 p. ISBN 978-0-8132-1486-3. – Proceedings of a 2002 conference on the production and use of books between the 3rd and 7th c. AD. Articles relevant to Byzantine studies are listed as nos. 2212, 2221, 2222, 3556. – Talbot. [2179

b. Kataloge, Tafel- und Facsimile-Ausgaben, Einzeluntersuchungen zu Handschriften und Bibliotheksgeschichte

Apostolopulos D. G., *Στοιχεῖα γιὰ τὸν νομικὸ βίο τὴν περίοδο τῆς ὀθωμανικῆς κυριαρχίας ἀπὸ χειρόγραφες πηγὲς ποὺ σώζονται σὲ βιβλιοθῆκες μονῶν τῆς Σάμου (16ος–17ος αι.).* Καρλόβασι Σάμου. Ένα νησιωτικό, εμπορικό και βιομηχανικό κέντρο στο Ανατολικό Αιγαίο. Πρακτικά συνεδρίου. Δήμος Καρλοβασίων / Γενικά Αρχεία του Κράτους. Αρχεία Νομού Σάμου. Athen 2007, 21–28. ISBN 978-960-87914-2-8. – Verf. weist auf die „Schätze“ hin, die in Klosterbibliotheken der Insel Samos aufbewahrt werden, u. a. auf 16 Folia des Ιερός κώδιξ des Konstantinopler Patriarchats. – Troianos. [2180

Baldi D., *Sulla storia di alcuni codici italogreci della Biblioteca Laurenziana.* Νέα Ῥώμη 4 (2007) 357–381. 5 tav. f.t. – Sui codici Laur. Plut. 11.9, 31.10, 32.5, 32.20, 57.26, 75.17; Conv. Soppr. 35, 177, 192; S. Marco 226; Ashb. 64. Fra l'altro, grazie alla lettura di annotazioni semievanide, B. rivela che «il Plut. 32.5, un'Iliade realizzata nel Salento e poi “restaurata” da Demetrio Calcondila, fu in possesso di Giorgio Vespucci», così

come conferma il possesso da parte di Angelo Poliziano, nel 1487, del Plut. 75.17, un Galeno realizzato nello scriptorium di Ioannikios. – D'Aiuto. [2181

Berschin W., *Die griechisch-lateinische Paulus-Handschrift der Reichenau „Codex Paulinus Augiensis" (Cambridge, Trinity College B. 17.1).* Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins 155 (2007) 1–17. – Gründliche paläographische und kodikologische Untersuchung und Zuweisung an das Reichenauer (nicht das St. Gallener) Skriptorium. Hinweis auf Korrekturen auch im griechischen Text, die auf Kenntnisse des Griechischen und Vergleichsmöglichkeiten hinweisen. Interessant, dass 1436 wohl ein Entleiher des Codex Elemente des Griechischen (Alphabete, Deklination des Artikels) notierte. – Schreiner. [2182

Bucca D., *Un antico manoscritto innografico di origine orientale: il Sin. gr. 824. – Ricordo di Lidia Perria, II* (Nr. 3714) 87–136. 8 tav. f.t. – Il codice costituisce uno dei più antichi esemplari dell'Ottoeco. Scritto in minuscola agiopolita, datato qui al IX–X secolo attraverso convincenti raffronti paleografici, confermati dal contenuto letterario (che testimonia, oltretutto, uno scambio costante di cultura tra il luogo di produzione e Costantinopoli), esso proviene, come indica la scrittura, dall'area sinaitico-palestinese (o sinaitica). Il contenuto del manoscritto, strutturato secondo il modello più arcaico del libro liturgico, costituito da una prima sezione con sticheri e catismi e da una seconda con i canoni e i macarismi, tutti ordinati secondo gli otto modi musicali, si differenzia sia da altri esemplari della tradizione più antica, sia da quelli più recenti, e rappresenta forse una fase intermedia nello sviluppo della Paracletica. Particolarmente utile la descrizione del contenuto, con gli initia degli inni, accompagnati da rinvii bibliografici e annotazioni, e la segnalazione di inni inediti o poco noti, di cui viene fornito un incipitario alfabetico. Termina lo studio l'analisi di due (sulle tre presenti nel codice) note in arabo, riconducibili ad una comunità arabo-melchita presente nel monastero e databili tra XI e XIV secolo. – Acconcia Longo. [2183

Chalku M., *Η μαθηματική παιδεία και η ορολογία της στο Βυζάντιο κατά τον Βιενναίο Ελλ. Φιλ. Κώδ. 65 (φ. 11r–126r)* (Nr. 3619). – Gasparis.

D'Aiuto F., *La Passio di Simeone «fratello del Signore» (BHG 2408) nel codice di Patmos, Μονὴ τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Θεολόγου, 254* (Nr. 2569). – D'Aiuto.

Giaccaria A., *Nuove identificazioni di manoscritti greci e latini della Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria di Torino.* Aevum 81 (2007) 429–483. – Reidentificazione di manoscritti danneggiati dall'incendio del 1904. Sono qui presentati e descritti brevemente i frammenti di 300 codici greci e latini, finora considerati perduti. – Acconcia Longo. [2184

Janz T., *Le Vat. gr. 330 et la nature du texte «lucianique» de la Septante* (Nr. 2076). – D'Aiuto.

Karaberopoulos D./Oeconomopoulou A., *Greek medical manuscripts of the period of the 16th – middle 19th centuries* (Nr. 3633). – Touwaide.

Kavrus-Hoffmann N., *Catalogue of Greek medieval and Renaissance manuscripts in the collections of the United States of America. Part III: Miscellaneous small collections of New York City.* Manuscripta 51 (2007) 61–130. – Talbot. [2185

Martínez Manzano T., *Los manoscritos recentiores de Salamanca: estado della cuestión.* Codices Manuscripti 62/63 (2007) 15–43. lam. I–XXI. – Die Manuskripte in Salamanca entstanden im Atelier des Andreas Darmarios, teilweise in Trient, teilweise in Spanien. Der Kopist aus Monembasia ist für Titelfälschungen verantwortlich, die wohl dem Verkauf seiner Buchproduktion dienten. In einer reichhaltigen Dokumentation werden vor allem Schriftproben anonymer Kopisten aus dem Umkreis des Andreas Darmarios (und Nikolaos Choniates) publiziert. – Gamillscheg. [2186

Melissakes Z., *Κατάλογος των κωδίκων της Δημοτικής Βιβλιοθήκης Τυρνάβου.* Εθνικό Ίδρυμα Ερευνών, Ινστιτούτο Βυζαντινών Ερευνών, Πηγές 8. Athena 2007. 354 S. ISBN 978-960-371-036-3. – Juristisch relevant an erster Stelle ist die Handschrift Nr. 18 aus der 2. Hälfte des 13. Jhs., die auf foll. 1r–537r die (immer noch nicht vollständig edierten) Pandektai des Nikon vom Schwarzen Berg enthält, sowie Nr. 3 aus dem 18. Jh. mit verschiedenen nomokanonischen Kompilationen der Turkokratia auf fol. 1r–51v. – Gasparis/Troianos. [2187

Menebisoglu P., *Δύο πολύτιμα χειρόγραφα ἱερῶν κανόνων (Πάτμου 172–Ἀθηνῶν 1372).* Νομοκανονική Βιβλιοθήκη, 20. Katerine, Επέκταση 2006 (2007). 151 S. ISBN 960-356-131-2. Mit französischer Zusammenfassung. – Die Bedeutung der beiden „wertvollen" Handschriften, die Verf. sehr ausführlich beschreibt, besteht darin, daß die erste, der Cod. 172 von Patmos (in Zusammenhang mit dem am Anfang und am Ende verstümmelten Cod. 173 ebenfalls von Patmos), die größte Ähnlichkeit zum urspünglichen Text des Syntagma XIV titulorum aufweist, und die zweite, der Cod. 1372 der Athener Nationalbibliothek, Kopie einer Handschrift von Trapezunt aus dem Jahr 1311 (der heute in der Bibliothek vom Topkapu Serail aufbewahrt wird) als Grundlage für die Edition der ersten vier Bände von Rhalles und Potles gedient hat. Wichtige Bemerkungen über die handschriftliche Überlieferung des Syntagma XIV titulorum, des aus ihm hervorgegangenen Nomocanon XIV titulorum und des Kommentars von Ioannes Zonaras und Theodoros Balsamon. – Troianos. [2188

Монфокон. Исследования по палеографиц, кодикологии и дипломатике (Nr. 3748). – Etinhof.

Olivier J.-M./Monégier du Sorbier M.-A., *Manuscrits grecs récemment découverts en République tchèque. Supplément au Catalogue des manuscrits grecs de Tchécoslovaquie.* Documents, études et répertoires par l'Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes, 76. Paris, CNRS 2006. 484 S. 35 Abb. 45 Tafeln. ISBN 978-2-271-06397-7. – Tinnefeld. [2189

Païzi-Apostolopoulou M., *Mythe et réalité sur les documents du XVe–XVIe s. conservés au patriarcat de Constantinople. – Le Patriarcat œcuménique de Constantinople aux XIVe–XVIe siècles: Rupture et continuité. Actes du colloque international (Rome, 5–6–7 décembre 2005)* (Nr. 3751) 289–298. 6 Taf. – Auf der Grundlage der durch das Wiener Patriarchatsregister überlieferten Informationen über die Arbeitsmethode der Patriarchatskanzlei im 14. Jh. stellt Verf.in das im Archiv des Konstantinopler Patriarchats gerettete Material vor. – Troianos. [2190

Paulos (Menebisoglu) Metropolit von Schweden, *Χειρόγραφος μορφὴ τοῦ Πηδαλίου τοῦ ἔτους 1793.* Ἐπιστημονικὴ Παρουσία Ἑστίας Θεολόγων Χάλκης 6 (2006) 439–458. – Verf. beschreibt Cod. 2273 (260) des Esphigmenu-Klosters (Athos) und stellt fest, daß

der Titel und die ersten 57 Seiten der kanonischen Sammlung des Hieromonachos Agapios Leonardos (Venedig 1787) entstammen. Obwohl die Handschrift vermutlich die Endfassung des Entwurfs des Pedalion enthält, weist sie Unterschiede im Vergleich zur ersten Auflage (Leipzig 1800) auf. – Troianos. [2191

Païze-Apostolopulu M./Apostolopulos D. G., *Μετὰ τὴν Κατάκτηση. Στοχαστικὲς προσαρμογὲς τοῦ Πατριαρχείου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως σὲ ἀνέκδοτη ἐγκύκλιο τοῦ 1477.* Εθνικό Ίδρυμα Ερευνών. Κέντρο Νεοελληνικών Ερευνών. Θεσμοί και Ιδεολογία στη νεοελληνική κοινωνία, 91. Athen 2006 (2007). 136 S. ISBN 978-960-7916-57-0. – Verf. edieren und kommentieren ein Rundschreiben des Patriarchen Maximos II. von Konstantinopel aus dem Jahr 1477. Das Buch ist in vier Abschnitte gegliedert: a. Die Quelle und deren Überlieferung; b. die historischen Gegebenheiten zur Zeit der Abfassung des Rundschreibens; c. Edition des Textes anhand des Cod. Laur. Pl. LIX.13 und d. Kirche und Gesellschaft. Im letzten Abschnitt wird darauf hingewiesen, daß der Text von den üblichen Ermahnungen abgesehen auch zahlreiche die Organisation der Kirche und das Rechtsleben (vornehmlich hinsichtlich der Ehe) der orthodoxen Christen betreffende Regelungen enthält. Das Buch beschließen Quellen-, Handschriften- und Generalregister. – Troianos. [2192

Re M., *Il codice lentinese dei santi Alfio, Filadelfo e Cirino. Studio paleografico e filologico.* Quaderni [dell'] Istituto siciliano di studi bizantini e neoellenici, 16. Palermo, Istituto siciliano di studi bizantini e neoellenici 2007. 64 p., 22 [= 44] tav. – Accurato studio dei 21 fogli (attualmente conservati presso la biblioteca parrocchiale «P. Sebastiano Castro», attigua alla chiesa madre di S. Alfio di Lentini in Sicilia) che costituiscono l'unico frammento superstite di un ms. già appartenuto al monastero di S. Filippo di Fragalà nella diocesi di Messina. Nei fogli conservatisi fino ai nostri giorni (seriamente danneggiati dall'umidità) è tramandato, parzialmente, il martyrium dei ss. Alfio, Filadelfo e Cirino, martiri a Lentini sotto Valeriano (BHG 57) con i suoi additamenta BHG 2021 e BHG 58. Re, dopo aver sottoposto i fogli del codice lentinese a una minuziosa analisi codicologica e paleografica, passa ad esaminarne le varianti testuali («limitatamente a quelle la cui lettura non lascia adito a dubbi») rispetto all'edizione del dossier agiografico relativo ai martiri di Lentini pubblicata negli Acta Sanctorum e al testo presente nei codici Vat. gr. 866 e 1591, testimoni del medesimo dossier. In appendice al volumetto, Re pubblica la trama del Martirio e degli additamenta curata dal compianto Claudio Gerbino. / Accurato studio paleografico (che distingue tre mani anonime databili fra la fine del XII secolo e la prima metà del XIII) e filologico (in relazione ai tre testi BHG 57, 2021, 58) con il riordino dei 21 fogli superstiti del codice frammentario, ora conservato a Lentini presso la biblioteca parrocchiale «Sebastiano Castro». Oltre a una riproduzione integrale in bianco e nero del manoscritto, alle pp. 55–64 è pubblicato postumo un riassunto italiano della leggenda a cura di Gerbino C. – Luzzi/D'Aiuto. [2193

Re M., *Tre fogli in stile di Reggio presso l'Archivio di Stato di Palermo.* Archivio storico per la Calabria e la Lucania 73 (2006) 95–98. 3 tav. f.t. – Descrizione di tre fogli, datati alla prima metà del XIII secolo, dai codici Misc. Arch. II, 3 e Misc. Arch. II, 4, che contengono copie di atti greci del 1156 e del 1172, relativi alla chiesa di Cefalù. La presenza della scrittura di Reggio in documenti relativi alla chiesa di Cefalù è spiegata con i rapporti tra la chiesa siciliana e quella di Bagnara, in Calabria. – Acconcia Longo. [2194

Rodriquez M. T., *Manoscritti cartacei del fondo del S. Salvatore. Proposte di datazione* (Nr. 2225). – Acconcia Longo.

Serventi S., *Frammenti palinsesti dei Vangeli e un brano della vita metafrastica di Teodosio Cenobiarca nel menologio Ambr. A 213 inf.* Aevum 81 (2007) 351–363. 3 tav. – Descrizione del manoscritto, vergato nell'XI secolo (la scrittura è una Perlschrift), contenente la seconda parte del menologio metafrastico di novembre. In particolare, per il restauro del codice, sono stati utilizzati frammenti di due altri manoscritti: uno dei Vangeli di Marco e Luca, di cui si legge ancora ben poco, mentre del secondo, non riscritto, resta un frammento finora non identificato della vita metafrastica di Teodosio Cenobiarca. – Acconcia Longo. [2195

Speranzi D., *Aristobulo Apostolis copista per Piero di Lorenzo: il Laur. Plut. 85.25* (Nr. 2216). – Luzzi.

Spinei M., *32 de manuscrise muzicale psaltice inedite de la mănăstirea Stavropoleos* (32 manuscrits musicaux inédits du monastère de Stavropoleos). Biserica Ortodoxă Română 122/5–8 (2004) 358–371. – Teoteoi. [2196

c. Kopisten, Verleger, Sammler

Bianconi D., *Le pietre e il ponte ovvero identificazioni di mani e storia della cultura.* Bizantinistica s. II, 8 (2006) 135–181. 19 tav. f.t. – «Identificazioni concernenti diverse mani d'età tardo- e postbizantina, alcune già individuate e talora assai celebri, altre cui si cerca di dare per la prima volta un nome, altre ancora, infine, destinate a rimanere anonime». In particolare nel contributo si parla di Giorgio-Gregorio di Cipro, Manuele Provatari, Niceforo Gregora e suoi anonimi collaboratori, Giorgio Galesiota, Giorgio Bastagare, Giovanni Onorio da Maglie, Francesco Zanetti. – Acconcia Longo. [2197

Bianconi D., *Un doppio restauro tricliniano: il Libanio Vat. gr. 83 tra Nicola e Demetrio.* Bollettino dei Classici s. III, 26 (2005) 3–38. 6 tav. f.t. – Il Vat. gr. 83, il cui nucleo originario è qui datato alla fine del X secolo, fu restaurato, con l'inserimento delle parti perdute, una prima volta verso la fine del XII secolo, e una seconda volta nel primo quarto del XIV secolo, quando, insieme al restauro materiale si provvide ad una revisione testuale, «l'uno e l'altra eseguiti all'interno della cerchia tricliniana». Si discute su alcuni interventi sia di Nicola sia di Demetrio, su annotazioni marginali e sulla segnalazione di versi celati nella prosa libaniana, il che corrisponde a precisi interessi di Demetrio Triclinio. – Acconcia Longo. [2198

Canart P., *Additions et corrections au «Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten 800–1600», 3.* – **Martin J.-M./Martin-Hisard B./Paravicini Bagliani A.** (éd.), *Vaticana et medievalia. Études en l'honneur de Louis Duval-Arnould* (Nr. 3697) 41–63. – Utili rettifiche e additamenta, per i soli manoscritti della Biblioteca Vaticana, al terzo volume del «Repertorium» (dedicato ai manoscritti greci del Vaticano e di Roma): numerosi nuovi copisti vengono individuati, molti manoscritti vengono aggiunti al dossier di copisti già attestati nel «Repertorium». – D'Aiuto. [2199

Daneloni A., *Due libri postillati dal giovane Poliziano.* Studi medievali e umanistici 3 (2005 [2007]) 165–212. tav. LVI-LXI f.t. – Riconosce nel Laur. Plut. 58.3 (Onomasticon

di Polluce, sec. XV, di mano di Giorgio Trivizias) annotazioni greche (e di rado latine) di mano di Angelo Poliziano: il testo in esso tràdito è alla base di molti spunti dei Miscellanea polizianei, anche se talora a questo manoscritto devono essersi affiancati altri testimoni (forse l'Edili 224). Postille latine (più sporadicamente greche) Poliziano appone anche sull'Aulo Gellio Laur. Plut. 54.25, nel quale però D. contesta che siano di sua mano le integrazioni di parole greche presenti nel testo (da attribuirsi piuttosto al cosiddetto scriba «Anonimo A del Bessarione»). – D'Aiuto. [2200

Daneloni A., *Nuovi contributi su Zanobi Acciaiuoli.* Studi medievali e umanistici 3 (2005 [2007]) 375–400. 7 fig. – Segnala nuove testimonianze dell'attività dell'Acciaiuoli in postille su codici greci Laurenziani: Plut. 56.22 (Massimo Planude), S. Marco 689 (Gregorio Nazianzeno, con marginalia tratti dal commentario di Niceta di Eraclea, che fu letto e postillato da Zanobi nel Laur. Plut. 7.13), Plut. 69.24 (Plutarco, i cui marginalia non sono di Angelo Poliziano, come si è ripetuto a partire dal settecentesco catalogo del Bandini, ma dell'Acciaiuoli). Di Zanobi è anche la trascrizione di marginalia di Poliziano nell'incunabolo A 1. 30 della Bibl. Naz. di Firenze (Quintiliano, ed. Venezia 1493). – D'Aiuto. [2201

Gionta D., *La Grammatica di Michele Sincello nel ms. Vat. gr. 1826* (Nr. 2134). – D'Aiuto.

Gionta D., *Tra Questenberg e Colocci.* Studi medievali e umanistici 3 (2005 [2007]) 404–412. 4 fig. – Nella miscellanea aristotelica in traduzione latina Vat. lat. 2990, copiata e allestita da Giacomo Aurelio Questenberg e con suoi marginalia e annotazioni greco-latini, G. riconosce anche postille di mano di Angelo Colocci, cui si può supporre che siano passati libri e materiali di studio dell'umanista tedesco, morto al tempo del sacco di Roma. – D'Aiuto. [2202

Gionta D., *Un libro di nome «Amórion».* Studi medievali e umanistici 3 (2005 [2007]) 401–404. 2 fig. – Sulle postille, attribuibili a Pietro Candido, in un esemplare dell'incunabolo aldino del dizionario di Giovanni Crastone (1497) conservato a Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Bywater B.5.15, M1v: esso contiene anche il De differentia dictionum di Ammonio, accanto all'incipit del quale Candido appone una postilla che rinvia a un enigmatico libro «Amórion». G. vi riconosce un lessico tardobizantino di dubbia attribuzione a Manuele Moscopulo, la cd. Collectio nominum atticorum estratta da Filostrato (inc.: Τὸ α μορίον ποτε δηλοῖ στέρησιν …), che Candido leggeva nel Laur. S. Marco 314. – D'Aiuto. [2203

Jacob A., *Autour de Nicolas-Nectaire de Casole.* – **Martin J.-M./Martin-Hisard B./ Paravicini Bagliani A.** (éd.), *Vaticana et medievalia. Études en l'honneur de Louis Duval-Arnould* (Nr. 3697) 231–251. VIII tav. f.t. – Studio diviso in quattro parti: 1. «Nouveaux autographes de Nicolas d'Otrante: le Vaticanus Barberinianus gr. 324», con l'edizione delle note tanto greche quanto latine; 2. «Une épigramme autographe inédite de Nicolas-Nectaire dans le Parisinus gr. 3»; 3. «Quelques précisions sur une épigramme autographe de Nicolas-Nectaire dans le Parmensis Palatinus 16»; 4. «Une citation du Geta de Vital de Blois dans le Vaticanus gr. 1903». – D'Aiuto. [2204

Laneri M. T., *Contributo alla conoscenza dell'umanista Marco Aurelio.* Medioevo greco 7 (2007) 119–148. – Da testimonianze indirette e documenti di archivio, la biografia, l'attività, gli interessi culturali dell'importante umanista (ca. 1435 – dopo

1478). Di famiglia proveniente dalla Grecia, segretario ducale a Venezia, «figura di alto prestigio», patrono e mecenate di intellettuali, collezionista di libri e manoscritti, gli fu anche affidata la cura del fondo di Bessarione. – Acconcia Longo. [2205

Liakou-Kropp V., *Der Schreiber Kyrillos Asproekklesiotis am Ende des 13. Jahrhunderts.* Codices Manuscripti 62/63 (2007) 1–14. Abb. 1–8. – Kyrillos Asproekklesiotis ist nicht nur Auftraggeber der Abschrift des Cod. Athen. 2803 (Neues Testament), datiert und subskribiert 1287/88 durch den Lektor Euthymios; Kyrillos kopierte auch im Jahre 1286/87 Cod. 80 der University Library in Ann Arbor (Michigan). Eine paläographische Analyse lokalisiert die Aktivitäten des Schreibers an den westlichen Grenzen des byzantinischen Reiches. – Gamillscheg. [2206

Losacco M., *Su alcuni codici crisostomici affini alla produzione di Giovanni di Lavra.* Νέα Ῥώμη 4 (2007) 123–142. – Raduna intorno alle figure di due anonimi copisti (sec. X–XI) alcuni codici crisostomici affini, per aspetti codicologici, alla produzione di Giovanni di Lavra: al primo si deve l'omeliario in Matthaeum in due tomi Bologna, Bibl. dell'Archiginnasio, A 1 + Constantinop. Patr., S. Trin. 119; al secondo le omelie sulla Genesi Athen. BN 2538 + Urb. gr. 19, e inoltre l'Athous Stauronic. 25 e il Par. gr. 671. – D'Aiuto. [2207

Martinelli Tempesta S./Pinto P. M., *L'Isocrate «vetustissimus» di Ulrich Fugger tra Hieronymus Wolf e Edward Henryson.* Quaderni di Storia 67 (2008, Januar–Juni) 111–140. – Das fragliche Manuskript ist Vat. Palat. gr. 135. – Schreiner. [2208

Martinelli Tempesta S., *Per la biblioteca greca di Giovanni Stefano Cotta.* Studi medievali e umanistici 3 (2005 [2007]) 323–342. tav. LXVI–LXXI. – Alla biblioteca di Cotta (ca. 1435–1525), oltre a diversi manoscritti latini, sono stati attribuiti – grazie al caratteristico stemma apposto nei «frontespizi» dei suoi codici – anche due manoscritti greci, Ambr. I 93 sup. (Platone) e F. 44 sup. (Senofonte): M. T. li descrive, e dimostra che sono opera di un solo copista anonimo attivo probabilmente a Milano, cui si deve anche l'aggiunta delle parole greche nel testo dell'Aulo Gellio della Bibl. Braidense di Milano, AC XII 43. – D'Aiuto. [2209

Martínez Manzano T., *Tres copistas griegos del s. XVI en el fondo antiguo de la Biblioteca Universitaria de Salamanca.* Studi medievali e umanistici 3 (2005) [2007] 285–309. tav. LX–LXIII. – Descrizione e analisi dei manoscritti di Salamanca, Bibl. Universitaria, 567 (copista Nicola Suliano, copiato a Roma nel 1524), 33 (scriba Franciscus Graecus II, metà sec. XVI) e 32 (copista Sofiano Melisseno, fine sec. XVI). – D'Aiuto. [2210

Menchelli M., *L'Anonimo Γ del Laur. plut. 85, 6 (Flor) e il Vind. Suppl. gr. 39 (F). Appunti sul «gruppo ω» della tradizione manoscritta di Platone e su una «riscoperta» di età paleologa.* Medioevo greco 7 (2007) 159–182. 4 tav. f.t. – Studio sulle mani dei copisti, sul contenuto e sui rapporti dei codici del «gruppo ω»: «La riscoperta del Platone di F, oltre che la copia di Flor, sarebbe in relazione con le cerchie aristoteliche della Costantinopoli della prima età paleologa. L'interesse per Platone potrebbe essere propriamente filosofico e in qualche modo legato anche al neoplatonismo». – Acconcia Longo. [2211

Rapp C., *Holy texts, holy men, and holy scribes. Aspects of scriptural holiness in Late Antiquity.* – **Klingshirn W. E./Safran L.** (eds.), *The early Christian book* (Nr. 2179) 194–222. – Talbot. [2212

Rollo A., *Dalla biblioteca di Guarino a quella di Francesco Barbaro.* Studi medievali e umanistici 3 (2005 [2007]) 9–28. 12 tav. f.t. – Individua e discute interventi di Guarino in manoscritti legati alla figura e all'opera del Barbaro, o passati dalle mani di Guarino a quelle del Barbaro. Fra gli altri copisti di cui R. tratta: Isidoro di Kiev; Mazari; un anonimo collaboratore di quest'ultimo (in Ambr. E 111 sup. e Marc. gr. VIII 20); un altro anonimo scriba la cui mano ricorre in manoscritti postillati da Francesco Barbaro (Vat. gr. 1619; Reg. gr. 96; Par. gr. 2012; Holkham gr. 95; Vind. phil. gr. 51). – D'Aiuto. [2213

Rollo A., *Erotemata crisolorini alla scuola di Giorgio Antonio Vespucci.* Studi medievali e umanistici 3 (2005 [2007]) 359–365. 3 fig. – A Vespucci appartennero i due testimoni degli Erotemata Ricc. 96 (di mano di Giovanni Scutariota, Costantino Lascari, Vespucci, e probabilmente un suo allievo) e Laur. S. Marco 308 (copiato da Antonio da Mauro Buni = ἀπὸ Βουνίου Μαύρου). Ma R. scopre che della grammatica crisolorina passarono sullo scrittoio di Vespucci altre due copie: il Laur. S. Marco 315 (in una sua breve sezione si riconosce la mano di Vespucci) e il Guelferb. 76. 2 Aug. 8° (di mano dello Scutariota, ma con parziale traduzione marginale o interlineare di Vespucci). – D'Aiuto. [2214

Rollo A., *Una prova autografa di versificazione latina di Leonzio Pilato.* Studi medievali e umanistici 3 (2005 [2007]) 311–321. tav. LXIV–LXV. – Identifica la mano latina di Leonzio Pilato nel codice greco Ambr. G 32 sup. – D'Aiuto. [2215

Speranzi D., *Aristobulo Apostolis copista per Piero di Lorenzo: il Laur. Plut. 85.25.* Medioevo e Rinascimento n.s. 17 (2006) 425–431. 4 tav. f.t. – Il Laur. Plut. 85.25 (del quale viene qui offerta una descrizione codicologica), completato a Firenze per la committenza di Piero de'Medici e contenente il commentario di Siriano ai Metaphysica aristotelici, è da S. attribuito alla mano del copista Aristobulo-Arsenio Apostolis, rettificando la precedente vulgata erronea attribuzione a Giovanni Rhosos. – Luzzi. [2216

Tramontana A., *Un paragrafo della fortuna di Luciano tra Quattro e Cinquecento: l'«Encomio della mosca» di Pontico Virunio* (Nr. 2078). – D'Aiuto.

Zorzi N., *Un feltrino nel circolo di Ermolao Barbaro: il notaio Tommas Zanetelli, alias Didymus Zenoteles, Copista di codici greci (c. 1450–1514).* – **Pellegrini P.** (ed.), *Bellunesi e feltrini tra umanesimo e rinascimento. Filologia, erudizione e biblioteche* (Nr. 3752) 43–106. – Berger. [2217

d. Materielle Buchkultur

D'Aiuto F., *Per un approccio multiculturale alla produzione libraria miniata: Bisanzio e altri «Orienti cristiani».* – **Quintavalle A. C.** (a cura di), *Medioevo: la Chiesa e il Palazzo* (Nr. 3755) 228–237. 14 Abb. – Dennert. [2218

Iacobini A., *Tra Chiesa e Palazzo: libri e committenti a Costantinopoli nell'età macedone (867–1056).* – **Quintavalle A. C.** (a cura di), *Medioevo: la Chiesa e il Palazzo* (Nr. 3755) 206–219. 31 Abb. – Dennert. [2219

Ikonomaki-Papadopoulou Y., *Re-use of decorated silver plates: a gospel cover in the monastery of St John on Patmos.* ZRVI 44 (2007) 435–446. 11 Abb. Englisch mit serbischer Zusammenfassung. – Die silbernen Plättchen des Evangeliumseinbandes stammen aus verschiedenen Gegenstände zwischen dem 13. und 17. Jh. – Maksimović. [2220

Kotsifou C., *Books and book production in the monastic communities of Byzantine Egypt.* – **Klingshirn W. E./Safran L.** (eds.), *The early Christian book* (Nr. 2179) 48–66. – Talbot. [2221

Lowden J., *The word made visible. The exterior of the early Christian book as visual argument.* – **Klingshirn W. E./Safran L.** (eds.), *The early Christian book* (Nr. 2179) 13–47. – On book covers in metal, ivory, wood and leather. – Talbot. [2222

Melissakes Z., *Βιβλιοδέτηση και ανακαίνιση κωδίκων στη μονή Παντοκράτορος του Αγίου Όρους τον δέκατο έκτο αιώνα.* Σύμμεικτα 17 (2005–07) 279–320. – Gasparis. [2223

Pérez Martín I., *El libro en Bizancio, compañero de viaje.* – **Cortés Arrese M.** (Hrsg.), *Caminos de Bizancio* (Nr. 2830) 239–265. – Begleitbücher für Reisende. – Signes. [2224

Rodriquez M. T., *Manoscritti cartacei del fondo del S. Salvatore. Proposte di datazione. – Ricordo di Lidia Perria, II* (Nr. 3714) 177–259, 18 fig., 4 tav. f.t. 17 fig. – Lo studio delle filigrane dei manoscritti cartacei (XIV–XVI sec.) appartenenti al S. Salvatore di Messina, insieme a osservazioni paleografiche e all'analisi del loro contenuto, permette di definirne la cronologia e spesso correggerne la datazione corrente, e, insieme, di «ricomporre meglio il travagliato cammino della grecità dell'Italia meridionale nei secoli del suo lento declino». Si tratta infatti per lo più di codici liturgici, «che testimoniano il progressivo processo di latinizzazione del rito», e di lessici. A questo proposito lo studio contiene un denso capitolo relativo al contesto storico-culturale in cui i manoscritti furono copiati, ricostruito attraverso fonti di vario genere relative alla storia dei monasteri greci e delle comunità grecofone, oltre che alla sofferta sopravvivenza del rito greco in Calabria e Sicilia. Al termine del notevole e fondamentale contributo, le schede descrittive dei manoscritti studiati e delle relative filigrane. – Acconcia Longo. [2225

B. DIPLOMATIK

a. Allgemeine Darstellungen

Beihammer A., *„Der byzantinische Kaiser hat doch noch nie was zustande gebracht." Diplomatische Bemerkungen zum Briefverkehr zwischen Kaiser Isaak II. Angelos und Sultan Saladin von Ägypten* – **Harreither R./Pergola Ph./Pillinger R./Pülz A.** (Hrsg.), *Akten des XIV. Internationalen Kongresses für christliche Archäologie. Wien 19.–26. 9.*

1999. Frühes Christentum zwischen Rom und Konstantinopel (Nr. 3740) 13–28. – Grünbart. [2226

Enzensberger H., *Zu den Titulaturen in den süditalienischen Privaturkunden unter Normannen und Staufern.* Νέα Ῥώμη 4 (2007) 239–265. – Sui titoli dei sovrani nei documenti privati latini e greci dell'Italia meridionale (secc. XII–XIII in.): «Zusammenfassend betrachtet zeigt sich eine Neigung zu Variation in der Herrschaftsdefinition insbesondere in den Territorien, die ihre politischen Traditionen auf Langobarden oder Byzantiner oder beide zurückführen können und auf lateinische Urkundenformen rekurrieren. Kalabrien und Sizilien weisen sowohl eine geringere Überlieferungsdichte auf als auch eine spätere Rezeption lateinischen Schriftwesens». – D'Aiuto. [2227

Lavagnini R., *Spiridon Zambelios, i documenti greci dell'Italia meridionale e la storia della lingua neogreca.* Νέα Ῥώμη 4 (2007) 441–466. – Sulle osservazioni linguistiche svolte dallo scrittore Spiridon Zambelios (1815–1881) sui documenti greci dell'Italia meridionale. – D'Aiuto. [2228

Ragia E., *Les Turcs en Asie Mineure occidentale et la bataille de Mylasa: 1079/1080 ou 1264?* RÉB 63 (2005) 217–224. – R. bietet zu dem von P. Schreiner (Εὐψυχία. Mélanges offerts à Hélène Ahrweiler II. Byzantina Sorbonensia,16. Paris 1998, 611–617) edierten „Almosenaufruf" (γράμμα ἐλέους), der im Codex Vind. theol. gr. 133, f. 125r, überliefert ist, eine historische Neuinterpretation und schlägt statt Schreiners Datierung der im Schreiben erwähnten Schlacht von Mylasa in das Jahr 1079/80 eine Neudatierung auf das Jahr 1264 vor. Der sichere Bezug des Textes auf Mylasa ist freilich nur durch eine glückliche Fügung erhalten geblieben: Ein Kopist hat beim Ersatz der konkreten Namen durch die Formel ὁ δεῖνα (ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις, ὁπόταν ἐστρατοπέδευσεν ὁ δεῖνα ἐν τῷ μέρει τῷ δεῖνα, so die „Überschrift" des Textes) einmal den Ortsnamen in der Wendung ἐν τῷ μέρει τῆς Μυλάσσου zu tilgen vergessen. Die im Schreiben erwähnte anonyme Person im Kampf gegen die Türken (ὁ δεῖνα ἐκεῖνος), dessen Familie in Kriegsgefangenschaft geriet und den Schreiner mit dem Kaisar Nikephoros Melissenos identifizierte, setzt R. mit dem Despoten Ioannes Palaiologos, dem Bruder Kaiser Michaels VIII., gleich. Sowohl Schreiner als auch Ragia mussten ihre historischen Zuweisungen aufgrund mangelnder definitiver Quellenbelege freilich als sehr hypothetisch ansetzen und betonen dies auch jeweils abschließend. Zurecht stellt R. eine Identifizierung des erwähnten glücklosen „Feldherrn" mit Nikephoros Melissenos in Frage, da ja gerade dieser in seinem Aufstand gegen Nikephoros Botaneiates türkischen Hilfstruppen – mit fataler Wirkung für die Region – zu Hilfe rief. Allerdings weist R.s Neuansatz einige Schwachstellen auf, die einer vertiefenden Diskussion vor allem im Hinblick auf die daraus resultierende historischen Interpretation bedürfen: 1) Für den von R. vorgeschlagenen Ioannes Palaiologos trifft der historische Sachverhalt ebensowenig zu wie für Nikephoros Melissenos: Auch Ioannes Palaiologos hatte bei seinen militärischen Aktionen gegen die Türken sehr wohl Erfolg (in der Mäander-Gegend) und wurde nicht besiegt, und auf eine Gefangenschaft seiner Familie gibt es ebenfalls keinen Hinweis. – 2) Als Verfasser des Schreibens nahm Schreiner den Bischof von Mylasa an (Herbert Hunger und Otto Kresten bezeichneten in der Beschreibung des Codex den Verfasser des Gramma als Metropoliten). Nach R. stamme das Schreiben nicht vom Bischof von Mylasa, sondern sei «vraisemblablement l'œuvre d'un ecclésiastique, puisque le rédacteur y fait état de son „humilité"». An

konkreten Informationen sind die unpersönliche Selbstbezeichnungsformel ἡ ἐμὴ ταπεινότης und die „brüderliche Empfehlung" an ἀρχιερεῖς, ἱερεῖς, συλλειτουργοί, μοναχοί und λαικοὶ Χριστιανοί gegeben. Die Selbstbezeichnung ist die gängige Wendung für einen Bischof oder Metropoliten; und der Almosenaufruf wird auch nur dann Erfolg gehabt haben, wenn er von einem Kleriker der oberen Kirchenhierarchie formuliert wurde; salopp gesprochen, würde ein Dorfpfarrer aus der Provinz damit wohl kaum etwas erreicht haben, abgesehen davon dass das Schreiben rhetorische Ambitionen zeigt, was man einem «ecclésiastique» der Provinz kaum zutrauen mag. — 3) In der inhaltlichen Interpretation kann man R.s Behauptung, dass es sich um einen längst verstorbenen „Feldherrn" handelt, nicht zuzustimmen. Zwar wird in der ersten Textstelle auf die Person mit ὁ δεῖνα ἐκεῖνος verwiesen, allerdings kann das Demonstrativpronomen hier aus logischen Gründen nicht im Sinne von „verstorben"/«défunt» verstanden werden; denn diese Person kommt ja zu einem Bischof/Metropoliten, um mit Unterstützung des besagten γράμμα ἐλέους seine in Gefangenschaft geratene Familie freizukaufen (im narrativen Teil ist keine Rede von einem Tod des Feldherren; daher ist auch R.s Schlussfolgerung «Il est alors possible que la capture des habitants de Carie, dont la famille du porteur de la supplique [und eben dieser ist der anonyme ὁ δεῖνα und niemand anderer], ait pris place après la mort du despote [Ioannes Palaiologos], c'est-à-dire après 1272–1274 environ» nicht haltbar). Der Bittsteller kann also zum Zeitpunkt des Schreibens nicht gestorben sein; das Demonstrativpronomen ἐκεῖνος wird jedoch verständlicher, wenn man in Betracht zieht, dass der Text unvermittelt beginnt: καὶ ὡς οἴδατε (man beachte auch die syntaktische Unregelmäßigkeit eines Nominativs in einer substantivierten AcI-Konstruktion); es wird also im originalen Schreiben zuvor noch eine personenbezogene Praefatio gegeben haben, die dann zu der für Formelgut befundene und in der Handschrift übernommene Stelle über das Wirken des Satans in der Unterdrückung der Christen mithilfe der Türken überleitete. (zu überlegen wäre auch, ob der Originaltext überhaupt nur das Demonstrativum enthielt und für den Musterbrief an dieser Stelle ὁ δεῖνα mit vergessener Tilgung von ἐκεῖνος eingefügt wurde). – 4) Zum Charakter des Schreibens hat R. sicher recht, wenn sie es als Musterbrief ansieht. Schreiner dachte an ein historisches Dokument, das gemeinsam mit der in der Handschrift vorangehenden Kurzchronik mit Bezug zu Nikephoros Melissenos aus dem Privatarchiv des Feldherrn übernommen sei – eine These, die aufgrund R.s. Überlegungen zu Melissenos nicht mehr haltbar ist; auch ist Schreiners These, dass man den Namen weggelassen hat, um dem Feldherrn Peinlichkeiten zu ersparen, kaum zutreffend (denn auch der Ortsname ist getilgt bzw. nur einmal versehentlich im Text belassen; ein Bezug zur Person ist nirgends gegeben). Schreiner sprach sich vor allem deshalb gegen einen Musterbrief aus, weil sich die im Brief geschilderte Situation nicht so oft wiederholt habe („Feldherr" verliert Schlacht, tritt Rückzug an; beim neuen Angriff der Feinde wird die Familie gefangen genommen; Bitte um Almosen mit einem „Bettelbrief"). – Die Lösung des Schreibens scheint vielmehr bei einer kritischen relecture zu liegen: Zunächst hat das Schreiben in der Handschrift die Überschrift περὶ αἰχμαλώτων, durch Rubrizierung betont hervorgehoben. Damit ist schon einmal auf den Inhalt als „Musterbrief" für Kriegsgefangene generell hingewiesen. Sowohl Schreiner als auch R. gehen nämlich offensichtlich bei ihren Ausführungen von einer falschen Interpretation der entscheidenden Stellen aus (ὁ δεῖνα sei Feldherr und habe einen Feldzug gemacht): Von den kriegerischen Tätigkeiten des Akteurs ist nur folgendes gesagt: στρατοπέδευσεν … (im Subtitel); ὁ

δεῖνα ἐκεῖνος καὶ ἄλλοι μετ᾿ αὐτοῦ πόλεμον μέγαν συγκροτήσαντες (mit den Türken): kein Hinweis auf eine Feldherrnfunktion, also etwa στρατηγεῖν; vielmehr ist vom Kampieren mit dem Heer im Feldlager (στρατοπεδεύειν) die Rede. So ergibt es auch einen Sinn, ein solches Schreiben als Musterbrief abzuschreiben und als Vorlage aufzubewahren; denn es wird gewiß mehrere Rekrutierte/Soldaten gegeben haben, die an den beiden im Brief erwähnten Schlachten teilnahmen und deren Familie in Kriegsgefangenschaft geraten waren. Man geht daher in die Irre, wenn man die Person des Akteurs mit einem bekannten, in der Gegend von Mylasa tätigen Feldherrn identifizieren möchte. Für die Datierung bleibt damit die Unsicherheit, dass sich der Text auf jeglichen Vormarsch der Türken in der Gegend von Mylasa vom 11. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert (terminus ante quem ist die Datierung des Codex) beziehen kann, sofern man die Niederlage bei Mylasa und in der Umgebung nicht weiter eingrenzen kann (etwa auch durch die Überprüfung, wann die örtlichen Bischofs- bzw. Metropolitensitze besetzt oder unbesetzt waren). Erstanzeige in der BZ mit kürzerem Kommentar BZ 100 (2007) Nr. 881. – Gastgeber/Kresten. [2229

Schminck A., *Zur Einzelgesetzgebung der „makedonischen" Kaiser.* Fontes Minores 11 (2005) 269–323. – Bereits angezeigt mit kürzerem Kommentar BZ 100 (2007) Nr. 1929. Grundlegende Studie, die einen profunden und bibliographisch wertvollen Überblick über die jurisdiktionelle Tätigkeit der makedonischen Dynastie gibt. Der Beitrag ist in seiner detaillierten Auseinandersetzung zu Fragen der Chronologie, den Diktatgebern sowie zur Authentizität der Dokumente juristischen Inhalts auch ein wichtiges Supplementum zu den entsprechenden Einträgen der neu edierten Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des Oströmischen Reiches (Band I, 2) von A. E. Müller und A. Beihammer. Schmincks Beobachtungen zu den Redakteuren bzw. Diktatgebern, denen der Beitrag in erster Linie gilt, bieten eine fundierte Basisarbeit, auf die noch weitere Untersuchungen auch in sprachlicher und philologischer Hinsicht folgen sollten (vgl. etwa zu Eingrenzungen der Wirksamkeit von Diktatgebern kaiserlicher Dokumenten in Ch. Gastgeber, Die unpersönliche kaiserliche Selbstbezeichnung. Entwicklung und Wandlung 867–1204. Römische Historische Mitteilungen 45 [2003] 117–148). – Einer Klärung bedarf die von S. aufgeworfene Frage der Fälschung des chrysobullium sigillum für Venedig von März 992 (nach S. eventuell ein „Fabrikat aus der Zeit um 1204"), denn dieses Chrysobull zeigt gerade all jene Urkundenmerkmale, wie sie aus den wenigen parallelen (z.T. lateinisch überlieferten) Privilegienurkunden der Zeit bzw. ab 1052 in den entsprechenden Originalen überliefert sind, z.B. die allgemeine Eingangspromulgation des Typs πᾶσιν, οἷς τὸ παρὸν ἡμῶν εὐσεβὲς ἐπιδείκνυται σιγίλλιον (omnibus, quibus istud nostrum pium sigillum demonstretur). In der Abfolge der Intitulatio ist zwar in der Überlieferung durch das der Eingangspromulgatio nachgestellte Kolon fideles in Deo imperatores Romanorum von einem Kopisten eine ungeschickte Umstellung vorgenommen worden, das Protokoll ist jedoch ansonsten in allen Teilen korrekt überliefert. Zudem war diese Form des Protokolls zur Zeit des 4. Kreuzzuges längst nicht mehr im Gebrauch; ein (lateinischer?) Fälscher hätte daher diese Kenntnis mit Gewissheit nicht gehabt; die abschließende Garantieklausel und Corroboratio lautet ganz kanzleigemäß: sufficiendo omnes (sic) demonstratione sola de ipso nostro pio chrysobullio sigillo, quod factum est …, in quo et nostrum pium et a Deo ordinatum imperium adfirmavit, was der zu dieser Zeit üblichen Wendung ἀρκουμένων ἁπάντων τῇ ἐπιδείξει [καὶ] μόνῃ τοῦ παρόντος εὐσεβοῦς χρυσοβούλλου σιγίλλιου, γεγενημένου …, ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὸ ἡμέτερον εὐσεβὲς καὶ θεοπρόβλητον ὑπεσημήνατο

κράτος (vgl. etwa Dölger–Wirth, Reg. 997b [April 1074]) entspricht (vgl. dazu O. Kresten, Ἀρκουμένων ἁπάντων. Eine wenig bekannte Formel der großen kaiserlichen Privilegienurkunde in Byzanz. Studi sulle società e le culture del medioevo per Girolamo Arnaldi, a cura di L. Gatto/P. Supino Martini, vol. I. Firenze 2002, 277–300). Die abschließende Apprecatio Amen ist allerdings eine (spätere) westliche Ergänzung, und der überlieferte Wortlaut des Privilegs ist an vielen Stellen korrupt, was jedoch auch durch die (teilweise interpolierte) Überlieferung des Dokumentes in späteren Abschriften des Codex Egnatii bedingt ist. Für dieses Dokument ist im Original eine griechische Version, die in der Kaiserkanzlei in Konstantinopel ausgestellt wurde, anzusetzen; die lateinische Version (nur in dieser ist das Chrysobull heute überliefert) wurde vom Empfänger, d.h. in Venedig, angefertigt, und zwar, wie man an einigen Stellen erkennt, in Form einer κατὰ λόγον-Übersetzung. Bei einigen termini technici war der Übersetzer sichtlich überfordert und behalf sich mit einer Transkription (vgl. etwa logotheta de dromo, secreto eparchali, notarii parathalassii, limenarchi, hypologi, xylocalami). – Gastgeber/Kresten. [2230

b. Sammelwerke

Urkundeneditionen und Einzelurkunden

Cuozzo E., *Le platee calabresi di età normanno-sveva e la platea di Luca Campano, arcivescovo di Cosenza (1203–1227).* Νέα Ῥώμη 4 (2007) 321–330. – D'Aiuto. [2231

Falkenhausen V. von/Lucà S., *Due documenti greci inediti provenienti dall'archivio del Patir.* Archivio storico per la Calabria e la Lucania 73 (2006) 71–93. 7 tav. f.t. – Edizione e commento di due nuovi documenti greci, che si aggiungono a quelli già noti, appartenuti al disperso fondo del monastero greco calabrese. La prima pergamena, proveniente dalla biblioteca dei Barberini, e conservata nell'attuale Vallic. Allacci CXII, int. 30, è del 1150. La seconda, Vat. Chis. E VI 184, nr. 13, è del 1195. – Acconcia Longo. [2232

Falkenhausen V. von, *Roger II. in der Κατοῦνα τοῦ Μανιάκη.* – **Martin J.-M./Martin-Hisard B./Paravicini Bagliani A.** (éd.), *Vaticana et medievalia. Études en l'honneur de Louis Duval-Arnould* (Nr. 3697) 117–128. 1 tav. f.t. – Edizione princeps del documento greco di Toledo, Archivo Ducal Medinaceli, Fondo Messina, n° 1382 (pittakion, del maggio 1126): si tratta di una «Konzession von Demanialland in der Catuna di Maniace [= Castello di Maniace, presso l'abbazia omonima, sulle pendici orientali dell'Etna] durch den zuständigen vicecomes, den Notar Arkadios, an einer sonst unbekannten Philipp, Sohn des Theodeig(ios)»; interessante è la menzione, all'inizio dell'atto, del passaggio per la Catuna del sovrano (da identificarsi con Ruggero II). – D'Aiuto. [2233

Floristán Imízcoz J. M./Gómez Montero J. A., *Crisóbulo de Andrés Paleólogo en favor de Pedro Manrique, II Conde de Osorno.* – **Alonso Aldama J./García Román C./ Mamolar Sánchez I.** (Hrsg.), *Στις αμμουδιές του Ομήρου. Homenaje a la profesora Olga Omatos* (Nr. 3713) 215–224. 4 Taf. – Im Archiv des Hauses Alba in Madrid wird ein auf 1483 datiertes Chrysobull des Andreas Palaiologos (Neffen von Konstantin XI.) für Pedro Manrique, den zweiten Herzog von Osorno, aufbewahrt, das die Verfasser hiervorstellen und edieren. – Signes. [2234

Murauer R./Sommerlechner A./Hageneder O./Egger Ch./Selinger R./Weigl H., *Die Register Innocenz' III. 10. Band: 10. Pontifikatsjahr, 1207/1208. Texte und Indices.* Publikationen des Historischen Instituts beim Österreichischen Kulturforum in Rom, hrsg. v. R. Bösel und H. Fillitz, II. Abteilung, Quellen. 1. Reihe, Die Register Innocenz' III.: 10. Band. Wien, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 2007. 465 S. 4 Farbabb. ISBN 978-3-7001-3684-2. – S. 463–465 enthält Korrekturen zu den Editionen des 8. und 9. Bandes. – Gastgeber/Kresten. [2235

Nanetti A., *Documenta veneta Coroni et Methoni rogata. Euristica e critica documentaria per gli oculi capitales Communis Veneciarum (secoli XIV e XV), Pars secunda: Nasciben de Scarena, Stefanus Silvo dictus Petenello, nec non Nicolaus Sancti Gervasii.* Fondazione Nazionale Ellenica delle Ricerche, Istituto di Ricerche Bizantine, Fonti 7. Atene 2007. 579 S. ISBN 978-960-371-032-5. – Gasparis. [2236

Re M., *Tre fogli in stile di Reggio presso l'Archivio di Stato di Palermo* (Nr. 2194). – Acconcia Longo.

Rognoni C., *Messina 1208: un contratto matrimoniale greco (ADM 1302).* Νέα Ῥώμη 4 (2007) 331–342. 1 tav. f.t. – Pubblica e analizza il documento, un originale conservato nell'Archivio Ducal Medinaceli, Fondo Messina, n° 1302, vergato da un Nicola τοῦ Δανιὴλ noto da altri documenti di fine XII–inizio XIII secolo. – D'Aiuto. [2237

C. PAPYROLOGIE

a. Allgemeine Darstellungen

Dostálová R./Hošek R./Messeri G./Oerter W. B./Pintaudi R. (eds.), *Papyrologie (řecká, latinská, koptská).* Praha, Karolinum 2006. 224 S. 50 Abb. ISBN 80-246-1180-5. – Eine Einführung in die griechische, lateinische und koptische Papyrologie. – Tinnefeld. [2238

MacCoull L. S. B., *More on documentary Coptic at Aphrodito.* Chronique d'Égypte 82 (2007) 381–389. – Macé. [2239

Schiano C., *Sulla tradizione del De febribus dello pseudo-Alessandro di Afrodisia (con appunti sulla lista di Lascaris)* (Nr. 3644). – Acconcia Longo.

b. Sammelwerke

Regesten

Caldwell R. C./Gagos T., *Beyond the rock: Petra in the sixth century CE in the light of the papyri.* – **Levy T. E.** et al. (eds.), *Crossing Jordan: North American contributions to the archaeology of Jordan* (Nr. 3103) 417–433. – Talbot. [2240

Urkundeneditionen und Einzelurkunden

Grelle F., *Notabili goti e curiali reatini nel papiro Tjaeder 7.* – **Cascione C./Masi Doria C.** (eds.), *Fides Humanitas Ius. Studii in onore di Luigi Labruna* (Nr. 3706) IV 2341–2351. – Goria. [2241

Mitthof F., *Osterindulgenz: Eine neue spätantike Kaiserkonstitution auf Papyrus.* – **Beutler F./Hameter W.**, *„Eine ganz normale Inschrift" … und ähnliches zum Geburtstag von Ekkehard Weber* (Nr. 3723) 449–459. 2 Abb. – Diplomatische und paläographische Beschreibung sowie Edition des P. Vindob. L 75 = ChLA XLIV 1301 (465–467 n. Chr.), der einen kaiserlichen Gnadenakt (Osteramnestie) enthält. Es handelt sich vermutlich um die in Ägypten angefertigte amtliche Kopie einer vor Ostern 465–467 promulgierten, an den praefectus praetorio per Orientem Pusaeus adressierte (nicht anders überlieferte) Kaiserkonstitution Leons I., durch welche die Entlassung der für leichte Delikte verurteilten bzw. in Untersuchungshaft festgehaltenen Personen angeordnet wurde. – Troianos. [2242

Papathomas A., *Zur byzantinischen Homilie P.Oxy. XVII 2073.* ZPE 161 (2007) 181–186. – Berger. [2243

Pintaudi R., *Un 'titolo' di Gregorio di Nissa in un papiro di Praga* (Nr. 2492). – Berger.

Torallas Tovar S., *Biblica Coptica Montserratensia (P. Monts. Roca II).* Orientalia Montserratensia, 2. Barcelona, Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat/Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas 2007. 130 S. 32 Tafeln. ISBN 978-84-00-08561-2 und 978-84-8415-974-2. – Aus der Einleitung: "The papyrus collection belonging to Montserrat, a Benedictine abbey located near Barcelona, was acquired and collected by Father Ramón Roca-Puig (1906–2001), a cleric from Barcelona, who spent the last years of his life in this famous abbey … Apparently, he bought most of the papyri in Cairo in the 50 s of the last century, through the Institute Copte and the Società delle missioni africane, although we know that he also bought important pieces from an antiquary in Lugano. The Coptic Biblical fragments are more than half of the total of Coptic literary fragments. They are, nevertheles, small fragments, often offering a much reduced text, but deserve to be edited and contribute to knowledge of the Sahidic Coptic versions of the Bible." Insgesamt 31 Fragmente werden ediert und mit einem kurzen Kommentar versehen. – Signes. [2244

3. SPRACHE, METRIK, MUSIK

A. SPRACHE

a. Allgemeine Darstellungen

Cupane C., *Ἡ τῶν Ῥωμαίων γλῶσσα.* – **Belke K./Kislinger E./Külzer A./Stassinopoulou M. A.** (Hrsg.), *Byzantina Mediterranea. Festschrift für Johannes Koder zum 65. Geburtstag* (Nr. 3704) 137–156. – Grünbart. [2245

Ferlauto F., *Per una storia della ricerca moderna sui dialetti greci. I: dal XVII sec. fino agli anni ottanta del XX.* Pan 22 (2004) 5–24. – Occasionali riferimenti anche alla grecità postclassica e bizantina. – Luzzi. [2246

Γλωσσικός Περίπλους. Μελέτες αφιερωμένες στην Δ. Θεοφανοπούλου-Κοντού. Athen, Καρδαμίτσας 2007. 421 S. ISBN 978-960-354-212-4. – Daraus angezeigt Nr. 2265. – Karla. [2247

Hummel P., *De lingua Graeca. Histoire de l'histoire de la langue grecque.* Bern, Lang 2007. XIV, 851 S. ISBN 978-3-03911-225-8. – «Cet ouvrage a une finalité triple: historiographique, bibliographique, métalinguistique (et métaphilologique). La matière sur laquelle il repose embrasse tous les écrits relatifs à la langue grecque, de l'Antiquité au XXe siècle, et en propose une typologie. Parallèlement à la présentation analytique du matériau colligé, l'auteur invite à une réflexion sur le lien entre pédagogie et érudition, humanisme et tradition, grammaire et philologie, ainsi que sur la constitution du grec en objet historiographique» (Zusammenfassung der Autorin). – Manolessou. [2248

Jeffreys M., *Modern Greek in the 11th century – or what else should we call it?* Κάμπος 15 (2007) 61–89. – Stathakopoulos. [2249

Kovacs P., *Christianity and the Greek language in Pannonia.* Acta antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae 43 (2003) 113–124. – Karla. [2250

Lavagnini R., *Spiridon Zambelios, i documenti greci dell'Italia meridionale e la storia della lingua neogreca* (Nr. 2228). – D'Aiuto.

Manolessou I., *On historical linguistics, linguistic variation and medieval Greek.* BMGS 32 (2008) 63–79. – Karla. [2251

Noret J., *Les règles byzantines de la division en syllabes.* Byz 77 (2007) 345–348. – Macé. [2252

Smith A. T., *The discourse pragmatics of speech margins: a comprehensive interdisciplinary survey of research and a primary study of the Greek novel 'Callirhoe' by Chariton.* Dissertation Abstracts International, A: The Humanities and Social Sciences, 2007, 67, 12, Jun, 4529. – Karla. [2253

b. Lexik, Lexika, Grammatiken

Conti Bizzarro F., *Annotazioni al testo di Polluce alla luce dei lessicografi bizantini.* Medioevo greco 7 (2007) 69–79. – Acconcia Longo. [2254

Diethart J., *Beispiele zur Volksetymologie im byzantinischen Griechisch.* Medioevo greco 7 (2007) 85–96. – Due categorie di etimologie popolari all'origine della formazione di nuove parole nel greco bizantino. Alla fine del contributo, un doppio indice (dal latino e dal greco) dei termini esaminati. – Acconcia Longo. [2255

Filos P., *On some Latin univerbations in Greek.* Oxford University Working Papers in Linguistics, Philology & Phonetics 11 (2006) 43–61. – Manolessou. [2256

Förstel Ch., *Pontico Virunio, Guarino e la grammatica greca del Crisolora.* – **Pellegrini P.** (ed.), *Bellunesi e feltrini tra umanesimo e rinascimento. Filologia, erudizione e biblioteche* (Nr. 3752) 11–24. – Berger. [2257

Guida A., *Su un'inedita miscellanea lessicografica e i suoi rapporti col Lexicon Vindobonense.* Νέα Ῥώμη 4 (2007) 343–355. – In vista di una nuova edizione critica, sulla base di una più completa recensio manoscritta, del testo del Lexicon Vindobonense (attribuito dal Vat. gr. 22 ad Andrea Lopadiota), finora pubblicato in edizioni ottocentesche sulla base del solo Vind. Phil. gr. 169, G. pubblica qui i Miscellanea presenti ai ff. 162r–176v del medesimo manoscritto, e analizza il loro rapporto con le voci del Lexicon stesso. Parte di tali Miscellanea dipende evidentemente dal Lexicon; ma in altri casi la somiglianza deriva forse dalla comunanza delle fonti utilizzate. – D'Aiuto. [2258

Karapotosoglu K., *Ετυμολογικά στο πέμπτο τεύχος του Lexikon zur Byzantinischen Gräzität.* Ελληνικά 57 (2007) 371–391. – Karla. [2259

Luhtala A., *Grammar and philosophy in Late Antiquity. A study of Priscian's Sources.* Amsterdam Studies in the Theory and History of Linguistic Science: Ser. III, Studies in the History of Linguistics, 107. Amsterdam, Benjamins 2007. X, 171 S. Abb. ISBN 90-272-4598-3. – Tinnefeld. [2260

Rhoby A., *Varia lexicographica.* JÖB 57 (2007) 1–22. – Karla. [2261

Roselli A., *Ἀναπεμπάζεσθαι: termine tecnico del lessico della memoria.* Aion. Annali dell'niversità degli Studi di Napoli «L'Orientale». Dipartimento di Studi del Mondo Classico e del Mediterraneo Antico. Sezione filologico-letteraria 29 (2007) 111–126. – «La connessione col procedimento mnemonico di passare in rassegna nella memoria e recuperare tutti i dati, uno per uno (in ordine, come nella numerazione) e a gruppi di cinque, non è segnalata nei lessici» moderni, sebbene fosse stata correttamente colta già dall'umanista Guillaume Budé e registrata nel Thesaurus Linguae Graecae dello Stephanus. R. indaga il valore semantico del suddetto verbo negli autori greci antichi, negli scoliasti e nei lessicografi (Esichio, Etymologicum Magnum), nonché negli esegeti biblici (Eusebio, Comm. in Psal.; Basilio, Comm. in Hexam.; Teodoreto, Quaest. in Octat.) e in contesto medico, anche parodistico (epigramma di Agazia contro i medici in Anth. Pal. XI 382). – Luzzi. [2262

Theodoridis D., *Aus dem griechischen Lehngut im Osmanischen (II.).* Archivum Ottomanicum 24 (2007) 21–36. – Zu bälagadin < (ἀ)πελατίκιν, čäkištä < τσακισταί, tival < διβόλι, hälik < χαλίκι, istamni < σταμνί, mavïrdïqa < *μαυρωτικά, misofuč < μισοβούτσι, modïyatïqo < μοδιάτικο, pastar(ï)ya < πασταρέα, *qaloğïrya < καλογραῖα. – Berger. [2263

Villani E., *Un lessico etimologico bizantino (Ambr. C 222 inf., f. 209v).* Aevum 81 (2007) 405–427. – Pubblica il testo del lessico, con 72 glosse, rilevando la somiglianza con altri più noti etimologici. – Acconcia Longo. [2264

c. Morphologie, Syntax

Cheila-Markopulu D., *Από την ιστορία του πέρα(ν). – Γλωσσικός Περίπλους. Μελέτες αφιερωμένες στην Δ. Θεοφανοπούλου-Κοντού* (Nr. 2247) 387–397. – Manolessou. [2265

Hinterberger M., *„Ich wäre schon längst Mönch geworden, wenn nicht …" oder die Macht des Kontrafaktischen.* – **Belke K./Kislinger E./Külzer A./Stassinopoulou M. A.** (Hrsg.), *Byzantina Mediterranea. Festschrift für Johannes Koder zum 65. Geburtstag* (Nr. 3704) 245–256. – Über das irreale konditionale Satzgefüge in byzantinischen Texten. – Grünbart. [2266

Stoppie K., *Sophianos on participles and relative pronouns: between tradition and modernity.* Ελληνικά 57 (2007) 319–334. – Karla. [2267

d. Onomastik

Bakas V., *Παρωνύμια των Αμπελακίων.* Θεσσαλικό Ημερολόγιο 52 (2007) 363–377. – Karla. [2268

Kulidas K. I., *Τα τοπωνύμια ως πηγή πληροφόρησης.* Ηπειρωτικό Ημερολόγιο 25 (2006) 59–68. – Manolessou. [2269

Sitos S., *Η προέλευση των εθνικών μας ονομάτων: Έλληνες και Γραικοί.* Ηπειρωτικό Ημερολόγιο 25 (2006) 43–58. – Manolessou. [2270

e. Dialekte

Jochalas T., *Ύδρα. Λησμονημένη γλώσσα.* Athen, Εκδόσεις Πατάκης 2006. 2 vol. 854 S. ISBN 960-16-21116-4. – Karla. [2271

Katsanes N./Stergiu D., *Λαϊκοί ιατρικοί όροι και ονοματολογία του ανθρώπινου σώματος στο γλωσσικό ιδίωμα της Σαμοθράκης.* Περί Θράκης 5 (2005–06) 225–234. – Karla. [2272

Loporcaro G., *Il dialetto di Altamura: origini, evoluzione, struttura, uso.* Altamura 45 (2004 [2007]) 59–76. – Versione scritta di una conferenza tenuta da L. ad Altamura nel 2002, che della conferenza «mantiene il tono discorsivo e l'indole non specialistica». Si cita qui in relazione alla citazione (p. 66–67) di esempi di parole dell'altamurano di origine greca risalenti al periodo bizantino. – Luzzi. [2273

Minniti-Gonias D., *Inventario dei termini Italo-Veneziani nel linguaggio notarile di Naxos (sec. XVI–XVII).* – **Andreiomenos G.** (Hrsg.), *Εὐκαρπίας ἔπαινος. Ἀφιέρωμα στὸν καθηγητὴ Παναγιώτη Δ. Μαστροδημήτρη* (Nr. 3708) 537–566. – Leontsini. [2274

Papamere H., *Παρατηρήσεις στο ιδίωμα των Αβδήρων Ξάνθης.* Περί Θράκης 5 (2005–06) 197–224. – Manolessou. [2275

Platanos V., *Παροιμίες στη Λεσβιακή Άντισσα.* Λεσβιακά 22 (2007) 117–236. – Karla. [2276

Skandalides M. E., *Κοινά Διαλεκτικά Καλύμνου–Κω (Α).* Καλυμνιακά Χρονικά 15 (2003) 117–136. – Manolessou. [2277

Skandalides M. E., *Κοινά Διαλεκτικά Καλύμνου–Κω (Β).* Καλυμνιακά Χρονικά 17 (2007) 331–357. – Karla. [2278

C. MUSIK

a. Allgemeine Darstellungen

Floros C., *Byzantinische Musiktheorie.* – **Zaminer F./Volk K./Floros C./Harmon R./Richter L.** (Hrsg.), *Vom Mythos zur Fachdisziplin: Antike und Byzanz* (Nr. 2281) 257–318. – Sehr gute grundlegende Einführung in das Thema. – Altripp. [2279

Harris S., *The "Kanon" and the Heirmologion.* Music and Letters 85 (2004) 175–197. – Contains a general introduction to the Kanon and the manuscript sources of its music, the Heirmologion. Harris suggests that notated 'model verses' for the canticles are only chanted introductions, and that the verses of the canticles themselves were normally only recited in the medieval period. – Troelsgård. [2280

Zaminer F./Volk K./Floros C./Harmon R./Richter L. (Hrsg.), *Vom Mythos zur Fachdisziplin: Antike und Byzanz.* Geschichte der Musiktheorie, 2. Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft 2006. 785 S. 12 S/W-Abb. ISBN 3-534-01202-X. – Hier ein einschlägiger Beitrag als Nr. 2279. – Altripp. [2281

b. Sammlungen und Editionen von Musikhandschriften

Chaldaiakes A. G., *Τα Χειρόγραφα Βυζαντινής Μουσικής Νησιωτική Έλλας* Vol. 1, Ύδρα. Athens, Institute for Byzantine Musicology 2005. 472 p. Num. colour plates. ISBN 960-86798-8-5. – Describes 56 post-Byzantine musical manuscripts. – Troelsgård. [2282

Giannopoulos E. S., *Τα χειρόγραφα ψαλτικής τέχνης της νήσου Άνδρου, Αναλυτικός περιγραφικός κατάλογος* Ανδριακά Χρονικά 36 (2005). 344 p. ISBN 960-7709-24-1. – Describes 55 post-Byzantine musical manuscripts. – Troelsgård. [2283

Giannopulos E. S., *Ταμεῖον Χειρογράφων Ψαλτικῆς Τέχνης* Ἑταιρεία Μακεδονικῶν Σπουδῶν, Ἐπιστημονικαὶ Πραγματεῖαι, Σειρὰ φιλολογικὴ καὶ θεολογική, 20. Thessalonike 2005. 128 p. Plates. ISBN 960-7265-57-2. – Includes descriptions of Byzantine and post-Byzantine musical manuscripts from the following libraries and collections: Siatista (Gr.), Public Library (5 mss); Eratyra (Gr.), Monastery of St Athanasios (2 mss); Eratyra (Gr.), Church of St George (1 ms); Giromerion (Gr.), Monastery of the Dormition, (1 ms); Dublin (Ir.), Trinity College (1 ms and 1 fragment); Naousa (Gr.), Library of Euxenios Lesches (6 mss); Durham (US, NC), Kenneth Willis Clark Collection, Duke University Library (3 mss and 1 fragment); Sourote (Gr.), Hesychasterion of St. John the Theologian and Arsenios of Cappadocia (1 ms). – Troelsgård. [2284

Papathanasiou I., *The marginal variants of the Menaia of Carbone: some remarks.* – **Wolfram G.** (ed.), *Tradition and innovation in late- and postbyzantine liturgical chant. Acta of the congress held at Hernen Castle, the Netherlands, in April 2005* (Nr. 3762) 1–12. – Troelsgård. [2285

Perria L./Bucca D., *Per lo studio dei manoscritti musicali del SS. Salvatore di Messina.* Nuovi Annali della Scuola speciale per archivisti e bibliotecari 21 (2007) 5–20. 8 tab. – Troelsgård. [2286

Spinei M.-I., *Manuscrise muzicale psaltice bizantine şi de tradiţie bizantină din România* (Manuscrits musicaux byzantins et de tradition byzantine de la Roumanie). Biserica Ortodoxă Română 123/4–6 (2005) 264–394 et 123/7–12 (2005) 340–429. – Teoteoi. [2287

Wanek N.-M., *The eleven Heothina in postbyzantine manuscripts of the Austrian National Library.* – **Wolfram G.** (ed.), *Tradition and innovation in late- and postbyzantine liturgical chant. Acta of the congress held at Hernen Castle, the Netherlands, in April 2005* (Nr. 3762) 357–366. – Troelsgård. [2288

c. Einzeluntersuchungen

Alexandru M., *Gedanken zur Analyse des Theotoke Parthene von Petros Bereketes.* – **Wolfram G.** (ed.), *Tradition and innovation in late- and postbyzantine liturgical chant. Acta of the congress held at Hernen Castle, the Netherlands, in April 2005* (Nr. 3762) 283–330. – Troelsgård. [2289

Arvanitis I., *On the meaning and purpose of the treatise by Manuel Chrysaphes.* – **Wolfram G.** (ed.), *Tradition and innovation in late- and postbyzantine liturgical chant. Acta of the congress held at Hernen Castle, the Netherlands, in April 2005* (Nr. 3762) 105–128. – Troelsgård. [2290

Chaldaiakes A. G., *Tradition and innovation in the person of Petros Bereketes.* – **Wolfram G.** (ed.), *Tradition and innovation in late- and postbyzantine liturgical chant. Acta of the congress held at Hernen Castle, the Netherlands, in April 2005* (Nr. 3762) 191–224. – Troelsgård. [2291

Despotes S. K., *Ἡ ἰσοκρατηματική πρακτική τῆς βυζαντινῆς ἐκκλησιατικῆς μουσικῆς: ἱστορική καί μορφολογική προσέγγιση.* Γρηγόριος ο Παλαμάς 90 (2007) 143–175. – Discusses early sources for drone practice. – Troelsgård. [2292

Gheorgiţă N., *The structure of Sunday Koinonikon in the postbyzantine era.* – **Wolfram G.** (ed.), *Tradition and innovation in late- and postbyzantine liturgical chant. Acta of the congress held at Hernen Castle, the Netherlands, in April 2005* (Nr. 3762) 331–356. – Troelsgård. [2293

Giannopoulos E. S., *The stability and continuity of the old tradition in Cretan psaltic art in the 17th century and generally in the following centuries.* – **Wolfram G.** (ed.), *Tradition and innovation in late- and postbyzantine liturgical chant. Acta of the congress held at Hernen Castle, the Netherlands, in April 2005* (Nr. 3762) 159–190. – Troelsgård. [2294

Glowotz D., *Die musikalische Konfrontation der Ost- und Westkirche auf dem Konzil von Ferrara-Florenz (1438–1439).* Die Musikforschung 59 (2006) 1–16. – Troelsgård. [2295

Kritikou F., *Tradition and innovation in the postbyzantine kalophonic chant: a study based on Petros Bereketes' stanzas Ψάλλοντες σου τον τόκον and Ω πανύμνητε μήτερ.* – **Wolfram G.** (ed.), *Tradition and innovation in late- and postbyzantine liturgical chant. Acta of the congress held at Hernen Castle, the Netherlands, in April 2005* (Nr. 3762) 225–256. – Troelsgård. [2296

Liakos I. A., *Η βυζαντινή ψαλτική παράδοση της Θεσσαλονίκης κατά τον ιδ′–ιε′ αιώνα.* Institute of Byzantine Musicology, Studies, 15. Athens 2007. 274 p. With musical examples. ISBN 978-960-89959-0-1. – Troelsgård. [2297

Lingas A., *How musical was the 'Sung Office'? Some observations on the ethos of the late Byzantine cathedral rite. – The traditions of Orthodox Music. Proceedings of the first International Conference on Orthodox Church Music. University of Joensuu, Finland 13–19 June 2005* (Nr. 3760) 217–234. – Rosenqvist. [2298

Makris E., *Adjustments of modality in the postbyzantine Heirmologion.* – **Wolfram G.** (ed.), *Tradition and innovation in late- and postbyzantine liturgical chant. Acta of the congress held at Hernen Castle, the Netherlands, in April 2005* (Nr. 3762) 37–64. – Troelsgård. [2299

Makris E., *The chromatic scales of the Deuteros Modes in theory and practice.* Plainsong and Medieval Music 14 (2005) 1–10. – Suggests on the basis of late-Byzantine notated sources combined with music theory and the later tradition that late- and post-Byzantine chants in the second modes ('kyrios', 'plagios', and 'nenano') originally had a chromatic character. – Troelsgård. [2300

Martani S., *Die Heirmologia des 14. Jahrhunderts: Eine melodische Sprache zwischen Tradition und Neuentwicklung.* – **Wolfram G.** (ed.), *Tradition and innovation in late- and postbyzantine liturgical chant. Acta of the congress held at Hernen Castle, the Netherlands, in April 2005* (Nr. 3762) 13–36. – Troelsgård. [2301

Petrović D., *Church chant in the Serbian Orthodox church through the centuries. – The traditions of Orthodox Music. Proceedings of the first International Conference on Orthodox Church Music. University of Joensuu, Finland 13–19 June 2005* (Nr. 3760) 180–195. 3 Abb. – Kurzgefasster Überblick. – Rosenqvist. [2302

Schartau B., *Observations on the transmission of the kalophonic œuvre of Ioannes (and Georgios) Plousiadenos.* – **Wolfram G.** (ed.), *Tradition and innovation in late- and postbyzantine liturgical chant. Acta of the congress held at Hernen Castle, the Netherlands, in April 2005* (Nr. 3762) 129–158. – Troelsgård. [2303

Seppälä H., *The dust of the ground praises his creator. A view of the essence of Orthodox church singing. – The traditions of Orthodox Music. Proceedings of the first International Conference on Orthodox Church Music. University of Joensuu, Finland 13–19 June 2005* (Nr. 3760) 197–216. 8 Abb. – Rosenqvist. [2304

Şirli A., *Notes on Τῇ ὑπερμάχῳ στρατηγῷ, the Akathistos Hymn's prooimion.* – **Wolfram G.** (ed.), *Tradition and innovation in late- and postbyzantine liturgical chant. Acta*

of the congress held at Hernen Castle, the Netherlands, in April 2005 (Nr. 3762) 257–282. – Troelsgård. [2305

Troelsgård C., *Long intonations and kalophonia: traces of stylistic development in late Byzantine echemata.* – **Wolfram G.** (ed.), *Tradition and innovation in late- and post-byzantine liturgical chant. Acta of the congress held at Hernen Castle, the Netherlands, in April 2005* (Nr. 3762) 65–78. – Troelsgård. [2306

Troelsgård C., *The Byzantine office for the translation of St Nicholas to Bari (AD 1087).* – **Bailey T./Dobszay L.** (eds.), *Studies in medieval chant and liturgy in honour of David Hiley* (Nr. 3701) 425–442. – Troelsgård. [2307

Wolfram G., *Die melodische Tradition des Psaltikon im Vergleich mit dem kalophonischen Repertoire.* – **Wolfram G.** (ed.), *Tradition and innovation in late- and postbyzantine liturgical chant. Acta of the congress held at Hernen Castle, the Netherlands, in April 2005* (Nr. 3762) 79–104. – Troelsgård. [2308

4. KIRCHE UND THEOLOGIE

A. KIRCHENGESCHICHTE

a. Allgemeine Darstellungen

Dunand F., *Between tradition and innovation: Egyptian funerary practices in late antiquity.* – **Bagnall R. S.** (ed.), *Egypt in the Byzantine world, 300–700* (Nr. 2900) 163–184. – Berger. [2309

Fernández Urbina J., *Patriotismo y antimilitarismo cristiano. Las relaciones Iglesia-Estado en época constantiniana.* Gerión. Revista de Historia Antigua. Volumen extra (2007) 421–441. – Signes. [2310

Girardet K. M., *Vom Sonnen-Tag zum Sonntag. Der dies solis in Gesetzgebung und Politik Konstantins d. Gr.* (Nr. 3554). – von Stockhausen.

Noga-Banai G., *The trophies of the martyrs. An art historical study of early Christian silver reliquiaries* (Nr. 3327). – Berger.

Papaconstantinou A., *The cult of saints: a haven of continuity in a changing world?* – **Bagnall R. S.** (ed.), *Egypt in the Byzantine world, 300–700* (Nr. 2900) 350–367. – Berger. [2311

Šaur V., *Jaká písmena našel Konstantin v Chersonu?* Slavia 76 (2007) 189–192. – Vf. plädiert gegen V. Vavřínek (Anzeige BZ 99, 2006, Nr. 2276) für die Hypothese von J. Vintr, Konstantin-Kyrill habe in Cherson nicht ein Psalter- und Evangelienbuch in russischer (rus'skymi), sondern in lateinischer Schrift (rum'skymi pismeny) gefunden. Als Argument führt er an, die Variante rum'skyi statt rim'skyi sei seit dem 14. Jh. nicht mehr gebräuchlich gewesen, und so habe ein späterer Korrektor die Lesart rum'skymi durch das wohlbekannte rus'skymi ersetzt. Es sei hier darauf hingewiesen, dass Vintr

selbst seine Hypothese in Slavia 75 (2006) 181 f. bereits zurückgezogen hat. – Tinnefeld. [2312

Schauta M., *Die ersten Jahrhunderte christlicher Pilgerreisen im Spiegel spätantiker und frühmittelalterlicher Quellen.* Grazer altertumskundliche Studien, 10. Frankfurt/M. u. a., Lang 2008. 161 S. 4 Abb. ISBN 978-3-631-56437-0. – Überarbeitete Fassung einer Grazer Dissertation (2005) über Pilgerreisen ins Heilige Land als kulturhistorisches Phänomen. Die Untersuchung basiert fast ausschließlich auf lateinischen Quellen, aber der Reiseweg führt naturgemäß in den Osten des Reiches. Schwerpunkte der Untersuchung sind: Aspekte des Reisens; Heiligenverehrung und Reliquienkult; Zusammenhänge zwischen Pilgerfahrt und Georgslegende; Entstehung der Kreuzweg-Andacht. – Tinnefeld. [2313

b. Kirchenorganisation, Missionen, Kirchliche Geographie

Chatziantoniu E., *Η μητρόπολη Θεσσαλονίκης από τα μέσα του 8ου αι. έως το 1430. Ιεραρχική τάξη–Εκκλησιαστική περιφέρεια–Διοικητική οργάνωση.* Βυζαντινά κείμενα και μελέται, 42. Thessalonike, Κέντρο Βυζαντινών Ερευνών 2007. LXXIX, 349 S. 7 Karten. ISBN 960-7856-20-3. – Es handelt sich um eine in vier Abschnitte gegliederte Dissertation an der Philosophischen Fakultät der Universität Thessalonike: a. Die Kirche von Thessalonike bis zur Mitte des 8. Jhs. b. Die Metropole von Thessalonike unter der Jurisdiktion des Konstantinopler Patriarchats (Mitte des 8. Jhs.–1430). c. Das Jurisdiktionsgebiet der Metropole und dessen Einteilung. d. Die Organisation und die Verwaltungsorgane der Metropole. Im Anhang, vor dem detaillierten Generalregister, bietet Verf.in erstens eine Liste der Metropoliten von Thessalonike (Mitte des 8. Jh.s bis 1430) und zweitens eine die Stelle der Metropole von Thessalonike in den notitiae episcopatuum betreffende Übersichtstabelle. – Troianos. [2314

Kalić J., *Српска држава и Охридска архиепископија у XII веку* (Nr. 2858). – Maksimović.

Kalopissi-Verti S., *Church foundations by entire villages (13th–16th c.). A short note.* ZRVI 44 (2007) 333–340. 4 Abb. Englisch mit serbischer Zusammenfassung. – Es wird gezeigt, wie die gemeinsamen Dorfstiftungen einigermaßen ermöglichen können, die Analyse der sozialen und wirtschaftlichen Struktur in den byzantinischen oder byzantinisch beeinflußten Gebieten auf dem Balkan weiterzuführen. – Maksimović. [2315

Mărculeţ V., *Când a fost constituită mitropolia de Vicina?* (Quand est-ce que la métropolie de Vicina a-t-elle été créée?). Biserica Ortodoxă Română 122/1–4 (2004) 259–267. – Teoteoi. [2316

Markschies Ch., *Einheit und Vielfalt des spätantiken Christentums in Palästina – drei Fallbeispiele.* – **Jördens A./Gärtner H. A./Görgemanns H./Ritter A. M.**, *Quaerite faciem eius semper. Studien zu den geistesgeschichtlichen Beziehungen zwischen Antike und Christentum. Dankesgabe für Albrecht Dihle zum 85. Geburtstag aus dem Heidelberger »Kirchenväterkolloquium«* (Nr. 3695) 180–203. – von Stockhausen. [2317

Pergola Ph., *Dalla civitas classica alla città sede di diocesi cristiana: teorie e metodi della topografia cristiana.* – **Ruggieri V./Pieralli L.** (Hrsg.), *ΕΥΚΟΣΜΙΑ. Studi miscellanei per il 75° di Vincenzo Poggi S.J.* (Nr. 3716) 341–375. – Tinnefeld. [2318

Prinzing G., *Spuren einer religiösen Bruderschaft in Epiros um 1225? Zur Deutung der Memorialtexte im Codex Cromwell 11* (Nr. 2781). – Berger.

Ramseyer V., *The transformation of a religious landscape: medieval southern Italy 850–1150.* Conjunctions of Religion and Power in the Medieval Past. Ithaca NY, Cornell University Press 2006. XIV, 222 p. Maps, geneal. tables. ISBN 978-0-8014-4403-6. – Includes references to Byzantium. – Kaegi. [2319

Rist J., *Das apostolische Vikariat von Thessaloniki als Beispiel der Begegnung zwischen Rom und Konstantinopel in der Spätantike.* – **Harreither R./Pergola Ph./Pillinger R./Pülz A.** (Hrsg.), *Akten des XIV. Internationalen Kongresses für christliche Archäologie. Wien 19.–26. 9. 1999. Frühes Christentum zwischen Rom und Konstantinopel* (Nr. 3740) 649–662. – Grünbart. [2320

Silvas A., *In quest of Basil's retreat: An expedition to ancient Pontus.* Antichthon 41 (2007) 73–95. 9 plates. – Through fieldwork locates site best corresponding to references in the letters of Basil and works of Gregory Nazianzen's for Basil's retreat of ca 356. – Moffatt. [2321

Skaltses P., *Τὸ τυπικὸ τῆς Ἁγίας Σοφίας Θεσσαλονίκης – Ἱστορία, λατρεία καὶ τέχνη τοῦ ἱεροῦ ναοῦ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ Σοφίας* (Nr. 3743) 81–92. – Verf. stellt das auf Symeon von Thessalonike zurückgehende und durch den Cod. 2047 der Athener Nationalbibliothek überlieferte liturgische Typikon der Hagia Sophia vor. – Troianos. [2322

Wipszycka E., *The institutional church.* – **Bagnall R. S.** (ed.), *Egypt in the Byzantine world, 300–700* (Nr. 2900) 331–349. – Berger. [2323

Živković T., *The earliest cults of saints in Ragusa* (Nr. 2549). – Berger.

c. Innere Entwicklung der Reichskirche

Allgemein

Chivu I., *Sfinte moaşte dăruite de Neagoe Basarab (1512–1521) Mănăstirii Sf. Nicolae cel Nou din Koritsa-Kleitsos (Grecia)* (Saintes reliques données par Neagoe Basarab, 1512–1521, au Monastère de St. Nicolas le Jeune de Koritsa-Kleitsos, Grèce). Biserica Ortodoxă Română 123/7–12 (2005) 460–476. – Temoignage nouvel concernant les bienfaits du voïvode de la Valachie, accordés à ce monastère, siège de l'évêché Litzas kai Agraphôn jusqu'au XVIe siècle. – Teoteoi. [2324

Louth A., *Greek East and Latin West: The Church AD 681–1071.* Crestwood NY, St. Vladimir's Seminary Press 2007. xvii, 382 p. 18 ills. ISBN 978-0-88141-320-5. – Kaegi. [2325

Siniscalco P., *Dal soldato martire all'imperatore: modelli di cristiani per la Chiesa antica.* – **Ruggieri V./Pieralli L.** (Hrsg.), *ΕΥΚΟΣΜΙΑ. Studi miscellanei per il 75° di Vincenzo Poggi S.J.* (Nr. 3716) 453–469. – Der Soldat als Märtyrer steht in der

Nachfolge der Passion Christi, der Kaiser in der des verherrlichten Christus. – Tinnefeld. [2326

Van Nuffelen J.-L., *Arius, Athanase, et les autres: enjeux juridiques et politiques du retour d'exil au IVe siècle.* – **Blaudeau Ph.** (éd.), *Exil et relégation. Les tribulations du sage et du saint durant l'antiquité romaine et chrétienne (Ier–VIe s. ap. J.-C.)* (Nr. 3730) 147–175. – Berger. [2327

Der Klerus (Prosopographie)

Chatziantoniu E., *Οφφικιάλιοι των σεκρέτων της μητρόπολης και του μητροπολιτικού ναού της Θεσσαλονίκης* Βυζαντιακά 26 (2007) 83–174. – Verf.in ergänzt durch diesen Aufsatz ihre Dissertation (vgl. Nr. 2314), indem sie nämlich die Bischofsämter in der Kanzlei der Metropole und in der Kathedrale von Thessalonike sowie den Aufgabenkreis der Amtsträger ausführlich behandelt. Ferner bietet sie eine systematisch (nach Ämtern) geordnete, reiche an prosopographischen Informationen Liste der Amtsträger. – Troianos. [2328

Guizzi F., *Costantino, la Chiesa e il clero.* – **Cascione C./Masi Doria C.** (eds.), *Fides Humanitas Ius. Studii in onore di Luigi Labruna* (Nr. 3706) IV 2375–2394. – Goria. [2329

Hanak W. K., *Canons 6 and 28 of the Council of Chalcedon and the episcopacy of Methodios, the apostle to the Slavs.* – **Liacopoulos G. P.** (ed.), *Church and society: Orthodox Christian perspectives, past experiences and modern challenges. Studies in honor of Demetrios J. Constantelos* (Nr. 3694) 327–344. – Talbot. [2330

Martin-Hisard B., *Le patriarche Pierre III d'Antioche (1052–1057), son pseudo-successeur Jean IV/Denys et le géorgien Georges l'Hagiorite († 1065).* Νέα Ῥώμη 4 (2007) 177–215. – Basandosi sulla georgiana Vita s. Georgii Hagioritae e sull'esame della sua tradizione manoscritta, in questo documentato studio M.-H. elimina dalla lista di successione patriarcale antiochena la figura del presunto Giovanni IV/Dionigi, e chiarisce alcuni aspetti della storia del patriarcato di Pietro III e della sua attività. – D'Aiuto. [2331

Vicovan I., *Preasfinţitul mitropolit chir Theoctist I (1453–1477) «pomăzuitorul» binecredinciosului voievod Ştefan cel Mare şi Sfânt* (Le très saint métropolite kyr Théoctiste Ier [1453–1477] – Celui qui a oint le biéncroyant voïévode Étienne le Grand et Saint). Analele ştiinţifice ale Universităţii «Al. I. Cuza» din Iaşi. Teologie 9 (2004) 19–36. – Teoteoi. [2332

Vlasov A., *Иосиф исповедник, патриарх Константинопольский (1267–1275, 1282–1283)* (Joseph the Confessor, Patriarch of Constantinople, 1267–1275, 1282–1283). – **Malachov S./Barabanov N.**, *Власть, общество и церковь в Византии* (Nr. 3781) 143–164. – Ivanov. [2333

Wijngaards J., *Women deacons in the early church. Historical texts and contemporary debates.* New York, The Crossroad Publishing 2002. IX, 226 p. ISBN 0-8245-2393-8. – Talbot. [2334

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Bacci M., *Artisti eretici ed eterodossi a Bisanzio* (Nr. 2920). – Berger.

Black S. L., *"In the Power of God Christ": Greek inscriptional evidence for the anti-Arian theology of Ethiopia's first Christian king.* Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies 71 (2008) 93–100. – Anti-Arian formulae in Greek inscriptions of the fourth-century King of Ethiopia, Ezana. – Stathakopoulos. [2335

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Cameron Av., *Jews and heretics – A category error?* – **Becker A. H./Reed A. Y.** (eds.), *The ways that never parted: Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages* (Nr. 2374) 345–360. – Talbot. [2337

Kuntures G. P., *Οἱ κανόνες τῆς συνόδου τῆς Γάγγρας καὶ ἡ ἀντιμετώπιση τῆς αἱρέσεως τῶν Εὐσταθιανῶν.* Θεολογία 78 (2007) 695–765. – Von den sozialen Verhältnissen zur Zeit der Synode von Gangra und dem Mönchsleben im 4. Jh. ausgehend, befaßt sich Verf. mit den Faktoren, die die Genese der Häresien, insbesondere derjenigen der Eustathianer begünstigt haben. Verf. bietet eine neugriechische „Übersetzung" des Textes der Kanones von Gangra sowie dessen Kommentierung durch die Kanonisten des 12. Jh.s. – Troianos. [2338

Sarefield D., *The symbolics of book burning. The establishment of a Christian ritual of persecution.* – **Liacopoulos G. P.** (ed.), *Church and society: Orthodox Christian perspectives, past experiences and modern challenges. Studies in honor of Demetrios J. Constantelos* (Nr. 3694) 159–173. – Talbot. [2339

Schneider W. Ch., *Elemente der römischen Reichsreligion im christlichen Kultraum nach 313.* – **Harreither R./Pergola Ph./Pillinger R./Pülz A.** (Hrsg.), *Akten des XIV. Internationalen Kongresses für christliche Archäologie. Wien 19.–26. 9. 1999. Frühes Christentum zwischen Rom und Konstantinopel* (Nr. 3740) 947–964. Taf. 251–252. – Grünbart. [2340

Vallejo Girvés M., *Los ojos del viajero del exilio no ven. No sirven para ver: experiencias de viajeros griegos y latinos desterrados (siglos IV–X).* – **Cortés Arrese M.** (Hrsg.), *Caminos de Bizancio* (Nr. 2830) 47–73. – Die hier in Betracht gezogenen Exilierten sind besonders christliche Theologen der Zeit (Chrysostomos, Nestorios, Maximos usw.). – Signes. [2341

Synoden

Bevan G. A./Gray P. T. R., *The trial of Eutyches: a new interpretation.* BZ 101 (2008) 617–658. – Berger. [2342

Busses S., *Domine, et has tuas creaturas, fontis mellis et lactis … Το μέλι και το γάλα στη χριστιανική λατρεία.* – **Mperki M.** (ed.), *Η Ιστορία του ελληνικού γάλακτος και των προϊόντων του, 10ο Τριήμερο Εργασίας Ξάνθη, 7–9 Οκτωβρίου 2005* (Nr. 3658) 239–248. – The benediction of milk and honey within the liturgies of the early Christian communion was later on forbidden via ecclesiastical edicts and canons, though it remained a custom in Greece and Italy. – Leontsini. [2343

Demintsev M., *Церковный собор на Балканах 1277 года* (The Church Council in the Balkans in 1277). – **Malachov S./Barabanov N.**, *Власть, общество и церковь в Византии* (Nr. 3781) 173–182. – Ivanov. [2344

Gounaridis P., *La canonisation du patriarche Joseph.* Σύμμεικτα 17 (2005–07) 239–253. – The canonization of Patriarch Joseph I. took place after the synod of Adramyttion, when the relations between the Arsenites and the authorities of the empire were not well settled. – Leontsini. [2345

Hanak W. K., *Canons 6 and 28 of the Council of Chalcedon and the episcopacy of Methodios, the apostle to the Slavs* (Nr. 2330). – Talbot.

Müller A., *„… durch treffende Aussagen widerlegt …"? Theologie, Kirchenpolitik und Frömmigkeit beim 3. Ökumenischen Konzil von Ephesos.* – **Jördens A./Gärtner H. A./ Görgemanns H./Ritter A. M.**, *Quaerite faciem eius semper. Studien zu den geistesgeschichtlichen Beziehungen zwischen Antike und Christentum. Dankesgabe für Albrecht Dihle zum 85. Geburtstag aus dem Heidelberger »Kirchenväterkolloquium«* (Nr. 3695) 255–271. – von Stockhausen. [2346

Ohme H., *Die Beziehungen zwischen Rom und Konstantinopel am Ende des 7. Jahrhunderts. Eine Fallstudie zum Concilium Quinisextum* (Nr. 2370). – Tinnefeld.

Papadopulos S. G., *Ἡ Δ΄ Οἰκουμενικὴ Σύνοδος (451), Τὸ Οἰκοδόμημα τῆς Χριστολογίας* Theologia 77 (2006) 451–472. – Sehr schematischer Überblick über Ablauf und Beschlüsse der Synode. – von Stockhausen. [2347

Wessel S., *The politics of text and tradition in the Council of Constantinople III (AD 680/1).* AHC 38 (2006) 35–54. – Zur wachsenden Bedeutung der Argumentation mit Vätertexten auf diesem Konzil. – Tinnefeld. [2348

d. Die byzantinische Kirche und die anderen christlichen Kirchen

Orientalische Kirchen

Augé I., *L'«école» de traduction des catholicos de Cilicie de l'avènement de Grigor II Vekayasêr à la mort de Grigor IV Tegha (1065–1193).* Bizantinistica s. II, 8 (2006) 233–244. – L'attività di traduzione di testi religiosi dal greco, dal siriaco, dal latino, iniziata da Grigor II per dare o restituire alla chiesa armena, dopo la conquista turca del 1064, testi di edificazione, destinati in modo prevalente alla riforma dei costumi monastici. Oltre alle notizie tratte da testi storici e agiografici, sono soprattutto i colofoni dei manoscritti una fonte preziosa per ricostruire questa attività, che si sviluppò in Cilicia nel XII secolo, e a cui collaborarono personaggi di origine diversa, ciò che dimostra l'apertura della chiesa armena verso le altre chiese. – Acconcia Longo. [2349

Martin-Hisard B., *L'Église géorgienne et Antioche d'après un moine géorgien de la seconde moitié du XIe siècle.* – **Martin J.-M./Martin-Hisard B./Paravicini Bagliani A.** (éd.), *Vaticana et medievalia. Études en l'honneur de Louis Duval-Arnould* (Nr. 3697) 323–351. – Studio della «Notizia sulle origini della conversione degli Iberi» di Efrem Mcire, testo di cui è offerta la traduzione francese in appendice (343–351). M.-H. ne rileva e discute parallelismi e divergenze con la lettera 37 di Nicone della Montagna

Nera e con altre fonti greche, latine e orientali, e la analizza in relazione alla discussa questione della fondazione della Chiesa d'Iberia e della definizione dei suoi rapporti con il patriarcato di Antiochia. – D'Aiuto. [2350

Menze V. L., *Justinian and the making of the Syrian orthodox church.* Oxford early christian studies. Oxford, Oxford University Press 2008. x, 316 p. ISBN 978-0-19-953487-6. – Berger. [2351

Pearson B. A., *Earliest Christianity in Egypt: further observations.* – **Johnson D./ Goehring J. E./Timbie J. A.** (eds.), *The world of early Egyptian Christianity: language, literature, and social context. Essays in honor of David Johnson* (Nr. 3702) 97–112. – Talbot. [2352

Ramelli I., *Note per un'indagine della mistica siro-orientale dell'VIII secolo: Giovanni di Dalyatha e la tradizione origeniana.* 'Ilu. Revista de Ciencias de las religiones 12 (2007) 147–179. ISSN 1135–4712. – Die Briefe von Johannes von Dalyatha (ca. 690–780), die 2006 von M. T. Hansbury (The letters of John of Dalyatha) ediert und ins Englische übersetzt wurden, ermöglichen eine neue Annäherung an die syrische Mystik und ihre Vorbilder. – Signes. [2353

Strano G., *Alessio I Comneno e la polemica antiarmena nei secoli XI–XII.* Orpheus n.s. 27 (2006) 154–168. – L'intransigenza verso la chiesa armena che si manifesta nell'XI secolo prosegue nel XII, come dimostra uno scritto di Alessio I e l'episodio del processo al monaco Nilo nell'Alessiade (10, 1, 1–5), ma non viene portata alle estreme conseguenze per ragioni politiche. – Acconcia Longo. [2354

Zekiyan B. L., *La formazione e gli sviluppi tra gli armeni di correnti ecclesiali simpatizzanti per la comunione romana. Spunti per una rilettura delle dinamiche storiche.* – **Ruggieri V./Pieralli L.** (Hrsg.), *ΕΥΚΟΣΜΙΑ. Studi miscellanei per il 75° di Vincenzo Poggi S.J.* (Nr. 3716) 643–664. – Zur Geschichte der freundlichen Beziehungen zwischen der armenischen und der römischen Kirche. – Tinnefeld. [2355

Übrige Kirchen

Băbuş E., *Diversităţi şi divergenţe în creştinism până la 1054* (Diversités et divergences au sein du christianisme jusqu'à l'année 1054). Biserica Ortodoxă Română 122122/9–12 (2004) 616–629. – Teoteoi. [2356

Papsttum und römische Kirche

Apostolopoulos D., *Une lettre du patriarcat de Constantinople du XVe siècle, «made in Poland» au XVII siècle.* – **Chachulski T./Grześkowiak-Krwawicz A.** (Hrsg.), *Literatura Historia Dziedzictwo. Prace ofiarowane Profesor Teresie Kostkiewiczowej* (Nr. 3705) 110–116. – Verf. stellt einen in Polen „fabrizierten" Brief vor, den Patriarch Nephon II. angeblich am 5. April 1493 an den Metropoliten Joseph von Kiev adressierte, um ihn zu überreden, sich der Kirchenunion von 1439 anzuschließen. – Troianos. [2357

Becker J., *La politica calabrese dei primi conti normanni dopo la conquista della Sicilia (1080–1130).* Archivio storico per la Calabria e la Lucania 73 (2006) 47–70. – Interessa i bizantinisti in quanto tratta della politica ecclesiastica dei primi conti normanni non

solo verso le istituzioni ecclesiastiche latine, ma anche nei confronti del clero, dei vescovati, dei monasteri greci, oltre che della situazione della popolazione di lingua greca nel primo periodo della dominazione normanna. – Acconcia Longo. [2358

Blysidu B., *Βυζαντινή πολιτική και διπλωματία έναντι του Πάπα Ρώμης (800–1054): εξισορροπητικές κινήσεις ενδιαφέροντος και αδιαφορίας έλξης και απώθησης* – **Blysidu B./Lampakes S./Leontsine M./Lunges T.** (Hrsg.), *Σεμινάρια περί βυζαντινής διπλωματίας* (Nr. 3765) 157–212. – Troianos. [2359

Cabrera Ramos M. I., *Historia de un cisma cristiano. Relaciones entre bizantinos y occidentales durante la Edad Media.* – **Alonso Aldama J./García Román C./Mamolar Sánchez I.** (Hrsg.), *Στις αμμουδιές του Ομήρου. Homenaje a la profesora Olga Omatos* (Nr. 3713) 75–82. – Oberflächlich und entbehrlich. – Signes. [2360

Cavallo G., *Quale Bisanzio nel mondo di Gregorio Magno?* Augustinianum 47 (2007) 209–225. – von Stockhausen. [2361

Cheynet J.-C., *La politique Byzantine de Léon IX.* – **Bischoff G./Tock B.-M.** (éds.), *Léon IX et son temps. Actes du colloque international organisé par l'Institut d'Histoire Médiévale de l'Université Marc Bloch, Strasbourg-Eguisheim, 20–22 juin 2002* (Nr. 3729) 259–272. – Im Rahmen einer Studie zum Schisma von 1054 wird eine unpublizierte Tessera des Fogg Museums mit den Aufschriften Σταυρὸς σωτηρία τοῦ Ἀργύρου und Σφράγισμα ψυχικῆς σωτηρίας ansprechend dem Lombarden Argyros, Sohn des Meles, zugewiesen. – Seibt. [2362

Cracco G., *Alla ricerca dell'ultima grande opera di Gregorio Magno: l'Expositio in Librum I Regum.* Ricerche di storia sociale e religiosa 70 (2006) 7–43. – Si cita qui relativamente alle considerazioni offerte da C. nelle p. 22–23 in merito alla concezione gregoriana dei rapporti tra l'impero romano orientale e la chiesa, per cui Gregorio giunse «a denunciare un imperatore che pretendeva di essere 'prete' – empereur et prêtre –, unico vicario di Dio in terra, delegittimandone il ruolo di vertice unico e universale». – Luzzi. [2363

Dunn G. D., *Innocent I and Anysius of Thessalonica.* Byz 77 (2007) 124–148. – Macé. [2364

Foresi A., *Papa Simplicio e le chiese d'Oriente. La difesa del Primato romano.* Atti e memorie della Società tiburtina di storia e d'arte 79 (2006) 7–28. – Dallo studio della parte superstite dell'epistolario del papa tiburtino Simplicio (468–483) «emerge la particolare attenzione dedicata da Simplicio ai rapporti con la Cristianità orientale e, in particolare, con Costantinopoli, il suo imperatore e il suo patriarca». L'analisi delle 17 lettere (tra le 21 superstiti) indirizzate dal pontefice agli imperatori bizantini (una a Basilisco e cinque a Zenone), al patriarca costantinopolitano Acacio (dieci) e ai presbiteri e archimandriti della capitale della pars orientis (una), portano F. a concludere che l'epistolario di Simplicio divenne «un'autorevole testimonianza, nei ricorrenti contrasti con la Chiesa bizantina, della sua presa di posizione, in conformità agli esiti del Concilio di Calcedonia, contro ogni possibile pretesa del patriarca di Costantinopoli e del suo riaffermare, nel solco di una tradizione che va da papa Damaso a Leone Magno, Gelasio, Gregorio Magno e oltre, il primato spirituale, nor-

mativo e giudiziale della Chiesa di Roma all'interno dell'ecumene cristiana». – Luzzi. [2365

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testi presi in esame da N. sono qui da segnalare gli Atti di Pietro e Paolo dello Pseudo Marcello, assegnabili, con l'eccezione dei capitoli iniziali molto più tardivi, agli anni compresi tra la metà del secolo V e la metà del VI. – Luzzi. [2561

Philothea von Artzes

Gones D./Patapios Kausokalybites, *Η οσία Φιλοθέα του Άρτζες Μια Βυζαντινή Αγία από τη Μικρά Ασία στη Ρουμανία.* Athena, Panagopulos 2004. 206 p. figs. 4 maps. ISBN 960-8034-11-6. – Edition, commentary and rendering in modern Greek of the two Lives of Saint Philothea by Euthymios of Trnovo, and Joasaph of Vidin in addition to the Life and Martyrdom of Philothea the Younger. – Leontsini. [2562

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Teja Casuso R. (transl.), *Vida de Porfiro de Gaza. Marco el Diácono.* Serie religión – Colección Vidas. Madrid, Trotta 2008. 90 S. ISBN 978-84-8164-956-7. – Erste spanische Übersetzung des Textes in der neuen Reihe des Trotta-Verlags für hagiographische Texte der Spätantike. Der Text ist am Ende mit Anmerkungen und mit einer kurzen Einleitung (S. 9–25) versehen, in der die Probleme der Chronologie und Echtheit des Werkes besonders beachtet werden. – Signes. [2563

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Stephanos der Jüngere

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– Die Frauengestalten in der Vita Stephanos des Jüngeren sind farbloser als viele der Frauenporträts in der frühbyzantinischen Hagiographie. Die betreffenden Abschnitte wurden aber gesondert tradiert und sind offenbar viel gelesen worden. – Rosenqvist. [2567

Symeon Stylites

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Symeon von Jerusalem

D'Aiuto F., *La Passio di Simeone «fratello del Signore» (BHG 2408) nel codice di Patmos, Μονὴ τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Θεολόγου, 254.* – **Martin J.-M./Martin-Hisard B./ Paravicini Bagliani A.** (éd.), *Vaticana et medievalia. Études en l'honneur de Louis Duval-Arnould* (Nr. 3697) 65–91. 4 tav. f.t. – Edizione critica del breve testo, con traduzione italiana e commento. Nell'introduzione, un esame della sua struttura ritmica, un'analisi paleografica del manoscritto (X sec., scritto da due mani), e considerazioni sul tipo di raccolta agiografica in esso attestata, un peculiare Menologio premetafrastico di aprile caratterizzato dalla presenza di agiografie, spesso brevi, non attestate in altri testimoni. – D'Aiuto. [2569

Thekla

Di Marco F., *Sante nude, sante travestite, sante prostitute: del complesso di Tecla.* Sanctorum 4 (2007) 63–79. – Un'attenta analisi del testo degli Acta Pauli et Theclae rivela «come la complessa e articolata costruzione della protagonista miri anzitutto alla legittimazione di una donna apostola. Tecla diviene l'apostola delle donne come Paolo lo è dei gentili». Di M. individua nel testo degli Atti in relazione all'eroina «due motivi ricorrenti e paralleli […]: da un lato l'abbandono della femminilità; dall'altro l'assimilazione della protagonista a tipologie femminili certo inattese nei modelli di riferimento di una parthenos, quale la ripudiata, l'adultera, la prostituta». Vengono quindi analizzati la ripresa e lo sviluppo di tali motivi in agiografie successive: nella rielaborazione degli Atti di Paolo e Tecla operata nel secolo V nel santuario di Seleucia, nella Passio latina di Eugenia di Alessandria (BHL 2666–70), nella più antica delle versioni greche della Passio di s. Agnese (BHG 45) e nella Passio di s. Lucia (BHG 995). – Luzzi. [2570

Giannarelli E., *Da Tecla a santa Tecla: un caso di nemesi agiografica.* Sanctorum 4 (2007) 47–62. – Sulla interpretazione della figura della vergine Tecla, discepola di Paolo e protagonista degli apocrifi Acta Pauli et Theclae, in opere di autori medievali occidentali e orientali. Per quel che concerne questi ultimi e per l'età che qui interessa, G. prende in considerazione Metodio d'Olimpo († 311), l'anonimo autore della Vita di Olimpiade, databile alla prima metà del V secolo, la Vita di Macrina composta da

Gregorio di Nissa e la Storia ecclesiastica di Niceforo Callisto Xantopulo. – Luzzi. [2571

Theodoretos von Kyrrhos

Teja Casuso R. (transl.), *Historia de los monjes de Siria. Teodoreto de Ciro.* Serie religión – Colección Vidas. Madrid, Editorial Trotta 2008. 204 S. ISBN 978-84-8164-851-5. – Erste spanische Übersetzung des Textes in der neuen Reihe des Trotta-Verlags für hagiographische Texte der Spätantike. Jede der 30 Erzählungen ist am Ende mit Anmerkungen versehen. In der kurzen Einleitung (S. 9–28) findet man die nötigsten Angaben über Autor und Werk sowie interessante Überlegungen über die religiösen Vorbilder, die Theodoret für seine Darstellung der syrischen Mönche verwendete. – Signes. [2572

Theodosios Koinobiarches

Serventi S., *Frammenti palinsesti dei Vangeli e un brano della vita metafrastica di Teodosio Cenobiarca nel menologio Ambr. A 213 inf.* (Nr. 2195). – Acconcia Longo.

Theophanes Homologetes

Yannopoulos P. A., *Une note sur la date de la rédaction de la Vita Theophanis par le patriarche Méthode.* Byz 77 (2007) 463–465. – Macé. [2573

Therapon

Haldon J., *'Tortured by my conscience'. The Laudatio Therapontis: a neglected source of the later seventh or eight centuries.* – **Amirav H./Ter Haar Romeny B.** (eds.), *From Rome to Constantinople: Studies in honour of Averil Cameron* (Nr. 3693) 263–278. – Stathakopoulos. [2574

Thomas (Apostel)

Cozza M./Giungi R./Pasquini P./Polidoro E., *L'apostolo Tommaso è ad Ortona.* Ortona, Centro Documentazione Studi "San Tommaso Apostolo" 2006. 127 p. num. fig. [senza ISBN.] – Sulla storia della traslazione delle reliquie dell'apostolo Tommaso in Italia; i contributi con i riferimenti più particolarmente attinenti all'ambito bizantino sono segnalati come no. 2576, 2577. – Bianchi. [2575

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Polidoro E., *Radici cristiane d'Abruzzo.* – **Cozza M./Giungi R./Pasquini P./Polidoro E.**, *L'apostolo Tommaso è ad Ortona* (Nr. 2575) 16–61. – Sulla storia del cristianesimo in Abruzzo e i rapporti con l'Oriente, in relazione alla traslazione delle reliquie di Tommaso e al culto dell'apostolo. – Bianchi. [2577

E. LITURGIK UND HYMNOGRAPHIE

a. Liturgik

Allgemeine Literatur

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Kumarianos Th. I., *Οἱ ἑορτὲς τῆς Ἀναλήψεως καὶ τῆς Πεντηκοστῆς – Τὸ χριστιανικὸν ἑορτολόγιον. Πρακτικὰ Η′ Πανελληνίου Λειτουργικοῦ Συμποσίου Στελεχῶν Ἱερῶν Μητροπόλεων (Βόλος 18–20 Σεπτεμβρίου 2006)* (Nr. 3733) 211–235. – Troianos. [2581

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im byzantinischen bzw. slawischen Ritus verziert. Es lässt sich daher zeigen, dass das palästinensische Erbe besser in Mailand als in Konstantinopel oder Kiev beibehalten wurde.“ – Troelsgård. [2599

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a. Allgemeine Darstellungen

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Seyed-Gohrab A. A./Doufikar-Aerts F. C. W./McGlinn S. (Hrsg.), *Gog and Magog. The clans of chaos in world literature.* Amsterdam/West Lafayette, Rozenberg & Perdue University Press 2007. 162 S. ISBN 978-90-5170-859-2. – Daraus angezeigt Nr. 2604. – Schreiner. [2605

b. Textausgaben und Sekundärliteratur

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5. GESCHICHTE

A. CHRONOLOGIE, GESAMTDARSTELLUNGEN, NICHTBYZANTINISCHE QUELLEN

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b. Gesamtdarstellungen

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Asutay-Effenberger N., *Zum Datum der Umwandlung der Pammakaristoskirche in die Fethiye Camii.* Byz 77 (2007) 32–41. – The Ottoman sources suggest that the conversion of the Pammakaristos Church into a mosque most probably took place in 1593/1594. – Macé. [2621

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between the two cultures. Reprinted from Journal of Oriental and African Studies 3–4 (1991–992) 1–23 with Arabic and Greek summary. – Leontsini. [2622

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Cipollone G., *Per Innocenzo III i Cristiani Latini "peggiori degli altri:" l'anno 1204. Un sintomo di nuova cultura.* – **Madden Th. F.** (ed.), *The Fourth Crusade: event, aftermath, and perceptions. Papers from the sixth conference of the society for the study of the crusades and the Latin East, Istanbul, Turkey, 25–29 August 2004* (Nr. 2699) 123–141. – Berger. [2688

Ćirković S., *О једној српско-угарској алијанси* (Sur une alliance Serbo-Hongroise) ZRVI 44 (2007) 411–421. 1 Brieftext. Serbisch mit französischer Zusammenfassung. – Analyse des Briefs eines unbekannten ungarischen Prälaten, in dem der Friedensvertrag (1346) zwischen dem Tsaren Stefan Dušan und dem ungarischen König Ludwig I. erwähnt wird. Es ist interessant und wichtig, daß Dušan als Kaiser „Gregorum“ und sein Sohn Uroš als König „Servie seu Racie“ erwähnt wurden. – Maksimović. [2689

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Demintsev M., *К вопросу о заговоре Франгопула 1267 года* (On Frangopoulos' conspiracy in 1267). – **Malachov S./Barabanov N.**, *Власть, общество и церковь в Византии* (Nr. 3781) 165–172. – A connection between the conspirators and Charles of Anjou is possible. – Ivanov. [2691

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Giannakopulos D. K., *Δουκάτο των Αθηνών. Η κυριαρχία των Acciaiuoli.* Thessalonike, Βάνιας 2006. 403 S. ISBN 960-288-148-8. – Gasparis. [2692

Gjuselev V., *Magnificus dominus Dobrotitza – pravus et crudelis inimicus Comunis Ianuae et omnium Ianuensium.* – **Belke K./Kislinger E./Külzer A./Stassinopoulou M.**

A. (Hrsg.), *Byzantina Mediterranea. Festschrift für Johannes Koder zum 65. Geburtstag* (Nr. 3704) 197–203. – Über den Despoten Dobrotitza (ca. 1320 – ca. 1385) – Grünbart. [2693

Hamblin W. H., *Arab perspectives on the Fourth Crusade.* – **Madden Th. F.** (ed.), *The Fourth Crusade: event, aftermath, and perceptions. Papers from the sixth conference of the society for the study of the crusades and the Latin East, Istanbul, Turkey, 25–29 August 2004* (Nr. 2699) 167–178. – Berger. [2694

Hanak W. K., *Pope Nicholas V and the aborted crusade of 1452–1453 to rescue Constantinople from the Turks* (Nr. 2366). – Tinnefeld.

Jacoby D., *The Greeks of Constantinople under Latin rule 1204–1261.* – **Madden Th. F.** (ed.), *The Fourth Crusade: event, aftermath, and perceptions. Papers from the sixth conference of the society for the study of the crusades and the Latin East, Istanbul, Turkey, 25–29 August 2004* (Nr. 2699) 53–73. – Berger. [2695

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Lampakes S., *Η πολυδιάστατη «διπλωματία» του Μιχαήλ Η' Παλαιολόγου (1258–1282).* – **Blysidu B./Lampakes S./Leontsine M./Lunges T.** (Hrsg.), *Σεμινάρια περί βυζαντινής διπλωματίας* (Nr. 3765) 213–232. 7 Taf. – Verf. beschreibt die diplomatischen Bemühungen Michaels, den die politische Bühne seiner Zeit beeinflussenden Faktoren gegenüber das Gleichgewicht herzustellen. – Troianos. [2697

Lampakis S., *The multifaceted "diplomacy" of Michael VIII Palaeologus.* – **Lampakis S./Leontsini M./Lounghis T./Vlysidou V.** (eds.), *Byzantine diplomacy. A seminar* (Nr. 3780) 165–179. – Vgl. die vorige Notiz. – Troianos. [2698

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Madden Th. F., *The Latin Empire of Constantinople's fractured foundation: the rift between Boniface of Montferrat and Baldwin of Flanders.* – **Madden Th. F.** (ed.), *The Fourth Crusade: event, aftermath, and perceptions. Papers from the sixth conference of the society for the study of the crusades and the Latin East, Istanbul, Turkey, 25–29 August 2004* (Nr. 2699) 45–52. – Berger. [2700

Maksimović Lj., *Србија и идеја универзалног Царства* (Serbien und die Idee vom Universalreich). ZRVI 44 (2007) 371–379. Serbisch mit deutscher Zusammenfassung. – Serbien verfolgte nicht die Idee des „nationalen" Kaiserreichs, sondern die Idee des Universalkaiserreichs, die indessen verspätet, unentwickelt und natürlich unrealisiert geblieben ist. Deswegen bestand das Kaiserreich auch nur kurze Zeit. – Maksimović. [2701

Marcos Hierro E., *La croada catalana. L'exèrcit de Jaume I a Terra Santa.* Barcelona, L'esfera dels llibres 2006. 253 S. ISBN 84-9734-538-X. – Wie das berühmte Buch von Runciman könnte man zu Recht auch die vorliegende politische Geschichte des fehlgeschlagenen Kreuzzuges von König Jakob I. von Aragon im Jahre 1269 mit dem Untertitel "A history of the Mediterranean world in the later thirteenth century" versehen. Verf. untersucht ausführlich die politische Konstellation der Zeit, um die Umstände überzeugend darzustellen, die Jakob I. zu einer Allianz mit Michael VIII. Palaiologos und dem Il-Khan der Perser in seinem geplanten Kreuzzug gegen die Mameluken führten. Dementsprechend richtet sich das Interesse des Verf.s nur am Ende (S. 205–232) auf das Schicksal der wenigen Aragonesen, die tatsächlich in Akkon landeten, während die Vorbereitung und die ideologische Begründung des Kreuzzuges das Hauptargument des Buches bilden. Das Werk ist als gut fundierte Studie zu betrachten (die ganze einschlägige Bibliographie wird berücksichtigt), aber auch angenehm zu Lesen für ein breites Publikum. – Signes. [2702

Marin S., *Between justification and glory: the Venetian Chronicles' view of the Fourth Crusade.* – **Madden Th. F.** (ed.), *The Fourth Crusade: event, aftermath, and perceptions. Papers from the sixth conference of the society for the study of the crusades and the Latin East, Istanbul, Turkey, 25–29 August 2004* (Nr. 2699) 113–121. – Berger. [2703

Meschini M., *The "Four Crusades" of 1204.* – **Madden Th. F.** (ed.), *The Fourth Crusade: event, aftermath, and perceptions. Papers from the sixth conference of the society for the study of the crusades and the Latin East, Istanbul, Turkey, 25–29 August 2004* (Nr. 2699) 27–42. – Berger. [2704

Nanetti A., *Modalità e tempi dell'inizio del Dominio Diretto dei Venetici sul Peloponneso (1204–1209) e la scelta di governare direttamente solo Korone e Methone.* Σύμμεικτα 17 (2005–07) 255–278. – Gasparis. [2705

Origone S., *Giovanni V Paleologo e i Genovesi.* – **Calderoni Masetti A. R./Dufour Bozzo C./Wolf G.** (ed.), *Intorno al Sacro Volto. Genova, Bisanzio e il Mediterraneo (secoli XI–XIV)* (Nr. 3732) 105–115. – Dennert. [2706

Origone S., *La fine del dominio greco nel mar Nero (Costantinopoli 1453, Trebisonda 1461) e la reazione dei Genovesi* (Nr. 2633). – Acconcia Longo.

Papastathes Ch., *Υπόθεση Χιονίου. Μια δίωξη θρησκευτικών φρονημάτων στη Θεσσαλονίκη του 14ου αιώνα* (Nr. 2377). – Gasparis.

Papazoglu G. K., *«Ὃς τὸν τοῦ μαρτυρίου δέχεται στέφανον». Ὁ Ἀλέξιος Καλλέργης καὶ μιὰ ἄγνωστη διήγηση τῶν κρητικῶν ἐπαναστάσεων τοῦ 1365–1367.* Θησαυρίσματα 36 (2006) 9–36. – Gasparis. [2707

Paškin N., *Византия в европейской политике первой половины XV в. (1402–1438 гг.)* (Byzantium in European politics in the 1st half of the 15th century, 1402–1438). Ekaterinburg, Уральский гос. ун-т 2007. 237 p. ISNB 5-7996-0265-X. – The Byzantines never tried to instigate a crusade against the Ottomans: all they wanted from the West was a financial help and limited joint efforts to sqeeze them out of Europe. Byzantium tried to play an intermediary role between feuding Christian powers. Different European forces saw the problem of Union from different angles, depending on their

relations with the Holy See. In choosing Rome as its counterpart Byzantium was sticking to the traditional world outlook. – Ivanov. [2708

Philippides M. (ed. and transl.), *Mehmed II the Conqueror and the fall of the Franco-Byzantine Levant to the Ottoman Turks: some western views and testimonies* (Nr. 2634). – Berger.

Pirivatrić S., *Улазак Стефана Душана у Царство* (Entering of Stefan Dušan into the empire). ZRVI 44 (2007) 381–409. Serbisch mit englischer Zusammenfassung. – Es wird der Zeitraum 1342–47 analysiert und kommentiert, in dem Dušan verschiedene Stufen der politischen Entwicklung durchmachte, um bis zur Ausrufung zum Kauser zu gelangen. – Maksimović. [2709

Preiser-Kapeller J., *Untreue Diener ihrer Herren. Die Geschichte der katalanischen Kompanie im 14. Jahrhundert* (Nr. 3670). – Altripp.

Schreiner P., *Venezia e l'impero latino.* Quaderni della Procuratoria 2 (2007) 42–49. – Der Beitrag stützt sich überwiegend auf Vorarbeiten, die aus sprachlichen Gründen vielfach nicht genügend rezipiert wurden, und soll zeigen, dass das den Venezianern in Konstantinopel überlassene Territorium wesentlich größer war als lange angenommen. Viele Kunstdenkmäler, die nach Venedig gebracht wurden, stammen aus diesem Areal, während andere, oft gegen Kreditleistung, den Venezianern überlassen wurden. Der Begriff der „Beutekunst" ist in diesem historischen Rahmen schwerlich angebracht. – Schreiner. [2710

Sokolov Ju., *К истории Никейской империи: политическая роль высшей знати* (Nr. 2783). – Ivanov.

Tsutsos G. A., *Σχέσεις Βυζαντινών-Οθωμανών και οι απαρχές του Οθωμανικού ναυτικού (1300–1430)* (Nr. 2732). – Leontsini.

Zachariadou E., *Historical memory in an Aegean monastery: St John of Patmos and the emirate of Menteshe.* – **Borchardt K./Jaspert N./Nicholson H. J.** (eds.), *The Hospitallers, the Mediterranean and Europe: Festschrift for Anthony Luttrell* (Nr. 3707) 131–137. – Stathakopoulos. [2711

C. KULTUR- UND GEISTESGESCHICHTE

a. Allgemein

Al-Hijji Y. Y./Christides V. (eds.), *Cultural relations between Byzantium and the Arabs.* Athens 2007. 197 p. ISBN 978-960-87330-1-5. – A collective volume of seventeen contributions on diplomatic and cultural relations as well as on exchanges in skills and techniques between Byzantines and Arabs. The relevant entries are listed as no. 2622, 2625, 2627, 2629, 2632, 2637, 2673, 2682, 2720, 2723, 2726, 2732, 2901, 3665, 3666, 3673. – Leontsini. [2712

Angelide Ch./Anagnostakes E., *Η βυζαντινή θεώρηση του κύκλου του γάλακτος (10ος–12ος αιώνας).* – **Mperki M.** (ed.), *Η Ιστορία του ελληνικού γάλακτος και των*

προϊόντων του, 10ο Τριήμερο Εργασίας Ξάνθη, 7–9 Οκτωβρίου 2005 (Nr. 3658) 199–209. – Milk and milk products in late antique treatises are connected to ancient techniques, while by 11th century monastic rules and archival documents refer to several denominations of dairy products and the origins of their production. – Leontsini. [2713

Balcárek P., *Ways of transmissions of Byzantine ideas. Some examples from central Europe.* Byzantinoslavica 65 (2007) 69–81. – Tinnefeld. [2714

Borodina A., *Византизм как фактор формирования русской культуры. Автореферат диссертации на соискание ученой степени кандидата культурологии* (Byzantism [sic] as a factor of the Formation of the Russian Culture. Dissertation in Cultural Studies, 1st Degree). Moscow, Akademija perepodgotovki rabotnikov iskusstva, kul'tury i turizma 2007. 142 p. – Ritual incantations in the framework of the intellectual trend, fashionable in today's Russia: it proclaims "Byzantism" a separate form of civilization which had been concocted in Byzantium but has fully developed only in Russia. – Ivanov. [2715

Cutler A., *Significant gifts: patterns of exchange in late antique, Byzantine, and early Islamic diplomacy.* Journal of Medieval and Modern Studies 38 (2008) 79–102. – Cutler. [2716

Estrina O., *Византизм – фактор российского социокультурного пространства. Автореферат диссертации на соискание ученой степени кандидата философских наук* (Byzantism [sic] – a factor of Russian Socio-Cultural Space. Dissertation in Philosophy, 1st Degree). Volgograd, Gosudarstvennyi Meditsinskii Universitet 2007. 155 p. – Vide supra no. 2715. – Ivanov. [2717

Franklin S./Mavroudi M., *Graeco-Slavic and Graeco-Arabic translation movements and their cultural implications: problems and possibilities of comparison.* Byzantinoslavica 65 (2007) 51–67. – Tinnefeld. [2718

Katina T., *Влияние культуры Византии на становление отечественной духовности. Автореферат диссертации на соискание ученой степени кандидата философских наук* (The Byzantine cultural influence on the formation of Russian spirituality. Dissertation Abstract in Philosophy, 1st Degree). Tver', Tverskoi Gosudarstvennyi Universitet 2007. –Vide supra no. 2715. – Ivanov. [2719

Koutrakou N. C., *Highlights in Arab-Byzantine cultural relations (IXth–XIth centuries A.D.): an approach through diplomacy.* – **Al-Hijji Y. Y./Christides V.** (eds.), *Cultural relations between Byzantium and the Arabs* (Nr. 2712) 85–102. With Greek and Arabic summary. – The embassy of John the Grammarian as a prime example for further exchanges and development of diplomatic missions promoting cultural relations between Arabs and Byzantines. – Leontsini. [2720

Krasikov A., *«Три Рима» в третьем тысячелетии* ("Three Romes" in the third millennium). Sovremennaia Evropa 1 (2007) 102–116. – Vide supra no. 2715. – Ivanov. [2721

Leontsine M., *Ποιμένες και ποίμνια: αντιλήψεις σχετικά με την κτηνοτροφία και τα προϊόντα της στο Βυζάντιο (5ος–10ος αι.).* – **Mperki M.** (ed.), *Η Ιστορία του ελληνικού*

γάλακτος και των προϊόντων του, 10ο Τριήμερο Εργασίας Ξάνθη, 7–9 Οκτωβρίου 2005 (Nr. 3658) 169–191. – Imperial power was figuratively described as the charge of shepherds in regard to their flocks. As wealth coming from pastoral activities contributed to social recognition, the symbolic aspect of this attitude was further adopted during the middle Byzantine period. – Leontsini. [2722

Lianu M., *Εκ Πλοίων: Assessing Hellenic influence in the development of Ptolemaic maritime affairs.* – **Al-Hijji Y. Y./Christides V.** (eds.), *Cultural relations between Byzantium and the Arabs* (Nr. 2712) 120–135. With Greek and Arabic summary. – Leontsini. [2723

Lloyd G. E. R., *Principles and practices in ancient Greek and Chinese science.* Aldershot, Ashgate Variorum 2007. 210 p. ISBN 0-86078-993-4. – The volume collects fifteen studies by the historian of ancient thought G. E. R. Lloyd. Though not dealing with Byzantium, they are of particular interest for the reflection they offer on ancient science, its methods and possible comparisons with other cultures. – Touwaide. [2724

Menna M. R., *Temi e luoghi di Manuele Comneno.* – **Quintavalle A. C.** (a cura di), *Medioevo mediterraneo: l'Occidente, Bisanzio e l'Islam* (Nr. 3754) 525–533. 23 Abb. – Dennert. [2725

Monferrer-Sala J. P., *Beyond Byzantium: Greek and Coptic Byzantine legacy in the Christian Arabic culture during the 14th century.* – **Al-Hijji Y. Y./Christides V.** (eds.), *Cultural relations between Byzantium and the Arabs* (Nr. 2712) 136–146. With Greek and Arabic summary. – After the conquest of Baghdad by the Mongols, Arabic-speaking Christians in Damascus and Cairo developed intellectual activities of high importance. – Leontsini. [2726

Ortalli G., *Venise et Constantinople: Une «byzantinité latine».* – **Rizzardi C.** (Hrsg.), *Venezia e Bisanzio. Aspetti della cultura artistica bizantina da Ravenna a Venezia (V–XIV secolo)* (Nr. 3756) 417–429. – Zu zentralen Momenten des byzantinischen Venedig. – Schreiner. [2727

Papadopulu E., *Περί της ηλικίας και του γήρατος από τη γραμματεία του ενδέκατου και δωδέκατου αιώνα.* Σύμμεικτα 17 (2005–07) 131–198. – The gathering of information in the frame of the research program "Everyday and social life in Byzantium" proved that the new ideal on the appreciation of the different stages in the life cycle emerged, during the 11th and 12th centuries, included the recognition of the juvenile vigour as a special quality, based on military aspiration, in parallel to the respect for the traditional wisdom of the old age. / Der Aufsatz ist auch juristisch relevant, in sofern als das Alter Rechtsfolgen nach sich zieht (Rechts- und Geschäftsfähigkeit, Eherecht usw.). – Leontsini/Troianos. [2728

Papathanasiu M. K., *Περί γαλουχίας στα έργα του Ιπποκράτους και του Σωρανού.* – **Mperki M.** (ed.), *Η Ιστορία του ελληνικού γάλακτος και των προϊόντων του, 10ο Τριήμερο Εργασίας Ξάνθη, 7–9 Οκτωβρίου 2005* (Nr. 3658) 165–168. – Presentation of the instructions on breastfeeding incorporated in the works of Hippocrates and Soranus. – Leontsini. [2729

Petkov K., *“To disdain the truth and look at others with contempt:” Byzantines and Muslims on Latin pride and arrogance, ca. 1100–1300.* Al-Masaq 19 (2007) 99–119. – Berger. [2730

Radić R., *Византија. Пурпур и пергамент* (Nr. 2614). – V. Stanković.

Radić R., *Цариград. Приче са Босфора* (Nr. 2615). – V. Stanković.

Schmieder F., *Pragmatisches Übersetzen. Texttransfer zum Nutzen von Handel und Mission.* – **Herbers K./Jaspert N.**, *Grenzräume und Grenzüberschreitungen im Vergleich. Der Osten und der Westen des mittelalterlichen Lateineuropa* (Nr. 3742) 261–276. – Hier anzuzeigen nicht nur wegen verschiedener Berührungspunkte mit Byzanz, sondern auch wegen grundsätzlicher, besonders methodischer Fragen der Übersetzungspraxis. – Schreiner. [2731

Tsutsos G. A., *Σχέσεις Βυζαντινών-Οθωμανών και οι απαρχές του Οθωμανικού ναυτικού (1300–1430).* – **Al-Hijji Y. Y./Christides V.** (eds.), *Cultural relations between Byzantium and the Arabs* (Nr. 2712) 176–182. With English and Arabic summary2. – On the first steps of the Ottoman navy and its evolution from piracy to official set-up, after the occupation of Kallipolis. – Leontsini. [2732

Walker A., *Meaningful mixing: classicizing imagery and Islamicizing script in a Byzantine bowl* (Nr. 3330). – Cutler.

Živković T., *Uspenskij’s Taktikon and the Theme of Dalmatia* (Nr. 2869). – Berger.

b. Verwaltung und Verfassung/Kaiser(tum)

Verwaltung und Verfassung

Cecconi G. A., *Lineamenti di storia del consolato tardoantico.* – **David M.** (a cura di), *Eburnea diptycha. I dittici d’avorio tra antichità e medioevo* (Nr. 3346) 109–127. – Dennert. [2733

Cheynet J.-C., *La place des catépans d’Italie dans la hiérarchie militaire et sociale de Byzance.* Νέα Ῥώμη 4 (2007) 143–161. – Qual era la provenienza sociale e geografica dei catepani d’Italia, e quale il livello delle dignità di cui erano insigniti? I meccanismi che presiedono alla scelta di essi da parte del potere centrale sembrano in parte mutare nel tempo, tra la seconda metà del X secolo e la seconda metà dell’XI. – D’Aiuto. [2734

Cosentino S., *Dalla tassazione tardoromana a quella bizantina. Un avvio al medioevo.* – **Kajava M.** (ed.), *Gunnar Mickwitz nella storiografia europea tra le due guerre. Atti del colloquio all’Institutum Romanum Finlandiae, 6–7 giugno 2005* (Nr. 3709) 119–133. – Berger. [2735

Giannakopulos D. K., *Η θεώρηση του πολιτικού συστήματος των ιταλικών κρατιδίων (α′ μισό του 15ου αιώνα) από τον Λαόνικο Χαλκοκονδύλη* (Nr. 2119). – Gasparis.

Gutziokostas A., *Πολιτάρχης και πολιταρχία στα θαύματα του αγίου Δημητρίου και σε άλλες βυζαντινές πηγές* Byzantina 27 (2007) 165–185. – Kotzabassi. [2736

Krsmanović B., *О проблему акумулативне војне власти стратега, моностратега и стратега автократора* (Nr. 3667). – Maksimović.

Lee A. D., *Warfare and the state.* – **Sabin P./Van Wees H./Whitby M.** (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Greek and Roman Warfare, vol. II* (Nr. 3672) 379–423. – Kaegi. [2737

Madariaga E., *Επισημάνσεις για το αξίωμα του Βασιλικού πρωτονοταρίου τον 12ο αιώνα.* – **Alonso Aldama J./García Román C./Mamolar Sánchez I.** (Hrsg.), *Στις αμμουδιές του Ομήρου. Homenaje a la profesora Olga Omatos* (Nr. 3713) 551–563. – Signes. [2738

Miquel J., *«Deo auctore»: legittimità e legittimazione del potere nell'Europa dell'Alto Medioevo.* – **Baccari M. P./Cascione C.** (eds.), *Tradizione romanistica e costituzione. 50 anni Corte Costituzionale* (Nr. 3763) II 1775–1790. – Goria. [2739

Palme B., *The imperial presence: government and army.* – **Bagnall R. S.** (ed.), *Egypt in the Byzantine world, 300–700* (Nr. 2900) 244–270. – Berger. [2740

Pergami F., *L'attività giurisdizionale dei prefetti del pretorio nell'assetto costituzionale della tarda antichità.* – **Baccari M. P./Cascione C.** (eds.), *Tradizione romanistica e costituzione. 50 anni Corte Costituzionale* (Nr. 3763) II 1301–1314. – Goria. [2741

Porena P., *Sulla genesi degli spazi amministrativi nell'Italia tardoantica.* – **Baccari M. P./Cascione C.** (eds.), *Tradizione romanistica e costituzione. 50 anni Corte Costituzionale* (Nr. 3763) II 1315–1376. – Goria. [2742

Puliatti S., *«Antiquitatis reverentia» e funzionalità degli istituti nelle riforme costituzionali di Giustiniano* (Nr. 3590). – Goria.

Kaiser(tum)

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Berger A., *Die akustische Dimension des Kaiserzeremoniells. Gesang, Orgelspiel und Automaten* (Nr. 2929). – Berger.

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Leontsine M., *Ο Πάπας της Ρώμης και ο αυτοκράτορας της Κωνσταντινούπολης Οι διαδοχικές φάσεις της ανεξαρτητοποίησης του επισκόπου της Ρώμης (395–800)* (Nr. 2367). – Troianos.

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Ravegnani G., *Imperatori di Bisanzio.* Universale paperbacks, 536. Bologna, Il Mulino 2008. 186 p. 14 fig. f.t. ISBN 978-88-15-12174-5. – I primi tre capitoli di questo agile manualetto sono da R. dedicati a illustrare figura e caratteristiche dell'imperatore e dell'imperatrice di Bisanzio, mentre nel quarto e ultimo capitolo l'autore si sofferma

sulla vita alla corte di Costantinopoli, prendendo in esame, in sei successivi paragrafi, il palazzo imperiale, gli abiti e le insegne, la gerarchia palatina, il cerimoniale di corte, gli spettacoli pubblici e i divertimenti privati e, infine, le sepolture e le morti violente imperiali. – Luzzi. [2752

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c. Wirtschaft und Handel; Städte

Wirtschaft und Handel

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Callu J.-P., *Sur les traces de Mickwitz: d'Ouest à l'Est, le transfert de la richesse métallique (Ve–VIe s.).* – **Kajava M.** (ed.), *Gunnar Mickwitz nella storiografia europea tra le due guerre. Atti del colloquio all'Institutum Romanum Finlandiae, 6–7 giugno 2005* (Nr. 3709) 107–118. – Berger. [2755

Chrysostomidu I., *Έμπορος εναντίον ευγενών: μία εντυπωσιακή δικαστική υπόθεση από την Πελοπόννησο των ετών 1391–1409* (Nr. 2871). – Gasparis.

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Domanovskij A., *Милостыня, ссуда и ростовщичество в ментальной картине мира ромея: опыт сопоставления* (Alms, loan and usury in the mental universe of a Rhomaios: an attempt of synkrisis). – *Курбатовские чтения. Материалы ежегодной межвузовской конференции по истории и культуре средних веков и раннего нового времени* (Nr. 3779) 10–11. – Ivanov. [2757

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Städte

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rendono Costantinopoli, la nuova capitale della Cristianità, una seconda Gerusalemme, ma non solo. Infatti il palazzo imperiale, con un numero crescente di chiese, cappelle e reliquie, simboleggia il legame tra l'imperatore e Dio e la residenza imperiale assume carattere sacro, così come la corte imperiale simboleggia la corte celeste. L'attribuzione di caratteri imperiali alla rappresentazione di Cristo e l'immagine del regno celeste come palazzo imperiale, frequenti nella letteratura tardoantica, indicano che la città imperiale era intesa come immagine terrena del regno celeste. – Acconcia Longo. [2769

Cassia M., *Uomini e spazi. Per una ricostruzione della Cappadocia tardoantica* (Nr. 2893). – Acconcia Longo.

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Fernández Jiménez F. M., *Influencias bizantinas en la conversión de Toledo como urbs regia visigoda.* Toletana. Cuestiones de teología e historia 16 (2007) 17–27. – Signes. [2771

Grelle F., *Notabili goti e curiali reatini nel papiro Tjaeder 7* (Nr. 2241). – Goria.

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Matschke K.-P., *Selbstverständnis, Außenansicht und Erscheinungsbilder mittelalterlicher Städte im Byzantinischen Reich.* – **Jäschke K.-U./Schrenk Ch.** (Hrsg.), *Was machte im Mittelalter zur Stadt? Selbstverständnis, Außensicht und Erscheinungsbilder mittelalterlicher Städte. Vorträge des gleichnamigen Symposiums vom 30. März bis 2. April 2006 in Heilbronn* (Nr. 3745) 157–202. – Gestützt auf exakte Quellenangaben und einer Auswertung der Forschungsliteratur zeichnet der Verf. in Vertiefung und Ausweitung einer Studie aus dem Jahr 1995 (Grundzüge des byzantinischen Städtewesens, vgl. BZ 95, 1997, Nr. 1759) ein magistrales Bild der byzantinischen Stadt (zurecht ohne Blick auf Konstantinopel) vom 6. bis zum 15. Jahrhundert. Die Darstellung breitet eine Fülle von Einzelbeispielen aus und verliert sich nicht in der Abstraktion einer Stadttheorie. Sie zeigt die Berechtigung, von einer byzantinischen Stadt zu sprechen, die (so weit topographisch überhaupt gegeben) mit antiken Vergängern in Struktur und Administration nichts zu tun hat. Verf. geht auch kaum auf archäologische Gegebenheiten ein, da sie dort, wo wir schriftliche Zeugnisse haben, noch gar nicht vorliegen. Freilich muss eine Zusammenschau aller Gesichtspunkte ein Ziel der künftigen Stadtforschung sein. – Schreiner. [2773

Pergola Ph., *Autour de l'histoire de la ville du milieu du IVe au milieu du VIe siècle: espaces traditionnels et affirmation des espaces chrétiens-constantes, influences réciproques et originalités entre Occident et Orient.* – **Harreither R./Pergola Ph./Pillinger R./Pülz A.** (Hrsg.), *Akten des XIV. Internationalen Kongresses für christliche Archäologie. Wien 19.–26. 9. 1999. Frühes Christentum zwischen Rom und Konstantinopel* (Nr. 3740) 159–176. – Berger. [2774

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d. Gesellschaft

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Nystazopulu-Pelekidu M., *Η συμμετοχή της γυναίκας στην οικονομία κατά τον ύστερο Μεσαίωνα. Η περίπτωση της Σερβίδας κλώστριας* (La contribution de la femme à l'économie du Moyen Âge tardif. Le cas de la filandrière serbe). Εώα και Εσπέρια 5 (2001–03) 147–175. – Gasparis. [2780

Prinzing G., *Spuren einer religiösen Bruderschaft in Epiros um 1225? Zur Deutung der Memorialtexte im Codex Cromwell 11.* BZ 101 (2008) 751–772. 1 Taf. – Berger. [2781

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Sokolov Ju., *К истории Никейской империи: политическая роль высшей знати* (From the history of the Nicene Empire: the political role of the highest nobility). – **Malachov S./Barabanov N.**, *Власть, общество и церковь в Византии* (Nr. 3781) 130–142. – The nobility gradually evolved as a close caste. – Ivanov. [2783

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Prosopographie

Apanovič O., *К вопросу о должности кундастабла у Сельджукидов Рума в XIII в.: кундастабл руми и Михаил Палеолог* (On the post of kundastabl by the Seljukides of Rum in the 13th century: kundastabl Rumi and Michael Palaiologos). VV 66 (2007) 171–92. – Not Michael but one of the Greek uncles of the Sultan Key-Kavus II held the post of "kundastabl Rumi". – Ivanov. [2786

Balard M., *Latin sources and Byzantine prosopography: Genoa, Venice, Pisa and Barcelona.* – **Whitby M.** (ed.), *Byzantines and crusaders in non-Greek sources 1025–1204* (Nr. 3761) 39–58. – Includes detailed bibliography. – Stathakopoulos. [2787

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Papanicolaou M., *Chi era il λικενκιᾶτος della epistola 10 di Teodoro Gaza? (Profilo biografico di Narciso da Berdún)* (Nr. 2153). – Luzzi.

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e. Bildung und Unterricht

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f. Alltagsleben und materielle Kultur

Crostini B., *What was kosher in Byzantium?* – **Brubaker L./Linardou K.** (eds.), *Eat, drink, and be merry (Luke 12:19) – food and wine in Byzantium* (Nr. 3731) 165–173. – Stathakopoulos. [2799

Dalby A., *Some Byzantine aromatics.* – **Brubaker L./Linardou K.** (eds.), *Eat, drink, and be merry (Luke 12:19) – food and wine in Byzantium* (Nr. 3731) 51–57. – Stathakopoulos. [2800

Eastmond A./James L., *Eat, drink … and pay the price.* – **Brubaker L./Linardou K.** (eds.), *Eat, drink, and be merry (Luke 12:19) – food and wine in Byzantium* (Nr. 3731) 175–189. – Stathakopoulos. [2801

Gerolymatu M., *Βασιλικά κτήματα, Βασιλικά εργοδόσια σχετικά με την τροφοδοσία και τον ανεφοδιασμό του Ιερού Παλατίου (9ος–11ος αι.).* Σύμμεικτα 17 (2005–07) 87–110. – Administrative rearrangements in provisioning Great Palace, dating from the reign of Basil I, are studied along the transformations in the supply system of imperial estates in necessary goods and raw materials for imperial ergodosia. – Leontsini. [2802

Gold B. K./Donahue J. F. (eds.), *Roman dining.* Special issue of the American Journal of Philology, 124/3 (2005). x, p. 325–505. – Touwaide. [2803

Grünbart M., *Früchte des Zeus. Anmerkungen zur Verwendung von Eicheln und Kastanien.* – **Belke K./Kislinger E./Külzer A./Stassinopoulou M. A.** (Hrsg.), *Byzantina Mediterranea. Festschrift für Johannes Koder zum 65. Geburtstag* (Nr. 3704) 205–213. – Zusatz: Unter βάλανοι konnte man auch Galläpfel verstehen, welche zur Gerbung verwendet wurden (s. TIB 8, 167, Attala, 14. Jh.) (dankenswerter Hinweis von Friedrich Hild, Wien). – Eicheln werden noch heute (September 2007) auf Märkten in der Türkei (z.B. im Gebiet des ehemaligen Lykien) angeboten (freundlicher Hinweis von Alfred Neukom, Zürich). – Grünbart. [2804

Grünbart M., *Store in a cool and dry place: perishable goods and their preservation in Byzantium.* – **Brubaker L./Linardou K.** (eds.), *Eat, drink, and be merry (Luke 12:19) – food and wine in Byzantium* (Nr. 3731) 39–49. – Stathakopoulos. [2805

Harris J., *More Malmsey, your grace? The export of Greek wine to England in the later Middle Ages.* – **Brubaker L./Linardou K.** (eds.), *Eat, drink, and be merry (Luke 12:19) – food and wine in Byzantium* (Nr. 3731) 249–254. – Stathakopoulos. [2806

Jacoby D., *Houses of urban layout in the Venetian quarter of Constantinople: Twelfth and thirteenth centuries* (Nr. 2838). – Grünbart.

Karlin-Hayter P., *Being a potential saint.* – **Brubaker L./Linardou K.** (eds.), *Eat, drink, and be merry (Luke 12:19) – food and wine in Byzantium* (Nr. 3731) 245–247. – Brief description of two banquets as related in the life of St Anthony the Younger. – Stathakopoulos. [2807

Koder J., *Stew and salted meat – opulent normality in the diet of everyday?* – **Brubaker L./Linardou K.** (eds.), *Eat, drink, and be merry (Luke 12:19) – food and wine in Byzantium* (Nr. 3731) 59–72. – Stathakopoulos. [2808

Korobeinikov D., *A sultan in Constantinople: the feasts of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kay-Khusraw I.* – **Brubaker L./Linardou K.** (eds.), *Eat, drink, and be merry (Luke 12:19) – food and wine in Byzantium* (Nr. 3731) 93–108. – Stathakopoulos. [2809

Lymberopoulou A., *'Fish on a dish' and its table companions in 14th-century wall paintings on Venetian-dominated Crete.* – **Brubaker L./Linardou K.** (eds.), *Eat, drink, and be merry (Luke 12:19) – food and wine in Byzantium* (Nr. 3731) 223–232. – Stathakopoulos. [2810

Lymberopoulou A., *'Pro anima mea', but do not touch my icons: provisions for private icons in wills from Venetian-dominated Crete.* – **Stathakopoulos D.** (ed.), *The kindness of strangers: charity in the pre-modern Mediterranean* (Nr. 3759) 71–89. – Stathakopoulos. [2811

Malmberg S., *Dazzling dining: banquets as an expression of imperial legitimacy.* – **Brubaker L./Linardou K.** (eds.), *Eat, drink, and be merry (Luke 12:19) – food and wine in Byzantium* (Nr. 3731) 75–91. – Stathakopoulos. [2812

Mariotti V., *Gli spettacoli in epoca tardoantica: i dittici come fonte iconografica* (Nr. 3350). – Dennert.

Melbane N., *Αμπελοκαλλιέργεια ανατολικά του Στρυμόνα κατά τη βυζαντινή περίοδο.* – **Pikulas G. A.** (ed.), *Ἐπιστημονικὸ συμπόσιο Οἶνον ἱστορῶ VII, Στὰ Οἰνόπεδα τοῦ Παγγαίου. Κτῆμα Βιβλία Χώρα, Κοκκινοχώρι Καβάλας* (Nr. 3753) 119–129. – Viticulture East of the Strymon river during the Byzantine period was secondary, compared to the cultivation of cereals. The study is based on documentation of Athos. – Leontsini. [2813

Mundell Mango M., *From 'glittering sideboard' to table: silver in the well-appointed triclinium.* – **Brubaker L./Linardou K.** (eds.), *Eat, drink, and be merry (Luke 12:19) – food and wine in Byzantium* (Nr. 3731) 127–161. – Stathakopoulos. [2814

Papadaki A., *Cerimonie religiose e laiche nell'isola di Creta durante il dominio veneziano* (Nr. 2881). – Gasparis.

Pikulas G. A. (ed.), *Ἐπιστημονικὸ συμπόσιο Οἶνον ἱστορῶ VII, Στὰ Οἰνόπεδα τοῦ Παγγαίου. Κτῆμα Βιβλία Χώρα, Κοκκινοχώρι Καβάλας* (Nr. 3753). – Leontsini.

Stathakopoulos D., *Between the field and the plate: how agricultural products were processed into food.* – **Brubaker L./Linardou K.** (eds.), *Eat, drink, and be merry (Luke 12:19) – food and wine in Byzantium* (Nr. 3731) 27–38. – Stathakopoulos. [2815

Talbot A.-M., *Mealtime in monasteries: the culture of the Byzantine refectory.* – **Brubaker L./Linardou K.** (eds.), *Eat, drink, and be merry (Luke 12:19) – food and wine in Byzantium* (Nr. 3731) 109–125. – Stathakopoulos. [2816

Vroom J., *The changing dining habits at Christ's table.* – **Brubaker L./Linardou K.** (eds.), *Eat, drink, and be merry (Luke 12:19) – food and wine in Byzantium* (Nr. 3731) 191–222. – Stathakopoulos. [2817

Zhiqiang Ch., *Record of Byzantine food in Chinese texts.* – **Brubaker L./Linardou K.** (eds.), *Eat, drink, and be merry (Luke 12:19) – food and wine in Byzantium* (Nr. 3731) 255–262. – Stathakopoulos. [2818

g. Volkskunde, Volksglauben, Magie

Barabanov N., *Иеротопия и проблема «народной религиозности» в Византии. (-Некоторые соображения к развитию концепции)* (Hierotopy and the problem of "folk religiosity" in Byzantium: some consideration on the development of the concept). – **Malachov S./Barabanov N.**, *Власть, общество и церковь в Византии* (Nr. 3781) 231–

238. – Besides sacred spaces there existed in Byzantium also “accursed spaces”. This is a new subject that calls for a new term, such as “kakotopy.” – Ivanov. [2819

Douramani K., *Gli anastenaria in onore dei SS. Costantino ed Elena.* – **Ruggieri V./Pieralli L.** (Hrsg.), *ΕΥΚΟΣΜΙΑ. Studi miscellanei per il 75° di Vincenzo Poggi S.J.* (Nr. 3716) 211–228. – An einigen Orten Nordgriechenlands wird am 21. Mai zu Ehren Kaiser Konstantins und seiner Mutter das Fest der Anastenaria begangen, das erstmals im späten 12. Jh. bezeugt ist. – Tinnefeld. [2820

Featherstone M./Mango C., *Three miracle stories from Constantinople.* – **Ruggieri V./Pieralli L.** (Hrsg.), *ΕΥΚΟΣΜΙΑ. Studi miscellanei per il 75° di Vincenzo Poggi S.J.* (Nr. 3716) 229–242. – Tinnefeld. [2821

Magdalino P., *Postscript.* – **Shepard J.** (ed.), *The Expansion of Orthodox Europe: Byzantium, the Balkans and Russia* (Nr. 3785) 61–63. – This provides an up to date bibliography and discussion of recent scholarship to supplement the author’s article “The history of the future and its uses: prophecy, policy and propaganda” published in 1993 and reprinted in this volume. – Stathakopoulos. [2822

Quiroga A., *La magia y lo sobrenatural como elementos literarios en los discursos de Libanio de Antioquía* (Nr. 2121). – Signes.

6. GEOGRAPHIE, TOPOGRAPHIE, ETHNOGRAPHIE

A. GEOGRAPHIE UND TOPOGRAPHIE

a. Allgemeine Darstellungen

Haldon J., *“Cappadocia will be given over to ruin and become a desert”. Environmental evidence for historically-attested events in the 7th–10th centuries.* – **Belke K./Kislinger E./Külzer A./Stassinopoulou M. A.** (Hrsg.), *Byzantina Mediterranea. Festschrift für Johannes Koder zum 65. Geburtstag* (Nr. 3704) 215–230. – Grünbart. [2823

Merrills A. H., *History and geography in late antiquity.* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press 2005. xiv, 386 p. ISBN 978-0-5218-4601-1. – Kaegi. [2824

Williams M., *Deforesting the earth. From Prehistory to global crisis.* Chicago/London, University of Chicago Press 2003. 689 p. ISBN 0-226-89926-8. – Includes a chapter on the classical and medieval worlds (73–101 and 102–142 respectively), with such topics as: the Mediterranean environment (76–79); the causes of deforestation in antiquity (79–95), with cultivation and grazing, shipbuilding, urbanization and metal smelting; deforestation and soil degradation (95–100); population and land use in the middle ages (107–109); plows, horsepower and fields (109–111); extent and pace of clearing in the middle ages (115–130). – Touwaide. [2825

b. Quellen, Kartenwerke, Sammelwerke

Weber E., *Spuren des frühen Christentums in der Tabula Peutingeriana.* – **Harreither R./Pergola Ph./Pillinger R./Pülz A.** (Hrsg.), *Akten des XIV. Internationalen Kongresses für christliche Archäologie. Wien 19.–26. 9. 1999. Frühes Christentum zwischen Rom und Konstantinopel* (Nr. 3740) 775–781. – Grünbart. [2826

Novembri V., *Il geografo imperfetto: Basilio di Cesarea e i fiumi* (Nr. 2458). – Berger.

c. Pilgerfahrt und Reise

Bádenas de la Peña P., *El viaje de Carlomagno a Jerusalén y Constantinopla.* – **Cortés Arrese M.** (Hrsg.), *Caminos de Bizancio* (Nr. 2830) 215–237. – Chronologie, Inhalt und Quellen eines französischen epischen Gedichtes aus dem 12. Jh., in dem Karl der Grosse nach Osten (und Konstantinopel) pilgert. – Signes. [2827

Bravo García A., *Viejo y nuevo sobre los viajeros a y desde Bizancio.* – **Cortés Arrese M.** (Hrsg.), *Caminos de Bizancio* (Nr. 2830) 13–46. – Einzelne Beobachtungen über spätmittelalterliche und moderne Reisende nach Byzanz und Erwägungen über die Typologie ihrer Reise. – Signes. [2828

Calvo Capilla S., *Viajes por el Mediterráneo entre los siglos VII y XII: tras los pasos de los viajeros andalusíes, fatimíes y bizantinos.* – **Cortés Arrese M.** (Hrsg.), *Caminos de Bizancio* (Nr. 2830) 141–174. – Verschiedene Objekte der materiellen Kultur werden als Zeugen von einem durch die Reisen zustande gekommenen kulturellen Austausch berücksichtigt. – Signes. [2829

Cortés Arrese M. (Hrsg.), *Caminos de Bizancio.* Colección estudios, 112. Ciudad Real, Ediciones de la Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha 2007. 286 S. ISBN 978-84-8427-524-4. – Daraus angezeigt Nr. 2118, 2224, 2341, 2404, 2827, 2828, 2829, 2831, 2835. – Signes. [2830

Cortés Arrese M., *Cautivos, embajadores y mercenarios en los confines del imperio.* – **Cortés Arrese M.** (Hrsg.), *Caminos de Bizancio* (Nr. 2830) 267–284. – Signes. [2831

Dietrich A./Dietrich R., *A proposed identification for Zosima's Apolikaptii Monastery in Constantinople.* Byz 77 (2007) 116–123. – Le diacre russe Zosima a écrit un compte rendu, connu sous le nom de «Xenos», de son pélérinage à Constantinople en 1419–22. Ce texte s'avère une source précieuse pour localiser certaines structures architecturales byzantines qui subsistent à Istanbul, notamment le monastère «Apolikaptii», pour lequel les auteurs proposent une nouvelle identification: le Sekbanbaşı Mescidi. / Vgl. dazu auch BZ 100 (2007) Nr. 1216. – Macé. [2832

Elvira Barba M. Á., *Cosmas Indicopleustes, un viajero atípico* (Nr. 2118). – Signes.

Göckenjan H., *Orientalische Berichte über die Völker Osteuropas und Zentralasiens im Mittelalter: die Ǧayhānī-Tradition (Ibn Rusta, Gardīzī, Ḥudūd al-Ālam, al-Bakrī und al-Marwazī).* Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz 2001. Veröffentlichungen der Societas Uralo-Altaica, 54. XVI, 342, [7] S. ISBN 3-447-04444-6. – Berger. [2833

Kontogeorgopulu Ch., *… ως εις άλλο Σινά την επί του Πανικού όρους ακρώρειαν … Πάνειον – Υμηττός: δύο ιερά βουνά της Αττικής* (Paneion – Hymette: deux monts sacrés d'Attique). Εώα και Εσπέρια 6 (2004–06) 259–270. – Gasparis. [2834

Signes Codoñer J., *Viajeros y embajadores a Constantinopla desde Carlomagno hasta la primera cruzada.* – **Cortés Arrese M.** (Hrsg.), *Caminos de Bizancio* (Nr. 2830) 175–213. – Leitmotive und loci communes in den Berichten der Reisenden nach Byzanz. – Signes. [2835

d. Regionen und Orte

(aa) Konstantinopel und Umgebung

Aguado Blázquez F. A., *Guía de Constantinopla. Un viaje a Estambul en busca de Bizancio.* Madrid, Spania Bizas 2007. 560 S. 660 Abb., 85 Karten, 75 Zeichn. 358 Übersichten zu Listen und Texten. ISBN 978-84-611-9953-2. – Eine ausführliche Beschreibung der byzantinischen Denkmäler im heutigen Istanbul mit einer Fülle von Fotografien, Karten und Dokumenten. Die Darstellung ist in sieben Teile gegliedert: 1. Santa Sofía; 2. Gran palacio e Hipódromo; 3. Mese y foros; 4. Pantocrátor y Santos apóstoles; 5. Murallas; 6. Fener y Blaquernas; 7. S. Juan de Estudio y Psamatia. – Signes. [2836

Berger A., *Vom Pantokratorkloster zur Bonoszisterne: Einige topographische Überlegungen.* – **Belke K./Kislinger E./Külzer A./Stassinopoulou M. A.** (Hrsg.), *Byzantina Mediterranea. Festschrift für Johannes Koder zum 65. Geburtstag* (Nr. 3704) 43–56. – Grünbart. [2837

Carile M. C., *Constantinople and the heavenly Jerusalem: through the imperial palace* (Nr. 2769). – Acconcia Longo.

Jacoby D., *Houses of urban layout in the Venetian quarter of Constantinople: Twelfth and thirteenth centuries.* – **Belke K./Kislinger E./Külzer A./Stassinopoulou M. A.** (Hrsg.), *Byzantina Mediterranea. Festschrift für Johannes Koder zum 65. Geburtstag* (Nr. 3704) 269–282. – Grünbart. [2838

Thorau P., *Konstantinopel – al Qustantiniya. Das zweite Rom als Mittelpunkt und Sinnbild des Osmanischen Imperiums in der Herrscherideologie Mehmeds des Eroberers.* – **Girardet K. M.** (Hrsg.), *Kaiser Konstantin der Große. Historische Leistung und Rezeption in Europa* (Nr. 3771) 149–161. – Berger. [2839

(bb) Balkanhalbinsel

Europäische Türkei (Thrakien)

Külzer A., *Die Küstengestade des Golfs von Saros und der thrakischen Chersones von der Antike bis zur frühen Neuzeit: einige Anmerkungen.* – **Belke K./Kislinger E./Külzer A./Stassinopoulou M. A.** (Hrsg.), *Byzantina Mediterranea. Festschrift für Johannes Koder zum 65. Geburtstag* (Nr. 3704) 353–363. – Grünbart. [2840

Bulgarien

Mărculeţ V., *Din nou despre organizarea teritoriilor bizantine de la Dunărea de Jos: strategatul de Dristra-Dorostolon* (Du nouveau sur l'organisation des territoires byzantines du Bas-Danube: Le stratégat de Dristra-Dorostolon). Peuce 3–4 (2005–06) 305–316. – Teoteoi. [2841

Rumänien

Anton-Manea C., *Podoabele purtate în timpul lui Ştefan cel Mare* (Les joyaux portés au temps d'Étienne le Grand). – **Teoteoi T.** (ed.), *Ştefan cel Mare şi epoca sa* (Nr. 3787) 78–88. – Teoteoi. [2842

Dură I. V., *Figuri de ierarhi moldoveni: mitropolitul Gheorghe Movilă* (Figures d'hiérarques moldaves: le métropolite Georges Movilă). – **Gorovei Ş. S./Székely M. M.** (eds.), *Movileştii. Istorie şi spiritualitate românească, I. «Casa noastră movilească»* (Nr. 2844) 121–142. – Ré-édition de l'étude parue dans Biserica Ortodoxă Română 89 (1971) 187–203. Il s'agit aussi de l'essai de métropolite George Movilă (1588–1605) d'obtenir l'élévation de son siège au patriarcat, à la suite de l'intervention faite auprès de Melèce Pigas (132–133), alors patriarche d'Alexandrie et vicaire du patriarcat œcuménique. – Teoteoi. [2843

Gorovei Ş. S./Székely M. M. (eds.), *Movileştii. Istorie şi spiritualitate românească, I. «Casa noastră movilească»* (Les Movileşti. Histoire et spiritualité roumaine, I. «Notre famille Movilă»). Monastère de Suceviţa, 2006. 330 p. – Selection d'études parues au XXe siècle sur la famille des boyards Movilă (ou «nostra Movileana domus», expression utilisée par le métropolite de Kiev Pierre Movilă, dans un lettre adressée en 1638 au patriarche œcuménique Cyrille Kontarês) de Moldavie. La note bibliographique finale (p. 312–327), due probablement aux éditeurs du volume (Ş. S. Gorovei et M. M. Székely), contient de très utiles mises aux point en marge des questions débattues ainsi que les renvois nécessaires pour indiquer la première parution de chaque étude. Les contributions sont signalées comme no. 2843, 2845, 2846, 2847, 2849, 2857, 2951, 2952, 2959, 3806, 3811. – Teoteoi. [2844

Gorovei Ş. S., *Petru Movilă – Contribuţii* (Pierre Movilă – contributions). – **Gorovei Ş. S./Székely M. M.** (eds.), *Movileştii. Istorie şi spiritualitate românească, I. «Casa noastră movilească»* (Nr. 2844) 159–171. – Ré-édition de l'étude parue dans Mitropolia Moldovei şi a Sucevei 57 (1981) 704–716. Parmi les ancêtres de cette famille figure aussi un Dragotă, anthroponyme présent aussi dans les sources byzantines du XIIIe siècle, dans la région de Melnik. – Teoteoi. [2845

Iorga N., *«Doamna« lui Ieremia Vodă* (La «doamna» de Jérémie voïévode). – **Gorovei Ş. S./Székely M. M.** (eds.), *Movileştii. Istorie şi spiritualitate românească, I. «Casa noastră movilească»* (Nr. 2844) 69–91. – À la p. 78, il s'agit d'une donation faite par Jérémie Movilă a Monastère de Zographou, et parmi les boyards apparentés à la famille Movilă est mentionné Dumitrachi Chiriţă Paleologue. Ré-impression de l'étude paru dans les Annales de l'Académie Roumaine, serie historique, IIe série, 32 (1910) 1019–47. – Teoteoi. [2846

Mănescu J. N., *Stemele Movileştilor* (Les emblemes des Movileşti). – **Gorovei Ş. S./Székely M. M.** (eds.), *Movileştii. Istorie şi spiritualitate românească, I. «Casa noastră*

movilească» (Nr. 2844) 21–30. – Ré-impression de l'étude parue dans Arhiva Genealogică 3 (8) (1996) 321–326. – Teoteoi. [2847

Marinescu F./Mertzimekis N., *Ieremia Movilă şi ajutorul acordat la Muntele Athos* (Jérémie Movilă et l'aide accordé au Mont Athos). – **Gorovei Ş. S./Szekely M. M.** (eds.), *Istorie şi spiritualitate românească, vol. II (Ieremia Movilă. Domnul. Familia. Epoca)* (Nr. 3772) 187–192. – Huit monastères athonites ont bénéficié des donations de la part du voïévode «de toute la Moldavie» («authentes pases Moldabias» on peut lire dans le document grec du 30 mai 1604 pour le monastère de Vatopedi). Les autres monastères athonites qui ont eu part de ses attentions sont: la Grande Laure, Chilandar, Dionysiou, Kutlumus, Zographou, Xeropotamou, Docheiariou et Stauroniketa. – Teoteoi. [2848

Miclescu-Prăjescul C., *Noi date privind înscăunarea Movileştilor* (Donées nouvelles sur l'intronisation des Movilă). – **Gorovei Ş. S./Székely M. M.** (eds.), *Movileştii. Istorie şi spiritualitate românească, I. «Casa noastră movilească»* (Nr. 2844) 41–60. – Ré-impression de l'étude parue en anglais dans Slavonian and East European Review 49 (1971) 214–234, puis en roumain dans Arhiva Genealogică 4 (9) (1997) 159–178. De même que dans la chronique d'Okolski, Orbis Polonus, Craovie, 1641, dans les instructions données en 1596 au nonce apostolique en Pologne on peut lire «Hieremia Mohilam di casa reale, … descendento della casa Flavia degli Imperatori di Constantinopoli» (p. 48). – Teoteoi. [2849

Năstase D., *Ieremia Movilă – urmaş al lui Constantin cel Mare* (Jérémie Movilă – héritier de Constantin le Grand). – **Gorovei Ş. S./Szekely M. M.** (eds.), *Istorie şi spiritualitate românească, vol. II (Ieremia Movilă. Domnul. Familia. Epoca)* (Nr. 3772) 137–159. – Le titré d'archimétropolite porté par Geoge Movilă était plus répandu en Valachie. La représentation d'une aigle bicéphale au monastère de Todireni est un ajout ultérieur, du XVIIIe siècle. – Teoteoi. [2850

Niţă-Danielescu D., *Viaţa bisericească din Moldova în timpul lui Constantin Mavrocordat* (La vie religieuse en Moldavie au temps de Constantin Mavrocordat). Teologie ortodoxă (Jassy) 10 (2005) 23–40. – Teoteoi. [2851

Pilat L., *Biserica şi puterea în vremea lui Ieremia Movilă* (L'Église et le pouvoir au temps de Jérémie Movilă). – **Gorovei Ş. S./Szekely M. M.** (eds.), *Istorie şi spiritualitate românească, vol. II (Ieremia Movilă. Domnul. Familia. Epoca)* (Nr. 3772) 161–177. – Le voïévode a entretenu des relations ouvertes avec Constantinople et Rome. – Teoteoi. [2852

Pippidi A., *Ieremia Movilă. Schiţă portret* (Jérémie Movilă. Esquisse d'un portrait). – **Gorovei Ş. S./Szekely M. M.** (eds.), *Istorie şi spiritualitate românească, vol. II (Ieremia Movilă. Domnul. Familia. Epoca)* (Nr. 3772) 79–92. – Les liaisons du voïévode avec la Pologne et la papauté, ainsi que ses manifestations bienveillantes à l'adresse du catholicisme n'ont point surmonté ses fortes attaches avec la Grande Église de Constantinople et le monde orthodoxe. – Teoteoi. [2853

Ruzé A., *Étienne le Grand, défenseur de la Chrétienté et «Athlète du Christ».* – **Teoteoi T.** (ed.), *Ştefan cel Mare şi epoca sa* (Nr. 3787) 9–29. – Ré-édition de l'étude publiée dans la Revue Roumaine d'Histoire 47 (2003) 61–80. – Teoteoi. [2854

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Stević I., *Каленић. Богородичина црква у архитектури позновизантијског света* (Kalenić. Die Marienkirche in der Architektur der spätbyzantinischen Welt). Филозофски факултет – Beograd, Интерпринт 2006. 210 S. 9 Farbabb., 6 Skizzen und 106 s/w-Abb. ISBN 86-82283-48-3. – In dem Buch, dessen Basis die gleichnamige Dissertation des Verf. ist, werden alle historischen, architektonischen, historiographischen und kunsthistorischen Aspekte der Marien-Kirche in Kalenić untersucht, um diese Kirche in ihren historischen Kontext innerhalb der spätbyzantinischen Architektur zu setzen. In den drei ersten Kapiteln behandelt der Verf. die bisherige Forschung über Kalenić und die allgemeine Methodologie: Forschungen über die Architektur von Kalenić (S. 11–32), über die Architektur von Morawa-Serbien (S. 33–55), und ein Abschnitt über die methodologischen Grundsätze und aktuellen Strömungen in der Forschung zur spätbyzantinischen Architektur (S. 57–68). – Der zweite Teil ist der Geschichte von Kalenić nach der türkischen Eroberung (S. 69–84) und der Untersuchung der Architektur der Kirche (S. 85–140) gewidmet. – Im dritten Teil wird die Frage des Ktetors, wie auch nach der Zeit des Baus (S. 141–159) und der Platz von Kalenić in der spätmittelalterlichen serbischen (S. 159–184) bzw. spätbyzantinischen Architektur (S. 185–198) untersucht. Der Verf. versucht die ursprüngliche Architektur der Kirche darzustellen; er vertritt die Meinung, dass die stilistisch und architektonisch hohe Qualität und Aktualität von Kalenić im Vergleich zur zeitgenössischen byzantinischen Architektur und Kunst bestätigen, dass sie ein Beispiel der spätbyzantinischen Architektur und Kultur, nicht isoliert oder das Werk einern kleinen provinziellen Schule war. – V. Stanković. [2965

Tošić G./Rašković D., *Ранохришћански споменици на источним падинама Копаоника* (Early-Christian monuments on the eastern slopes of the Kopaonik mountain). ZRVI 44 (2007) 27–43. 1 Zeichn., 1 Karte, 6 Abb. Serbisch mit englischer Zusammenfassung. – Aufgrund der Ausgrabungen an drei Lokalitäten Nebeske Stolice, Dub und Gradac, wo man die Überreste der frühchristlichen Basiliken gefunden hat, versuchen die

Autoren den Christianisierungsprozeß in den Gebieten des heutigen Zentralserbiens festzustellen und äußern gleichzeitig die Meinung, die römische Provinz Dardanien habe im Norden bis zu den Gebirgen Kopaoniks gereicht. – Maksimović. [2966

Kroatien (bes. Dalmatien, Istrien)

Buonaguro S., *La cosiddetta catacomba anonima di Via Rovigno d'Istria.* Rivista d'Archeologia Cristiana 82 (2006) 75–102. – Altripp. [2967

Ćus-Rukonić J., *Eastern influence on the religious architecture of the Cres & Losinj archipelago.* – **Harreither R./Pergola Ph./Pillinger R./Pülz A.** (Hrsg.), *Akten des XIV. Internationalen Kongresses für christliche Archäologie. Wien 19.–26. 9. 1999. Frühes Christentum zwischen Rom und Konstantinopel* (Nr. 3740) 317–323. – Berger. [2968

Filipec K., *10 Jahre archäologischer Grabung in Lobor (1998–2007).* Hortus artium medievalium 13/2 (2007) 411–422. 16 Abb. – U. a. Aufdeckung eines Baptisteriums des 5./6. Jh.s. – Dennert. [2969

Jeličić-Radonić J., *Salona at the time of bishop Hesychius.* Hortus artium medievalium 13, 1 (2007) 13–24. 9 Abb. – Dennert. [2970

Korać V., *Прилог познавању једнобродних цркава са куполом на дубровачком подручју* (Contribution à la connaissance des églises à une nef avec la coupole de la région de Dubrovnik). ZRVI 44 (2007) 129–144. 11 Zeichn. Serbisch mit französischer Zusammenfassung. – Der Aufsatz besteht im Wesentlichen aus den Zeichnungen, die der Verf. vor vielen Jahren vorbereitet hat. – Maksimović. [2971

Lazzarini F., *La basilica doppia di Nesazio. Diffusione del tipo lungo le rotte dell'Adriatico Orientale.* – **Harreither R./Pergola Ph./Pillinger R./Pülz A.** (Hrsg.), *Akten des XIV. Internationalen Kongresses für christliche Archäologie. Wien 19.–26. 9. 1999. Frühes Christentum zwischen Rom und Konstantinopel* (Nr. 3740) 905–910. Tav. 169–171. – Grünbart. [2972

Marin E., *Marusinac – Salona: Novitates (avec un appendice épigraphique de D. Feissel).* – **Harreither R./Pergola Ph./Pillinger R./Pülz A.** (Hrsg.), *Akten des XIV. Internationalen Kongresses für christliche Archäologie. Wien 19.–26. 9. 1999. Frühes Christentum zwischen Rom und Konstantinopel* (Nr. 3740) 509–518. Tab. 176–179. – Grünbart. [2973

Oreb F./Rismondo T./Topić M., *Ad basilicas pictas.* – **Harreither R./Pergola Ph./Pillinger R./Pülz A.** (Hrsg.), *Akten des XIV. Internationalen Kongresses für christliche Archäologie. Wien 19.–26. 9. 1999. Frühes Christentum zwischen Rom und Konstantinopel* (Nr. 3740) 547–554. Tab. 195–200. – Report on recent archaeological research in Split. – Grünbart. [2974

Russo E., *Il complesso eufrasiano di Parenzo.* – **Quintavalle A. C.** (a cura di), *Medioevo: la Chiesa e il Palazzo* (Nr. 3755) 65–86. 38 Abb. – Dennert. [2975

Russo E., *Lettura del complesso eufrasiano di Parenzo (con particolare attenzione al suo episcopio).* Bizantinistica s. II, 8 (2006) 19–60. 40 tav. 77 fig. f.t. – L'evoluzione architettonica del complesso, dagli edifici del IV secolo fino alla ristrutturazione

compiuta da un progettista greco-costantinopolitano in età giustinianea. Si discute inoltre sulla presenza di maestranze bizantine nel cantiere, sull'architettura (fondata su un progetto unitario) e la decorazione architettonica del complesso. – Acconcia Longo. [2976

Bosnien, Herzegovina, Montenegro

Čanak-Medić M., *Которска катедрала Светог Трипуна као инспирација неимара и скулптора рашких храмова* (La cathédrale Saint-Tryphon à Kotor en tant que modèle des bâtisseurs et sculpteurs des sanctuaires de Rascie). ZRVI 44 (2007) 245–251. 9 Abb. Französisch mit serbischer Zusammenfassung. – Was die Architektur betrifft, war der Dom in Kotor wesentliches Vorbild für die Kirche des Hl. Georg in Ras, für Studenica und Žiča, und die skulpturalen Motive im selben Dom sollen in Studenica, Gradac und Resava übernommen worden sein. – Maksimović. [2977

Makedonien (ehemalige jugoslavische Republik)

Bitrakova Grozdanova V., *Lychnidos entre l'orient e l'occident paléochrétiens.* – **Harreither R./Pergola Ph./Pillinger R./Pülz A.** (Hrsg.), *Akten des XIV. Internationalen Kongresses für christliche Archäologie. Wien 19.–26. 9. 1999. Frühes Christentum zwischen Rom und Konstantinopel* (Nr. 3740) 213–220. Tab. 31–33. – Grünbart. [2978

Cvetkovski S., *Царске двери из Присовјана (прилог проучавању уметности из XVI века у струшком крају* (The Royal Doors from the church of St. Nicholas in the village Prisovjani). ZRVI 44 (2007) 567–573. 6 Abb. Serbisch mit englischer Zusammenfassung. – Maksimović. [2979

Gjorgievska A., *The early Christianity at Heraclea Lyncestis.* – **Harreither R./Pergola Ph./Pillinger R./Pülz A.** (Hrsg.), *Akten des XIV. Internationalen Kongresses für christliche Archäologie. Wien 19.–26. 9. 1999. Frühes Christentum zwischen Rom und Konstantinopel* (Nr. 3740) 873–877. Tab. 126–127. – Grünbart. [2980

Grozdanov C., *О св. Константину Кавасили и његовим портретима у светлу нових сазнања* (Nr. 3206). – Maksimović.

Mihajlovski R., *The basilica of the Dormition of the Holy Virgin in Velushina.* Journal of the Australian Early Medieval Association 3 (2007) 225–241. – The phases of construction and decoration of this basilica, 10 km from Heraclea Lyncestis, between the 5th and 19th century. – Moffatt. [2981

Popovska-Korobar V., *Зидно сликарство с краја XV века у манастирској цркви Свете Петке код Брајчина* (Wall paintings from the late 15th century in the monastery church of St. Paraskeve – Brajčino). ZRVI 44 (2007) 549–565. 5 Zeichn., 8 Abb. Serbisch mit englischer Zusammenfassung. – Maksimović. [2982

Wiseman J., *The early churches and the Christian community in Stobi, Macedonia.* – **Harreither R./Pergola Ph./Pillinger R./Pülz A.** (Hrsg.), *Akten des XIV. Internationalen Kongresses für christliche Archäologie. Wien 19.–26. 9. 1999. Frühes Christentum zwischen Rom und Konstantinopel* (Nr. 3740) 795–803. – Grünbart. [2983

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Haxhimihali M., *Les basiliques paleochretiennes d'Albanie entre l'Orient et l'Occident.* – **Harreither R./Pergola Ph./Pillinger R./Pülz A.** (Hrsg.), *Akten des XIV. Internationalen Kongresses für christliche Archäologie. Wien 19.–26. 9. 1999. Frühes Christentum zwischen Rom und Konstantinopel* (Nr. 3740) 885–887. – Grünbart. [2984

Piguet-Panayotova D., *The gold and silver vessels from the Albanian treasure in a new light* (Nr. 3329). – Grünbart.

Prinzing G., *Elissos (Lezha) oder Kroai (Kruja)? Zu Anna Komnenes problematischer Beschreibung der mittelalbanischen Küstenregion zwischen Elissos und Dyrrachion (Durrës) um 1107.* – **Belke K./Kislinger E./Külzer A./Stassinopoulou M. A.** (Hrsg.), *Byzantina Mediterranea. Festschrift für Johannes Koder zum 65. Geburtstag* (Nr. 3704) 503–515. – Grünbart. [2985

(cc) Griechenland

Festland und nahegelegene Inseln

Adam-Belene P./Zographu E./Kalliga D./Chatzedakes N., *Μουσειολογική – Μουσειογραφική μελέτη έκθεσης Αρχαίας Αγοράς Θεσσαλονίκης* Το Αρχαιολογικό Έργο στη Μακεδονία και Θράκη 19 (2005) 221–226. 4 Abb. – Zur Ausstellung in der antiken Agora von Thessalonike, die u. a. Funde – meistens Keramik – der frühchristlichen und byzantinischen Periode umfassen wird. – Kalopissi-Verti. [2986

Antonaras A., *Early Christian glass finds from the Museum Basilica, Philippi* (Nr. 3356). – Cutler.

Asemakopulu-Atzaka P., *Τα προβλήματα του χώρου νότια από το ναό της Αγίας Σοφίας στη Θεσσαλονίκη.* – *Ἱστορία, λατρεία καὶ τέχνη τοῦ ἱεροῦ ναοῦ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ Σοφίας* (Nr. 3743) 95–116. 16 Abb. – Verf.in stellt die Ergebnisse der bis 1997 unternommenen Ausgrabungen vor. – Troianos. [2987

Belenes G., *Η επιγραφή του Θεοδώρου στο τετράπλευρο κιβώριο της βασιλικής του Αγίου Δημητρίου Θεσσαλονίκης* Το Αρχαιολογικό Έργο στη Μακεδονία και Θράκη 19 (2005) 221–226. 4 Abb. – Aufgrund von paläographischen Kriterien datiert der Verfasser die Inschrift auf dem Ziborium, das sich heute in der Krypta der Demetriosbasilika in Thessalonike befindet, auf die 2. H. des 9. Jh. und identifiziert den darin erwähnten Theodoros mit dem bekannten Bischof Theodoros von Thessalonike (866–879). – Kalopissi-Verti. [2988

Bokotopulos P. L., *Παντάνασσα Φιλιππιάδος* Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας 251 (2007). 85 S. 69 Abb. ISBN 978-960-8145-65-8. – Überblick über Architektur, Ziegesteinschmuck, Bauskulpturen und Malereifragmente der vom Verfasser seit 1971 ausgegrabenen Klosterkirche der Pantanassa in der Nähe von Philippias, Epiros. Die in Ruinen liegende viersäulige eingeschriebene Kreuzkuppelkirche wird mit der von Michael II. Angelos, Herrscher von Epiros, kurz vor der Mitte des 13. Jh.s errichteten Klosterkirche der Pantanassa identifiziert. Sein Sohn, der Despot Nikephoros I., fügte Umgang und Seitenkapellen gegen Ende des 13. Jh.s an. Am wichtigsten unter den Malereien sind die im südlichen Gang fragmentarisch erhaltenen

Bildnisse des Nikephoros I., seiner Gattin Anna Palaiologina und ihrer zwei Kinder, die kurz vor 1296 zu datieren sind. – Kalopissi-Verti. [2989

Chalkia E., *La scultura paleocristiana di Nicopoli. Alcune considerazioni.* – **Harreither R./Pergola Ph./Pillinger R./Pülz A.** (Hrsg.), *Akten des XIV. Internationalen Kongresses für christliche Archäologie. Wien 19.–26. 9. 1999. Frühes Christentum zwischen Rom und Konstantinopel* (Nr. 3740) 281–287. Tav. 48–50. – Grünbart. [2990

Charalampidis C. P., *The significance of the mosaic decoration of the Rotunda in Thessaloniki bridging Constantinople and Rome.* – **Harreither R./Pergola Ph./Pillinger R./Pülz A.** (Hrsg.), *Akten des XIV. Internationalen Kongresses für christliche Archäologie. Wien 19.–26. 9. 1999. Frühes Christentum zwischen Rom und Konstantinopel* (Nr. 3740) 289–294 (tab. 50–60). – Berger. [2991

Galabares G. (ed.), *Athos, la Sainte Montagne. Tradition et renouveau dans l'art.* Αθωνικά Σύμμεικτα, 10. Athena, Εθνικό Ίδρυμα Ερευνών, Ινστιτούτο Βυζαντινών Ερευνών 2007. 179 S. ISBN 978-960-371-035-6. – Gasparis. [2992

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Hatzeantoniu F., *Νέα στοιχεία για την οικοδομική ιστορία του καθολικού της Μονής Παντοκράτορος Αγίου Όρους* ZRVI 44 (2007) 587–600. 1 Zeichn., 10 Abb. Griechisch mit serbischer Zusammenfassung. – Maksimović. [2994

Karadedos G./Nikonanos N., *Βασιλική Σωφρονίου στη Νικήτη. Κύριες οικοδομικές φάσεις* Το Αρχαιολογικό Έργο στη Μακεδονία και Θράκη 19 (2005) 359–371. 7 Zeichn. 14 Abb. – Zu den Hauptphasen der zu Beginn des 5. Jh.s gegründeten dreischiffigen holzgedeckten Basilika des Bischofs Sophronios in Nikete/Chalkidike. Die Basilika, die mit Atrium, Baptisterium und mehreren Annexbauten versehen war, stellt den wichtigsten bis jetzt bekannten frühchristlichen Baukomplex auf der Chalkidike dar. Ein Fußbodenmosaik, Bauskupturen und Malereifragmente gehören zu den wichtigsten Funden. – Kalopissi-Verti. [2995

Karivieri A., *The Ilissos Basilica and the introduction of Christian iconography in Athens.* – **Harreither R./Pergola Ph./Pillinger R./Pülz A.** (Hrsg.), *Akten des XIV. Internationalen Kongresses für christliche Archäologie. Wien 19.–26. 9. 1999. Frühes Christentum zwischen Rom und Konstantinopel* (Nr. 3740) 895–898. – Grünbart. [2996

Katsanika-Stephanu L., *Βυζαντινό και Χριστιανικό Μουσείο: Η μουσειογραφική πρόταση.* Ilissia 1 (2007) 15–25. – Zu den Einrichtungsprinzipien der neuen Ausstellung im Byzantinischen und Christlichen Museum in Athen aus der Sicht der Museumskunde. – Kalopissi-Verti. [2997

Katsikes K., *Ο ζωγραφικός διάκοσμος του Αγίου Δημητρίου στο χωριό Φρούριο του Νομού Κοζάνης* ZRVI 44 (2007) 601–611. 1 Zeichn., 8 Abb. Griechisch mit serbischer Zusammenfassung. – Maksimović. [2998

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Kourelis K., *Byzantium and the avant-garde: excavations at Corinth, 1920 s–1930 s* (Nr. 2922). – Cutler.

Lamprinu M., *Τρία ενετικά μνημεία στον πορθμό της Λευκάδας: Φρούριο Αγίας Μαύρας, Ναός Αγίου Γεωργίου, Ενετικές Αλυκές* Επετηρίς Εταιρείας Λευκαδικών Μελετών 10 (2004–05) 37–108. – Gasparis. [3001

Liutas A./Georgiades Ph., *Εγνατία Οδός: ένα ακόμη νεκροταφείο στην πορεία της Εγνατίας Οδού στη Μεγάλη Βόλβη νομού Θεσσαλονίκης* (Παράρτημα: τρισδιάστατη ψηφιακή αποτύπωση και εφαρμογή στην αρχαιολογία). Το Αρχαιολογικό Έργο στη Μακεδονία και Θράκη 19 (2005) 135–144. 3 Zeichn. 12 Abb. Mit englischer Zusammenfassung. – Zu einem frühchristlichen Friedhof und einem Vorratsraum, die nördlich vom Dorf Megale Bolbe, Präfektur Thessalonike, entlang der Egnatia aufgedeckt wurden. – Kalopissi-Verti. [3002

Lolos G., *Οἱ σχέσεις Κορίνθου καὶ Σικυῶνος ἀνὰ τοὺς αἰῶνες* (Nr. 2873). – Leontsini.

Malama P./Ntarakes K., *Ανασκαφή Ποταμών Δράμας 2004–2005.* Το Αρχαιολογικό Έργο στη Μακεδονία και Θράκη 19 (2005) 35–44. 3 Zeichn. 9 Abb. Mit englischer Zusammenfassung. – In der Nähe des Dorfes Potamoi, 70 km nördlich von Drama in Makedonien unweit der griechisch-bulgarischen Grenze, wurden die Ruinen einer spätantiken villa rustica mit Residenz- und Werkstatträumen aufgedeckt (3./4. Jh.). Das Leben in der Villa hat sich bis zum 5./6. Jh. fortgesetzt. – Kalopissi-Verti. [3003

Marke E., *Η Αγία Σοφία και τα προσκτίσματά της μέσα από τα αρχαιολογικά δεδομένα. – Ἱστορία, λατρεία καὶ τέχνη τοῦ ἱεροῦ ναοῦ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ Σοφίας* (Nr. 3743) 117–129. 4 Abb. – Troianos. [3004

Marke E./Konstantinidu K., *Ο οχυρωματικός περίβολος του Λευκού Πύργου και άλλες οχυρώσεις στη Θεσσαλονίκη.* Το Αρχαιολογικό Έργο στη Μακεδονία και Θράκη 19 (2005) 211–220. 3 Zeichn. 16 Abb. Mit englischer Zusammenfassung. – U. a. zur Ausgrabung des Trigonion, eines dreieckigen Turmes an der Festungsmauer von Thessalonike, der von Ioannes Anagnostes in seinem Bericht über die Eroberung von Thessalonike durch die Türken 1430 erwähnt wird. – Kalopissi-Verti. [3005

Mauropulu-Tsiume Ch., *Το ψηφιδωτό του τρούλλου της Αγίας Σοφίας Το ιστορικό της συντήρησής του* (Nr. 3288). – Troianos.

Mentzos A., *Ο γλυπτός διάκοσμος της Αγίας Σοφίας στη Θεσσαλονίκη. – Ἱστορία, λατρεία καὶ τέχνη τοῦ ἱεροῦ ναοῦ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ Σοφίας* (Nr. 3743) 149–169. 10 Abb. – Identisch mit dem BZ 96 (2003) Nr. 971 angezeigten Aufsatz. – Troianos. [3006

Sabbopulu-Katsike X., *Χρονολογημένα μεταβυζαντινά τέμπλα από τη Δυτική Μακεδονία (16ος–18ος αι.).* ZRVI 44 (2007) 575–586. 12 Abb. Griechisch mit serbischer Zusammenfassung. – Es geht um insgesamt 7 Altarscheidewände. – Maksimović. [3007

Stauridu-Zaphraka A., *Ο μητροπολιτικός ναός της Αγίας Σοφίας και το Επισκοπείο.* – *Ἱστορία, λατρεία καὶ τέχνη τοῦ ἱεροῦ ναοῦ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ Σοφίας* (Nr. 3743) 33–46. – Identisch mit dem BZ 96 (2003) Nr. 801 angezeigten Aufsatz. – Troianos. [3008

Strate A., *Ἡ ζωγραφικὴ στὴν Ἱερὰ Μονὴ Τιμίου Προδρόμου Σερρῶν, 14ος–19ος αἰ. Μελέτες καὶ ἄρθρα.* Thessalonike, Paragoge 2007. 197 S. 137 Abb. ISBN 978-960-7666-61-1. Mit englischer Zusammenfassung. – Sammlung von zehn bereits publizierten Aufsätzen der Verfasserin, die der Malerei (Wandmalerei und Ikonen) der Klosterkirche Johannes des Vorläufers in Serres gewidmet sind. Die Aufsätze, die die Zeitspanne vom 14. zum 19. Jh. betreffen, werden hier mit neuen Farbabbildungen wieder veröffentlicht. – Kalopissi-Verti. [3009

Tablakes I./Tsanaka Ai., *Ανασκαφικές έρευνες στη Βεριά Νέων Συλάτων Χαλκιδικής* Το Αρχαιολογικό Έργο στη Μακεδονία και Θράκη 19 (2005) 269–277. 5 Zeichn. 10 Abb. – Grabungen in Beria, in der Nähe von Nea Sylata/Chalkidike haben u. a. ans Tageslicht gebracht: Grabstätten des 4. Jh.s, einen im 4. Jh. verlassenen spätantiken rechteckigen Bau, einen spätantiken Rundbau, über dem im 5. Jh. Werkstätten eingerichtet wurden, mittelbyzantinische Häuser, die im späten 12. Jh. wahrscheinlich während der Normanneneinfälle abbrannten. – Kalopissi-Verti. [3010

Tsekes G., *Αχλαδόκαμπος: Ιστορία και τοπογραφία. Οδικό δίκτυο, οχυρώσεις, οικισμοί αρχαίων και Βυζαντινών χρόνων* (Nr. 2875). – Leontsini.

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Ägäis

Bendermacher-Geroussi E., *Die Grabhäuser des Friedhofs aus römischer und frühchristlicher Zeit in Perissa auf Thera.* – **Harreither R./Pergola Ph./Pillinger R./Pülz A.** (Hrsg.), *Akten des XIV. Internationalen Kongresses für christliche Archäologie. Wien 19.–26. 9. 1999. Frühes Christentum zwischen Rom und Konstantinopel* (Nr. 3740) 191–200. Taf. 24–28. – Berger. [3012

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Vionis A. K., *The thirteenth-sixteenth-century Kastro of Kephalos: a contribution to the archaeological study of medieval Paros and the Cyclades.* The Annual of the British School at Athens 101 (2006) 459–492. – Berger. [3015

Volanakis J. E., *Die frühchristliche Basilika von Paleokklesia – Salakos (Rhodos).* – **Harreither R./Pergola Ph./Pillinger R./Pülz A.** (Hrsg.), *Akten des XIV. Internationalen Kongresses für christliche Archäologie. Wien 19.–26. 9. 1999. Frühes Christentum zwischen Rom und Konstantinopel* (Nr. 3740) 971–972. – Berger. [3016

Kreta

Anturakes G. B., *Ὁ Βυζαντινὸς ναΐσκος τοῦ Γενεσίου τῆς Θεοτόκου στὶς Σαϊτοῦρες Ρεθύμνου.* Πανεπιστήμιον Ἀθηνῶν. Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρὶς τῆς Θεολογικῆς Σχολῆς 40 (2005 [2007]) 181–227. 17 Abb. – Es handelt sich um eine sehr kleine Kapelle (4 × 6 m) im Dorf Saïtures auf der Insel Kreta, deren Entstehungszeit sich nicht mehr feststellen läßt. Verf. beschreibt die auf die frühe Palaiologenzeit zurückgehende und verhältnismäßig gut erhaltene Wandmalerei. – Troianos. [3017

Papadake-Oekland S./Gkratziu O., *Η έρευνα της αρχαιολογίας και της ιστορίας της τέχνης του Μεσαίωνα.* – **Detorakes Th.** (Hrsg.), *Πεπραγμένα Θ΄ Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου, Κεντρικές εισηγήσεις Συνείδηση και ταυτότητα των κοινοτήτων στην Κρήτη. Διαχρονία της πολιτικής γεωγραφίας της Κρήτης Απολογισμός και προοπτικές των Κρητολογικών ερευνών* (Nr. 3737) 205–222. – Gasparis. [3018

Passarelli G., *Creta tra Bisanzio e Venezia.* «Corpus bizantino slavo». Milano, Jaca 2007. 253 p. 283 fig. ISBN 88-1660-312-7. – Volume illustrativo con ampio e originale apparato iconografico, incentrato in particolare sui riflessi, o meglio sull'eredità, di Bisanzio a Creta. Indice: Creta e la sua storia (11–40); I monumenti di Creta bizantina e post-bizantina (41–92); L'arte all'epoca paleologa (93–102); Gli affreschi delle chiesette cretesi (103–158); Le icone (161–230). – Bianchi. [3019

Ranoutsaki Ch., *Byzantinische Baudenkmäler auf Kreta.* – **Haustein-Bartsch E.** (Hrsg.), *Kreta. Kunst und Kultur im Mittelalter. Beiträge der Tagung am 15. Oktober 2006 in Recklinghausen* (Nr. 3741) 35–49. – Schreiner. [3020

Sucrow A., *Byzantinische und nachbyzantinische Wandmalerei auf Kreta.* – **Haustein-Bartsch E.** (Hrsg.), *Kreta. Kunst und Kultur im Mittelalter. Beiträge der Tagung am 15. Oktober 2006 in Recklinghausen* (Nr. 3741) 51–59. – Schreiner. [3021

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Rosser J., *Stratigraphic evidence for the chronology of "Saranda Kolones" castle (Paphos, Cyprus).* – **Böhlendorf-Arslan B./Uysal A. O./Witte-Orr J.** (Hrsg.), *Çanak. Late antique and medieval pottery and tiles in Mediterranean archaeological contexts* (Nr. 3369) 411–418. – Dennert. [3022

(dd) Asiatische Türkei

Allgemein

Anderson W., *Votive customs in early Byzantine Asia Minor.* Journal of the Australian Early Medieval Association 3 (2007) 17–27. – Ca 50 ampullae of late 6th and early 7th century potted in Asia Minor from known contexts, half from religious sites or graves. – Moffatt. [3023

Ramsay W. M./Bell G. L., *The thousand and one churches.* Philadelphia, University of Phileadelphia Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology 2008. xxxiv, 538 p. ISBN 978-1-934536-05-6. – Nachdruck des Originals von 1909 mit einem Vorwort von R. G. Ousterhout und M. P. C. Jackson. – Berger. [3024

Asien (Provinz)

Arthur P./Bruno B., *Hierapolis di Frigia in età medioevale (scavi 2001–2003).* – **D'Andria F./Caggia M. P.** (a cura di), *Hierapolis di Frigia I. Le attività delle campagne di scave e restauro 2000–2003* (Nr. 3029) 511–529. 19 Abb. – Dennert. [3025

Bammer A., *Die Kirche im Artemision.* – **Muss U.** (Hrsg.), *Die Archäologie der ephesischen Artemis. Gestalt und Ritual eines Heiligtums* (Nr. 3036) 285–288. 1 Abb. – Sehr phantasievolle Rekonstruktion einer Kirche in der Cella des Tempels, die ins 5./6. Jh. datiert wird. Außer den massiven späten Wandpfeiler, die Wood 1870 freilegte, ist davon nichts gesichert. – Dennert. [3026

Caggia M. P., *Il Grande Edificio. Dalle terme romane alle trasformazioni di età ottomana (Regio II, insulae 3, 5).* – **D'Andria F./Caggia M. P.** (a cura di), *Hierapolis di Frigia I. Le attività delle campagne di scave e restauro 2000–2003* (Nr. 3029) 279–309. 36 Abb. – Der römische Thermenbau wurde durch ein Erdbeben in der Mitte des 4. Jh.s zerstört. Im 5.–6. Jh. erfolgte jedoch eine eingeschränkte Weiternutzung, nach einem erneuten Erdbeben in der Mitte des 7. Jh.s wurde hier im 9./10. Jh. ein Wohnviertel errichtet. – Dennert. [3027

Çoruhlu T., *Örentepe (Adramytteon Antik Kenti) 2003 Kazısı Ortaçağ Buluntuları* (Mittelalterliche Funde aus der Ausgrabung 2003 in Örentepe, der antiken Stadt Adramyttion). – **Çoruhlu T.** (Hrsg.), *VIII. Ortaçağ ve Türk Dönemi Kazıları ve Sanat Tarihi Araştırmaları Sempozyumu 26–28 Nisan 2004, Sakarya* (Nr. 3734) 138–146. 7 Abb. – Funde aus einer kleinen byzantinischen Kirche. – Dennert. [3028

D'Andria F./Caggia M. P. (a cura di), *Hierapolis di Frigia I. Le attività delle campagne di scave e restauro 2000–2003.* Istanbul, Ege Yayınları 2007. 633 S. Zahlr. Abb. ISBN 978-975-807-162-3. – Daraus angezeigt Nr. 3025, 3027, 3030, 3035, 3041, 3044, 3045, 3047. – Dennert. [3029

D'Andria R., *Recenti indagini nell'area del Martyrion di San Filippo.* – **D'Andria F./ Caggia M. P.** (a cura di), *Hierapolis di Frigia I. Le attività delle campagne di scave e restauro 2000–2003* (Nr. 3029) 531–540. 15 Abb. – Am Treppenweg von der Stadt zum Philipps-Martyrion wurde ein kleiner oktogonaler Bau des 5. Jh.s teilweise freigelegt. – Dennert. [3030

Erdoğu B./Fazlioğlu İ., *The Central Anatolian Salt Project. A preliminary report on the 2004 and 2005 surveys.* Anatolia Antiqua 14 (2006) 189–203. 15 Abb. – Der Survey im Bereich des Tuz Gölü erbrachte auch zahlreiche byzantinische Werkstücke. – Dennert. [3031

Gaitzsch W./Gassmann G./Hauptmann A., *Eisenfunde aus Pergamon. Geräte, Werkzeuge und Waffen* (Nr. 3333). – Berger.

Jastrzębowska E., *Das Viersäulendenkmal von Ephesos: Römische Idee, Konstantinopler Dekoration, lokale Herstellung.* – **Harreither R./Pergola Ph./Pillinger R./Pülz A.** (Hrsg.), *Akten des XIV. Internationalen Kongresses für christliche Archäologie. Wien 19.–26. 9. 1999. Frühes Christentum zwischen Rom und Konstantinopel* (Nr. 3740) 447–454. Taf. 152–154. – Grünbart. [3032

Lauwers V./Degryse P./Waelkens M., *Evidence for Anatolian glassworking in antiquity: the case of Sagalassos (southwestern Turkey).* Journal of Glass Studies 49 (2007) 39–46. – Following a survey of the evidence for, and secondary literature on, Byzantine glass working within the borders of modern Turkey, this study is devoted to the archaeological circumstances and techniques investigated at Sagalassos, north of Antalya. – Cutler. [3033

Machiarella G., *Balneum/Hamām: un inedito anatolico.* – **Quintavalle A. C.** (a cura di), *Medioevo mediterraneo: l'Occidente, Bisanzio e l'Islam* (Nr. 3754) 224–233. 31 Abb. – Dennert. [3034

Mastronuzzi G./Melissano V., *Le case bizantine sul lato ovest dell'Agorà (Regio I).* – **D'Andria F./Caggia M. P.** (a cura di), *Hierapolis di Frigia I. Le attività delle campagne di scave e restauro 2000–2003* (Nr. 3029) 541–581. 50 Abb. – Dennert. [3035

Muss U. (Hrsg.), *Die Archäologie der ephesischen Artemis. Gestalt und Ritual eines Heiligtums.* Wien, Phoibos 2008. 288 S. Zahlr. Abb. ISBN 3-901232-91-5. – Daraus angezeigt Nr. 3026, 3040. – Dennert. [3036

Niewöhner Ph., *Aizanoi, Dokimion und Anatolien. Stadt und Land, Siedlungs- und Steinmetzwesen vom späteren 4. bis ins 6. Jahrhundert n. Chr.* Archäologische Forschungen, 23. Wiesbaden, Reichert 2007. 308 S. 64 s/w. Taf. ISBN 978-3-89500-547-3. – Altripp. [3037

Niewöhner Ph., *Die große Friedhofskirche von Milet. Vorbericht über die Ausgrabung einer neu entdeckten Transeptbasilika.* Mitteilungen zur Christlichen Archäologie 13 (2007) 71–90. – Altripp. [3038

Ohnesorg A., *Der Kroisos-Tempel. Neue Forschungen zum archaischen Dipteros der Artemis von Ephesos.* Forschungen in Ephesos XII/4, Wien, Verlag der Österreichischen Akadademie der Wissenschaften 2007. XVIII, 222 S. 80 Taf. ISBN 978-3-7001-3477-0. – S. 132–134 mit Abb. 29 zur späteren Geschichte des Tempels. Danach lässt sich, entgegen der häufig angeführten Meinung, der Einbau einer Kirche in den Tempel nicht nachweisen. – Dennert. [3039

Pülz A., *Von der Göttin zur Gottesmutter? Artemis und Maria.* – **Muss U.** (Hrsg.), *Die Archäologie der ephesischen Artemis. Gestalt und Ritual eines Heiligtums* (Nr. 3036) 67–75. 4 Abb. – Knapp zum Christentum in Ephesos. Zu Verbindungen von Artemis-

und Marienverehrung. Vorsichtige Interpretaton der massiven Pfeiler im Artemision als zu einer Kirche gehörig. – Dennert. [3040

Romeo E., *Il progetto Cattedrale (Regio III, insulae 15, 20). Conoscenza, restauro, ipotesi di valorizzazione.* – **D'Andria F./Caggia M. P.** (a cura di), *Hierapolis di Frigia I. Le attività delle campagne di scave e restauro 2000–2003* (Nr. 3029) 495–510. 7 Abb. – Dennert. [3041

Ruggieri V., *Il Cristianesimo in Caria V–VI secolo.* – **Harreither R./Pergola Ph./Pillinger R./Pülz A.** (Hrsg.), *Akten des XIV. Internationalen Kongresses für christliche Archäologie. Wien 19.–26. 9. 1999. Frühes Christentum zwischen Rom und Konstantinopel* (Nr. 3740) 693–704. Tav. 246–250. – Grünbart. [3042

Russo E., *Riportato alla luce un pluteo frammentario della chiesa di S. Giovanni a Efeso.* Mitteilungen zur Christlichen Archäologie 13 (2007) 63–70. – Altripp. [3043

Semeraro G., *Ricerche archeologiche nel Santuario di Apollo (Regio VII) 2001–2003.* – **D'Andria F./Caggia M. P.** (a cura di), *Hierapolis di Frigia I. Le attività delle campagne di scave e restauro 2000–2003* (Nr. 3029) 169–209. 52 Abb. – Im 5.–6. Jh. wurde der Gebäudekomplex abgetragen, ein Steindepot, aus dem die Architekturblöcke zum weiteren Gebrauch abtransportiert werden sollten, lässt sich nachweisen. Weiternutzung des Geländes in früh- und mittelbyzantinischer Zeit mit kleinteiliger Bebauung aus Spolienmaterial. – Dennert. [3044

Silvestrelli F., *Il Ninfeo die Tritoni (Regio II): le fasi di età bizantina e postbizantina. Relazione preliminare delle campagne di scavo 1994–2001.* – **D'Andria F./Caggia M. P.** (a cura di), *Hierapolis di Frigia I. Le attività delle campagne di scave e restauro 2000–2003* (Nr. 3029) 333–357. 17 Abb. – Dennert. [3045

Steckner C., *Das christliche Aizanoi und der Westen.* – **Harreither R./Pergola Ph./Pillinger R./Pülz A.** (Hrsg.), *Akten des XIV. Internationalen Kongresses für christliche Archäologie. Wien 19.–26. 9. 1999. Frühes Christentum zwischen Rom und Konstantinopel* (Nr. 3740) 717–721. Taf. 246–250. – Grünbart. [3046

Zaccaria Ruggio A., *Regio VIII, insula 104. Le strutture abitative: fase e trasformazioni.* – **D'Andria F./Caggia M. P.** (a cura di), *Hierapolis di Frigia I. Le attività delle campagne di scave e restauro 2000–2003* (Nr. 3029) 211–257. 43 Abb. – Zwei mit Mosaik- und opus sectile-Böden sowie Wandmalereien reich ausgestattete Häuser des 5.–6. Jh.s, im 7. Jh. durch ein Erdbeben zerstört, teilweise darüber ein Haus des 9.–10. Jh.s. – Dennert. [3047

Zäh A., *Eine unbekannte Säulen-Basilika auf dem Territorium von Bargylia.* OCP 73 (2007) 417–432. – von Stockhausen. [3048

Bithynien und Pontos

Belke K., *Die vier Briefe des Patriarchen Athanasios I. an den Metropoliten von Apameia und die Eroberung Bithyniens durch die Osmanen am Anfang des 14. Jahrhunderts.* – **Belke K./Kislinger E./Külzer A./Stassinopoulou M. A.** (Hrsg.), *Byzantina Mediterranea. Festschrift für Johannes Koder zum 65. Geburtstag* (Nr. 3704) 29–42. – Grünbart. [3049

Böhlendorf-Arslan B., *Wohnen auf dem Beşiktepe (Troas): Einige Bemerkungen zur Architektur einer kleinen byzantinischen Siedlung.* – **Öztepe E./Kadıoğlu M.** (Hrsg.), *Patronvs. Coşkun Özgünel'e 65. Yaş Armağanı* (Nr. 3712) 35–41. 4 Abb. – Kleines landwirtschaftliches Anliegen des 13. Jh.s. – Dennert. [3050

Laflı E./Zäh A., *Archäologische Forschungen im byzantinischen Hadrianupolis in Paphlagonien.* BZ 101 (2008) 681–714. 14 Taf. – Berger. [3051

Özgümüş Ü., *Byzantine glass finds in the Roman theatre at Iznik (Nicaea)* (Nr. 3362). – Berger.

Kilikien

Aydın A., *Byzantine studies at museums in Cilicia 2006.* ANMED Anadolu Akdenizi Arkeoloji Haberleri/News of Archaeology from Anatolia's Mediterranean Areas 5 (2007) 137–140. 5 Abb. – 2 Bleisarkophage im Museum von Adana; frühbyz. Architekturplastik im Museum von Anamur. – Dennert. [3052

Borgia E./Monaco E., *The temple at Elaiusa Sebaste.* – **Elton H./Equini Schneider E./Wannagat D.**, *Temple to church. The transformation of religious sites from paganism to Christianity in Cilicia* (Nr. 3056) 25–43. 12 Abb. – Zur Umwandlung des Tempels in eine Kirche, Mosaik. – Dennert. [3053

Çambel H./Günay R./Toydemir Sabuncu A., *Kumkale. Toros Eteklerinde Bir Haçlı Kalesi.* Istanbul, Ege Yayınları 2007. 232 S. Zahlr. Abb. und Pläne. ISBN 978-975-807-180-7. – Vorlage einer kreuzfahrerzeitlichen Burg bei Kadırlı (heute im Aslantaş-Stausee untergegangen) mit reichen Keramikbefund des 13./frühen 14. Jh.s. Nach dem Keramikbefund gab es wahrscheinlich eine byzantinische Vorgängerphase der 2. Hälfte des 12. Jh.s. – Dennert. [3054

Elton H., *Alahan.* – **Elton H./Equini Schneider E./Wannagat D.**, *Temple to church. The transformation of religious sites from paganism to Christianity in Cilicia* (Nr. 3056) 45–60. 13 Abb. – Dennert. [3055

Elton H./Equini Schneider E./Wannagat D., *Tapınaktan Kiliseye. Kilikya'da Putperestlikten Hristiyanlığa Geçişte Dini Yerleşimlerin Dağılımı* (Nr. 3240). – Laflı.

Elton H./Equini Schneider E./Wannagat D., *Temple to church. The transformation of religious sites from paganism to Christianity in Cilicia.* Istanbul, Ege Yayınları 2007. 74 S. Zahlr. Abb. ISBN 970-975-807-188-3. – Zweisprachig englisch-türkisch. Die Beiträge sind angezeigt als Nr. 3053, 3055, 3060. – Dennert. [3056

Iacobini A./Della Valle M./Paribeni A., *Kanytella. Cristianizazione e riuso dello spazio urbano in una città paleobizantina della Cilicia.* – **Quintavalle A. C.** (a cura di), *Medioevo mediterraneo: l'Occidente, Bisanzio e l'Islam* (Nr. 3754) 397–419. 64 Abb. – Dennert. [3057

Köroğlu G., *Excavations at Mersin Yumuktepe Höyüğü in 2006.* ANMED Anadolu Akdenizi Arkeoloji Haberleri/News of Archaeology from Anatolia's Mediterranean Areas 5 (2007) 37–41. 5 Abb. – U. a. Kreuzkuppelkirche des 11./12. Jh.s. – Dennert. [3058

Postgate N./Thomas D. (eds.), *Excavations at Kilise Tepe, 1994–98: From Bronze age to Byzantine in western Cilicia.* BIAA monograph, 2. Cambridge, McDonald Institute / Ankara, British Institute 2007. 2 vols. 620 + 244 p. 527 b/w ill. 43 tables. ISBN 978-1-902937-40-3. – These two volumes report on five seasons' excavation at the site in the 1990 s. It is the only excavated Cilician site west of Mersin, some 130 km distant, and the project led by N. Postgate revealed the occupation sequence through the Bronze Age down to the time of Hittite domination and its collapse, leading on into the dawn of the classical world. M. Jackson has contributed an account of the Byzantine architecture and a detailed presentation of the Byzantine ceramic evidence. – Laflı. [3059

Wannagat D./Westphalen S., *The sanctuary of Zeus-Olbios and the city of Diokaisareia.* – **Elton H./Equini Schneider E./Wannagat D.**, *Temple to church. The transformation of religious sites from paganism to Christianity in Cilicia* (Nr. 3056) 1–24. 15 Abb . – Ausführlich zur Umwandlung des Tempels in eine Kirche, mit Rekonstruktionszeichnungen. – Dennert. [3060

Zoroğlu L., *Excavations, repair and display works at Kelenderis in 2006.* ANMED Anadolu Akdenizi Arkeoloji Haberleri/News of Archaeology from Anatolia's Mediterranean Areas 5 (2007) 1–21. 4 Abb. – Weitere Ausgrabung der frühbyzantinischen Kirche auf der Agora. – Dennert. [3061

Kappadokien

Baz F., *Die Inschriften von Komana (Hierapolis) in Kappadokien* (Nr. 3500). – Dennert.

Jolivet-Lévy C., *La Cappadoce aux VIIe–IXe siècles: quelques nouveaux témoignages archéologiques* – **Quintavalle A. C.** (a cura di), *Medioevo mediterraneo: l'Occidente, Bisanzio e l'Islam* (Nr. 3754) 234–242. 25 Abb. – Malereien in neuaufgefundenen Höhlenkirchen in Uçhisar und Başköy. – Dennert. [3062

Jolivet-Lévy C., *Note sur la représentation du Mandylion dans les églises byzantines de Cappadoce* (Nr. 3208). – Dennert.

Jolivet-Lévy C., *Nouvelles données sur le IXe siècle en Cappadoce: l'église d'İçeridere.* ZRVI 44 (2007) 73–86. 12 Abb. Französisch mit serbischer Zusammenfassung. – Analyse der Malerei (Herkunft, Datierung) in einem Höhlenkomplex bei Ürgüp (Kappadokien). – Maksimović. [3063

Peker N., *Kappadokia Bölgesinde 13. Yüzyil Duvar Resimleri.* – **Çoruhlu T.** (Hrsg.), *VIII. Ortaçağ ve Türk Dönemi Kazıları ve Sanat Tarihi Araştırmaları Sempozyumu 26–28 Nisan 2004, Sakarya* (Nr. 3734) 343–349. 7 Abb.. – Dennert. [3064

Ramsay W. M./Bell G. L., *The thousand and one churches* (Nr. 3024). – Berger.

Galatien

Berti F., *Iasos, note introduttive di carattere storico e topografico. – Il «tesoro» dell'agorà di Iasos. Un archivio d'argento dell'epoca di Plotino* (Nr. 3069) 11–22. 14 fig. – Breve accenno al periodo bizantino (fino all'XI secolo) del sito di Iasos (Caria), non

ancora del tutto indagato archeologicamente, del quale si conoscono almeno tre edifici ecclesiastici. – Bianchi. [3065

Doğan S./Vardar L. E., *Galatia'da Bizans Araştırmaları 2003.* – **Çoruhlu T.** (Hrsg.), *VIII. Ortaçağ ve Türk Dönemi Kazıları ve Sanat Tarihi Araştırmaları Sempozyumu 26–28 Nisan 2004, Sakarya* (Nr. 3734) 189–204. 6 Pläne. 4 Abb. – Survey frühbyz. Burgen, Höhlenanlagen und Spolien in Galatien. – Dennert. [3066

Koçyiğit O., *The role of terracotta spacers in the heating system of the Amorium bathhouse.* – **Böhlendorf-Arslan B./Uysal A. O./Witte-Orr J.** (Hrsg.), *Çanak. Late antique and medieval pottery and tiles in Mediterranean archaeological contexts* (Nr. 3369) 309–317. – Dennert. [3067

Pennestrì S., *Monete greche, romane e bizantine dagli scavi a Iasos (1960–1979). – Il «tesoro» dell'agorà di Iasos. Un archivio d'argento dell'epoca di Plotino* (Nr. 3069) 269–288. 5 tav. – Pubblicazione, con catalogo parziale di immagini, di parte delle monete rinvenute nel corso degli scavi a Iasos (Caria), incluse alcune della prima età bizantina, fino al periodo di Costante II (641–668). – Bianchi. [3068

Il «tesoro» dell'agorà di Iasos. Un archivio d'argento dell'epoca di Plotino. Bollettino di Numismatica 40–43 (2003–04 [2005]) 316 p. Num. fig. 200 tav. – Numero triplo monografico comprendente vari articoli sull'argomento; quelli che hanno attinenza col mondo bizantino vengono segnalati come no. 3065, 3068. – Bianchi. [3069

Lykien und Pamphylien

Bayburtluoğlu C., *Excavations at Arykanda 2006.* ANMED Anadolu Akdenizi Arkeoloji Haberleri/News of Archaeology from Anatolia's Mediterranean Areas 5 (2007) 1–5. 6 Abb. – Ausgrabungen in der Großen Kirche und in spätantiken Privathäusern, Mosaikböden. – Dennert. [3070

Doğan S., *Byzantine surveys in and around Alanya in 2006.* ANMED Anadolu Akdenizi Arkeoloji Haberleri/News of Archaeology from Anatolia's Mediterranean Areas 5 (2007) 93–97. 3 Abb. – Dennert. [3071

Foy D., *Une production de verre à Xanthos au début de l'époque byzantine* (Nr. 3358). – Dennert.

Hild F., *Klöster in Lykien* (Nr. 2397). – Tinnefeld.

Karakaya N., *Demre (Myra) Aziz Nikolaos Kilisesi'ndeki Restorasyon Sonrası "Golgota Yolu" Sahnesi.* Olba 15 (2007) 179–192. 7 Abb. – Zur Ikonographie der Szene „Christus auf dem Kreuzweg" in der Nikolauskirche, 12. Jh. – Dennert. [3072

Karakaya N., *Demre (Myra), Aziz Nikolaos Kilisesi Kazısında Bulunan "Theotokos Hodegetria" Tasviri.* Olba 15 (2007) 193–205. Abb. – Zu einem Brustbild der Hodegetria im Grabraum D auf der Südseite der Nikolauskirche, 12.–13. Jh. – Dennert. [3073

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Imperiale M. L./Limoncelli M./De Giorgi M., *Due chiese bizantine nel basso Salento: archeologia dell'architettura e decorazione pittorica.* – **Francovich R./Valenti M.** (ed.), *IV Congresso Nazionale di Archeologia Medievale (Società degli Archeologi Medievisti Italiani – Abbazia di San Galgano, Chiusdino-Siena, 26–30 settembre 2006)* (Nr. 3739) 613–620. 5 fig. – Analisi delle strutture della chiesa di S. Marina a Muro leccese, edificata nel IX secolo, e di quella di S. Pietro a Giuliano, edificata nel X secolo. Restano in entrambe tracce della decorazione pittorica ad affresco. – Bianchi. [3145

Kislinger E., *Vom römischen Memorialbau zum Byzantinischen Kloster – Der 'Conventazzo' von Torrenova (ME).* – **Harreither R./Pergola Ph./Pillinger R./Pülz A.** (Hrsg.), *Akten des XIV. Internationalen Kongresses für christliche Archäologie. Wien 19.–26. 9. 1999. Frühes Christentum zwischen Rom und Konstantinopel* (Nr. 3740) 483–488 (Taf. 168). – Berger. [3146

Knipp D., *Image, presence, and ambivalence. The Byzantine tradition of the painted ceiling in the Cappella Palatina, Palermo.* – **Bauer F. A.** (Hrsg.), *Visualisierungen von Herrschaft. Frühmittelalterliche Residenzen – Gestalt und Zeremoniell* (Nr. 3728) 283–238. – Berger. [3147

Lasi R., *Indagini topografiche sulla necropoli di Classe.* Orizzonti. Rassegna di archeologia 3 (2002 [2003]) 141–152. 13 fig. – Bianchi. [3148

Librenti M./Negrelli C., *Le indagini archeologiche 1990–1991 a Ferrara. Dati per la topografia tardo medievale dell'area urbana.* – **Francovich R./Valenti M.** (ed.), *IV Congresso Nazionale di Archeologia Medievale (Società degli Archeologi Medievisti Italiani – Abbazia di San Galgano, Chiusdino-Siena, 26–30 settembre 2006)* (Nr. 3739) 109–113. 3 fig. – Si segnalano anfore e vasellame di importazione dal tardo IX secolo, di provenienza da area bizantina. – Bianchi. [3149

Liverani P., *La basilica di S. Pietro e l'orografia del colle Vaticano.* – **Harreither R./Pergola Ph./Pillinger R./Pülz A.** (Hrsg.), *Akten des XIV. Internationalen Kongresses für christliche Archäologie. Wien 19.–26. 9. 1999. Frühes Christentum zwischen Rom und Konstantinopel* (Nr. 3740) 501–508. Tav. 172–175. – Stratigraphische Untersuchungen zur Basilika des 6. Jh.s. – Grünbart. [3150

Melli P./Benente F., *Nuovi dati sulla circolazione della ceramica d'importazione islamica e bizantina a Genova: il contesto di S. Maria delle Grazie la nuova.* – **Francovich R./Valenti M.** (ed.), *IV Congresso Nazionale di Archeologia Medievale (Società degli Archeologi Medievisti Italiani – Abbazia di San Galgano, Chiusdino-Siena, 26–30 settembre 2006)* (Nr. 3739) 642–643. 3 fig. – Rinvenimenti di ceramiche ingobbiate e graffite policrome provenienti dal mondo bizantino tra fine XII e XIII secolo. – Bianchi. [3151

Novara P., *Ravenna. Pavimenti settili negli edifici di culto di età teodericiana (fine V – inizi VI secolo).* – **Angelelli C./Paribeni A.** (eds.), *Atti del XII colloquio dell'Associazione Italiana per lo Studio e la Conservazione del Mosaico (Padova, 14–15 e 17 febbraio – Brescia, 16 febbraio 2006)* (Nr. 3285) 111–118. 5 Abb. – Dennert. [3152

Pace V., *La questione bizantina in alcuni monumenti dell'Italia altomedievale: la «perizia greca» nei «tempietti» di Cividale e del Clitumno, Santa Maria foris portas a Castelseprio e San Salvatore a Brescia, Santa Maria Antiqua a Roma* (Nr. 3412). – Dennert.

Palazzi P., *Un insediamento fortificato della Liguria bizantina in località San Bernardo di Millesimo? Nota preliminare.* Ligures 4 (2006 [2007]) 5–114. 6 fig. n.t. – Studio preliminare di una torre, individuata a sud del'abitato di Millesimo, in località San Bernardo, il cui complesso di strutture murarie risulta oggi parzialmente inglobato nell'omonima chiesa. La torre sembra databile tra i secoli VI e VII, un'epoca in cui «successivamente al passaggio dei Longobardi dalla Venetia alla Liguria nel 569 ed al forzamento del Po, in un periodo compreso tra il 575–76 ed il 584, i bizantini attestati sulla Langa Albese dovettero intensificare il controllo dei territori in loro possesso nella Val Bormida meridionale ed a protezione del tracciato interno appenninico della via Julia Augusta». – Luzzi. [3153

Piano N., *I mosaici della cattedrale di Torcello: l'interazione fra architettura e iconografia attraverso il tema della porta.* Arte Veneta 62 (2005 [2006]) 7–13. 5 fig. – Bianchi. [3154

Piazza S., *Le pitture dell'eremo di San Martino sul monte Acuziano: modelli grecoorientali agli albori dell'abbazia di Farfa* (Nr. 3414). – Dennert.

Požidaeva A. V., *Цикл Творения в западноевропейском искусстве X – начала XIII вв.: опыт иконографической генеалогии. Автореферат диссертации на соискание ученой степени кандидата искусствоведения* (The cycle of the Creation in the West European art of 11th – early 13th centuries: an essay of the iconographic genealogy. Dissertation abstract, doctor of the 1st degree). Moscow, 2008. 33 p. – Etinhof. [3155

Rizzardi C., *Ravenna tra Roma e Costantinopoli: l'architettura del V e VI secolo alla luce dell'ideologia politico-religiosa dei tempo.* – **Harreither R./Pergola Ph./Pillinger R./Pülz A.** (Hrsg.), *Akten des XIV. Internationalen Kongresses für christliche Archäologie. Wien 19.–26. 9. 1999. Frühes Christentum zwischen Rom und Konstantinopel* (Nr. 3740) 671–680. Tav. 233–237. – Grünbart. [3156

Rizzardi C./Vernia B., *Scene circensi nei mosaici pavimentali provenienti dal palazzo di Teodorico a Ravenna: ipotesi ricostruttive e significati.* – **Angelelli C./Paribeni A.** (eds.), *Atti del XII colloquio dell'Associazione Italiana per lo Studio e la Conservazione del Mosaico (Padova, 14–15 e 17 febbraio – Brescia, 16 febbraio 2006)* (Nr. 3285) 119–130. 8 Abb. – Dennert. [3157

Ronchetti E., *Opus sectile parietale da una residenza sul Pincio.* – **Angelelli C./Paribeni A.** (eds.), *Atti del XII colloquio dell'Associazione Italiana per lo Studio e la Conservazione del Mosaico (Padova, 14–15 e 17 febbraio – Brescia, 16 febbraio 2006)* (Nr. 3285) 241–252. 7 Abb. – Wandintarsien in einer aristokratischen Villa des 4. Jh.s in Rom. – Dennert. [3158

Staffa A. R., *Il porto romano ed altomedievale di Pescara.* Journal of Ancient Topography/Rivista di topografia antica 16 (2006 [2007]) 8–58. 29 fig. – Risultati degli scavi condotti dal 1989 sull'antico insediamento portuale di Ostia Aterni (Aternum) allo sbocco del fiume Pescara, con analisi in particolare delle mura bizantine risalenti al VI secolo. – Bianchi. [3159

Staffa A. R., *Quindici anni di ricerche archeologiche a Pescara (1990–2005): un bilancio.* – **Francovich R./Valenti M.** (ed.), *IV Congresso Nazionale di Archeologia Medievale (Società degli Archeologi Medievisti Italiani – Abbazia di San Galgano, Chiusdino-Siena, 26–30 settembre 2006)* (Nr. 3739) 157–167. 9 fig. – Si tratta anche del periodo del dominio bizantino nell'insediamento portuale di Ostia Aterni (Aternum) allo sbocco del fiume Pescara, ed in particolare delle mura urbane risalenti al VI secolo. – Bianchi. [3160

Testi Cristiani M. L., *Arte medievale a Pisa tra Oriente e Occidente* (Nr. 2924). – Bianchi.

Tomea Gavazzoli M. L., *Le Quattro Dimensioni (Ef 3, 18) nel battistero di Parma. Modelli bizantini ed élite intellettuale francescana intorno al 1250.* Arte Lombarda 150 (2007) 7–24. 21 fig. – Bianchi. [3161

Torggler A. (Hrsg.), *Die Kirche Maria Trost in Untermais.* Bozen, Tappeiner Verlag 2006. 253 S. Viele Farb-Abb. und Pläne. ISBN 978-88-7073-394-5. – Als eines der ganz wichtigen Denkmäler für den byz. Einfluß in der romanischen Wandmalerei (vgl. bes. die Koimesis-Darstellung) hier anzuzeigen. – Altripp. [3162

Treadgold-Andreescu I. u. a., *Glass from the mosaics on the west wall of Torcello's basilica* (Nr. 3291). – Dennert.

Zimmermann N./Tsamakda V., *Das Start-Projekt „Domitilla". Arbeitsbericht über die Dokumentation und Erforschung einer römischen Katakombe unter Einsatz des 3D-Laserscanners.* Mitteilungen zur Christlichen Archäologie 13 (2007) 9–30. – Altripp. [3163

Zimmermann N., *Die Malerwerkstatt der Kammern D–O der Via Latina Katakombe in Rom.* – **Harreither R./Pergola Ph./Pillinger R./Pülz A.** (Hrsg.), *Akten des XIV. Internationalen Kongresses für christliche Archäologie. Wien 19.–26. 9. 1999. Frühes Christentum zwischen Rom und Konstantinopel* (Nr. 3740) 973–980. Taf. 288–292. – Grünbart. [3164

(hh) Westlicher Mittelmeerraum

Inseln

Bozzetti P., *Il castrum bizantino di Oschiri: un caso di diagnostica e conservazione.* Sardinia, Corsica et Baleares Antiquae 2 (2004) 125–138. 21 Abb. – Dennert. [3165

Di Stefano G./Fiorilla S., *Un abitato arroccato sulla Sicilia sudorientale fra alto e basso medioevo: il caso di Ragusa Ibla.* – **Francovich R./Valenti M.** (ed.), *IV Congresso Nazionale di Archeologia Medievale (Società degli Archeologi Medievisti Italiani – Abbazia di San Galgano, Chiusdino-Siena, 26–30 settembre 2006)* (Nr. 3739) 191–195. 5 fig. – Si riferisce anche delle fonti relative al periodo bizantino. – Bianchi. [3166

Distefano S., *Ferla (SR). La fondazione del castrum longobardo di Ferulae e l'edificazione della turris lapidea.* – **Francovich R./Valenti M.** (ed.), *IV Congresso Nazionale di Archeologia Medievale (Società degli Archeologi Medievisti Italiani – Abbazia di San Galgano, Chiusdino-Siena, 26–30 settembre 2006)* (Nr. 3739) 180–185. 5 fig. – Nell'articolo si inserisce la descrizione del territorio in età bizantina e la discussione sul sigillo diplomatico plumbeo di un certo Antioco patrizio e stratego di Sicilia, aristocratico bizantino vissuto nella seconda metà dell'VIII secolo. – Bianchi. [3167

Pani Ermini L./Manconi F./Carrada F./Marchetti M. I./Olivieri D./Stasolla F. R., *Indagini archeologiche nel complesso di S. Gavino a Porto Torres. Scavi 1989–2003.* Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di archeologia. Memorie in 8° 7 (2006), volume monografico. 303 p. 173 fig. e 32 tav. – Ad una iniziale discussione sull'estensione della città tardoantica e altomedievale di Turris (l'antica colonia romana Iulia Turris Lisibonis), basata sulla parziale individuazione di un circuito murario che L. Pani Ermini e P. G. Spanu attribuiscono al principio del dominio bizantino in Sardegna (nell'ambito del programma di allestimento delle difese in tutti i territori dell'impero portato avanti da Giustiniano), segue la descrizione analitica dei risultati degli scavi del sito dove si erge la basilica di San Gavino e dove – secondo la proposta degli autori – si deve

riconoscere, pur non essendosi allo stato attuale delle indagini rinvenuto il fonte battesimale, il luogo della primitiva cattedrale. Per le strutture e i reperti di epoca bizantina si veda in particolare la parte da p. 101 a p. 124, «Periodo III, La necropoli e gli edifici di culto di età bizantina e della prima età giudicale (metà VI – prima metà XI secolo)», redatta da F. R. Stasolla e M. I. Marchetti. – Bianchi. [3168

Purpura G., *Il relitto bizantino di Cefalù: ultimo atto?* Archaeologia Maritima Mediterranea 1 (2004 [2005]) 89–98. 16 fig. – Il relitto, noto da circa venti anni ma non ancora oggetto di studi sistematici, ha restituito anche di recente numerosi reperti. Il suo affondamento – ipotizza l'autore – potrebbe essere messo in relazione con la riconquista bizantina della Sicilia avvenuta tra il 547 e il 551, in seguito all'invio di una flotta di trecento dromoni sotto il comando dell'anziano dignitario Liberio. – Bianchi. [3169

Riera Rullan M., *Excavacions arqueològiques a l'illa de Cabrera (Illes Balears). Recerques sobre la comunitat monàstica de l'antiguitat tardana.* Butlletí Arqueològic. Reial Societat Arqueològica Tarraconense 27 (2005) 175–219. – Das spätantike Kloster in Cabrera blühte während der byzantinischen Besatzung der Balearen bis zum 8. Jh. – Signes. [3170

Sami D., *L'isola di Pantelleria tra tarda antichità e periodo bizantino. Lo stato della ricerca e alcuni spunti di riflessione.* Archeologia medievale 33 (2006) 491–499. 6 fig. 6 tav. – Lo stato attuale degli studi e delle ricerche archeologiche non permette ancora di fornire precise risposte in merito all'organizzazione degli insediamenti sull'isola, in particolare per la sua parte interna, e di distinguere tracce diversificate tra l'invasione vandala e la riconquista bizantina. – Bianchi. [3171

Spanien und Portugal

Ahrens S., *Arquitectura y decoración arquitectónica de época paleocristiana y visigoda en Itálica (Santiponce, prov. Sevilla).* Romula 1 (2002) 107–124. 17 fig. – Si esaminano vari frammenti architettonici, in particolare capitelli, rinvenuti in scavi del secolo passato sul sito della città romana di Italica; alcuni di questi mostrano richiami a decorazioni bizantine (ravennati e costantinopolitane) di V–VI secolo, e sono datati dall'autore al periodo tra la metà del VI e il principio del VII secolo. – Bianchi. [3172

Madrid Balanza M. J./Vizcaíno Sánchez J., *Nuevos elementos de ajuar de la necrópolis oriental de Carthago Spartaria (II).* Mastia, Revista del Museo Arqueológico Municipal de Cartagena 6 (2007) 37–90. – Spätantike (6.–7. Jh.) Austattungen der Gräber der östlichen Nekropole von Cartagena. – Signes. [3173

Madrid Balanza M. J./Vizcaíno Sánchez J., *Nuevos elementos de ajuar de la necrópolis oriental de Carthago Spartaria.* Mastia, Revista del Museo Arqueológico Municipal de Cartagena 5 (2006) 85–130. – Spätantike Funde in der Nekropole von Cartagena. – Signes. [3174

Ramallo Asensio S. F./Vizcaíno Sánchez J., *Evolución del sistema defensivo de Cartagena durante la Antigüedad.* – **Rodríguez Colmenero A./Rodá de Llanza I.** (Hrsg.), *Murallas de Ciudades Romanas en el Occidente del Imperio. Lucus Augusti como paradigma* (Nr. 3757) 483–522. – Schwerpunkt ist die Mauer des byzantinischen Car-

tagena. Literarische Quellen sowie neue archäologische Funde werden berücksichtigt. – Signes. [3175

Ramallo Asensio S. F./Vizcaíno Sánchez J./García Vidal M., *La decoración arquitectónica en el sureste hispano durante la Antigüedad Tardía.* – **Caballero Zoreda L./ Mateos Cruz P.** (Hrsg.), *Escultura decorativa tardorromana y altomedieval en la Península Ibérica* (Nr. 3766) 367–389. – U. a. wird der byzantinische Einfluss auf die Dekoration der Basilika von Algezares 5 km südlich von Murcia analysiert. – Signes. [3176

Ribera i Lacomba A. V., *Late Roman Valentia (Hispania): urban topography from paganism to christianity.* – **Harreither R./Pergola Ph./Pillinger R./Pülz A.** (Hrsg.), *Akten des XIV. Internationalen Kongresses für christliche Archäologie. Wien 19.–26. 9. 1999. Frühes Christentum zwischen Rom und Konstantinopel* (Nr. 3740) 639–647. Tab. 227–230. – Grünbart. [3177

Vizcaíno Sánchez J., *Elementos de indumentaria y adorno personal procedentes de los niveles tardíos de las excavaciones del Teatro Romano de Cartagena. Etapa Bizantina (I).* Mastia, Revista del Museo Arqueológico Municipal de Cartagena 6 (2007) 11–36. – Spätantike Fibeln, Knöpfe, Broschen und Schnallen im byzantinischen Theater-Viertel von Cartagena. – Signes. [3178

Nordafrika

Berndt G. M., *Architecture and the Vandal elite in Africa.* Hortus artium medievalium 13/2 (2007) 291–300. 12 Abb. – Es gibt keine „Architektur der Vandalen“, wohl aber in der Vandalenzeit errichtete Architektur, die sich durch nichts von der vorhergehenden spätantiken Architektur unterscheidet. – Dennert. [3179

Carra Bonacasa R. M., *Due mosaici nilotici nella cattedrale di Cirene.* – **Harreither R./ Pergola Ph./Pillinger R./Pülz A.** (Hrsg.), *Akten des XIV. Internationalen Kongresses für christliche Archäologie. Wien 19.–26. 9. 1999. Frühes Christentum zwischen Rom und Konstantinopel* (Nr. 3740) 273–279 (tav. 41–44). – Berger. [3180

Laronde A./Michel V., *La basilique occidentale d’Erythron (Latrun). Fouilles et restauration.* [ohne Ort,] Département des Antiquités de Libye/Mission Archéologique Française en Libye 2004. 23 S. + 5 S. arabisches Resumé. 9 Abb. – Die schon von W. Widrig publizierte Basilika B wurde neu untersucht und restauriert. – Dennert. [3181

Leone A., *Changing urban landscapes: burials in North African cities from the late antique to Byzantine periods.* – **Stone D. L./Stirling L. M.** (eds.), *Mortuary landscapes of North Africa* (Nr. 3786) 164–203. – Talbot. [3182

Stone D. L./Stirling L. M. (eds.), *Mortuary landscapes of North Africa* (Nr. 3786). – Talbot.

C. IKONOGRAPHIE UND SYMBOLIK

a. Allgemeine Darstellungen

Acconcia Longo A., *Considerazioni sulla chiesa di S. Maria dell'Ammiraglio e sulla Cappella Palatina di Palermo* (Nr. 3121). – D'Aiuto.

Andaloro M., *Bisanzio: Lo statuto dell'immagine.* – **Quintavalle A. C.** (a cura di), *Medioevo mediterraneo: l'Occidente, Bisanzio e l'Islam* (Nr. 3754) 73–81. 10 Abb. – Dennert. [3183

Ballardini A., *Fare immagini tra Occidente e Oriente: Claudio di Torino, Pasquale I e Leone V l'Armeno.* – **Quintavalle A. C.** (a cura di), *Medioevo mediterraneo: l'Occidente, Bisanzio e l'Islam* (Nr. 3754) 194–214. 34 Abb. – Dennert. [3184

Berger M., *L'église Mater Domini à Bagnolo del Salento. Essai de reconstitution du programme iconographique de l'abside et de ses annexes* (Nr. 3293). – D'Aiuto.

Charles-Murray M., *The emergence of Christian art.* – **Spier J.** et al. (eds.), *Picturing the Bible. The earliest Christian art* (Nr. 3195) 50–63. – Altripp. [3185

Concina E., *Iconografia marciana e iconografia bizantina. Note e considerazioni.* Quaderni della Procuratoria 2 (2007) 24–41. – Auf schmalem Raum gelingt es dem Verf., für die vielen ikonographischen Abweichungen von S. Marco in Venedig gegenüber Zyklen in byzantinischen Kirchen Erklärungen oder doch Hypothesen zu finden. Es ist in erster Linie der justinianische Baukörper, in Nachahmung der Apostelkirche, der Schwierigkeiten bereitet. Entscheidend war aber wohl, dass S. Marco die Palastkirche des Dogen war, die nicht an den Maßstäben byzantinischer Klosterkirchen zu messen ist, sondern ihre Vorbilder im byzantinischen Palastareal hatte. Wenngleich im einzelnen kaum beweisbar, waren es auch die intellektuellen Kontakte mit den Venezianern im Handelsviertel in Konstantinopel, die in entscheidenden Phasen der Innenausstattung im 12. Jh. ihre Vorstellungen mit eingebracht haben. – Schreiner. [3186

Deckers J. G., *Constantine the Great and early Christian art.* – **Spier J.** et al. (eds.), *Picturing the Bible. The earliest Christian art* (Nr. 3195) 86–109. – Altripp. [3187

Donceel-Voûte P., *West and East. The image in context and the iconographical programme of the church building.* – **Harreither R./Pergola Ph./Pillinger R./Pülz A.** (Hrsg.), *Akten des XIV. Internationalen Kongresses für christliche Archäologie. Wien 19.–26. 9. 1999. Frühes Christentum zwischen Rom und Konstantinopel* (Nr. 3740) 3–41. – Behandelt Mosaike in Madaba und Mallorca und stellt sie in einen mediterranen Kontext. – Grünbart. [3188

Enss E., *Ikonographische Probleme der Holztür von Sitt Barbara.* – **Harreither R./ Pergola Ph./Pillinger R./Pülz A.** (Hrsg.), *Akten des XIV. Internationalen Kongresses für christliche Archäologie. Wien 19.–26. 9. 1999. Frühes Christentum zwischen Rom und Konstantinopel* (Nr. 3740) 857–863. Taf. 89–90. – Grünbart. [3189

Fine S., *Jewish art and biblical exegesis in the Greco-Roman world.* – **Spier J.** et al. (eds.), *Picturing the Bible. The earliest Christian art* (Nr. 3195) 24–49. – Altripp. [3190

Jensen R. M., *Early Christian images and exegesis.* – **Spier J.** et al. (eds.), *Picturing the Bible. The earliest Christian art* (Nr. 3195) 64–85. – Altripp. [3191

Kessler H. L., *Bright gardens of Paradise.* – **Spier J.** et al. (eds.), *Picturing the Bible. The earliest Christian art* (Nr. 3195) 110–139. – Altripp. [3192

Kotoula D., *The decoration of the burial chapel of the founder in the Byzantine monastery, charity and the quest for posthumous salvation: the case of the Koutsovendis and the Pammakaristos chapels.* – **Stathakopoulos D.** (ed.), *The kindness of strangers: charity in the pre-modern Mediterranean* (Nr. 3759) 49–69. – Stathakopoulos. [3193

Lange G., *Der byzantinische Bilderstreit und das Bilderkonzil von Nikaia (787).* – **Hoeps R.** (Hrsg.), *Bild-Konflikte* (Nr. 3775) 171–190. – Dennert. [3194

Spier J. et al. (eds.), *Picturing the Bible. The earliest Christian art.* Yale, Yale University Press 2007. 309 S. Zahlr. farb. Abb. ISBN 978-0-300-11683-0. – Die Beiträge sind angezeigt als Nr. 3185, 3187, 3190, 3191, 3192, 3196, 3315. – Altripp. [3195

Spier J., *The earliest Christian art: from personal salvation to imperial.* – **Spier J.** et al. (eds.), *Picturing the Bible. The earliest Christian art* (Nr. 3195) 1–23. – Altripp. [3196

Strohmaier-Wiederanders G., *Spätantike Monatsbilder und ihre Rezeption in der frühmittelalterlichen abendländischen Tradition.* – **Harreither R./Pergola Ph./Pillinger R./Pülz A.** (Hrsg.), *Akten des XIV. Internationalen Kongresses für christliche Archäologie. Wien 19.–26. 9. 1999. Frühes Christentum zwischen Rom und Konstantinopel* (Nr. 3740) 967–970. Taf. 256–260. – Grünbart. [3197

Toti M., *Il «rinnovamento esicasta». Ascesi e iconografia tra Oriente ed Occidente (XIII–XV secolo)* (Nr. 2448). – Bianchi.

b. Christus, Maria, Heilige

Arbeiter A., *Dunkelheit, Einsamkeit, Angst. Das Gethsemane-Bild des Codex Rossanensis* (Nr. 3308). – Dennert.

Berger M./Jacob A., *Des peintures pré-iconoclastes en Terre d'Otrante. Les fresques de l'église S. Pietro à Crepacore et leur dédicace* (Nr. 3292). – Acconcia Longo.

Brubaker L./Cunningham M., *Byzantine veneration of the Theotokos: icons, relics, and eighth-century homilies.* – **Amirav H./Ter Haar Romeny B.** (eds.), *From Rome to Constantinople: Studies in honour of Averil Cameron* (Nr. 3693) 235–250. – Stathakopoulos. [3198

Canetri E., *Il rinnegamento di Pietro nell'arte paleocristiana. Nuove considerazioni iconografiche e iconologiche.* Rivista d'Archeologia Cristiana 82 (2006) 159–200. – Altripp. [3199

Canuti G., *Il globo celeste quale immagine del cosmo sferico nei mosaici ecclesiali tardoantichi.* – **Angelelli C./Paribeni A.** (eds.), *Atti del XII colloquio dell'Associazione Italiana per lo Studio e la Conservazione del Mosaico (Padova, 14–15 e 17 febbraio – Brescia, 16 febbraio 2006)* (Nr. 3285) 481–488. – Dennert. [3200

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Dominte G. M./Onica S., *Reprezentări plastice ale sinoadelor ecumenice şi ale Sfintei Treimi în iconografia ortodoxă* (Représentations des synodes œcuméniques et de la Sainte Trinité dans l'iconographie orthodoxe). Teologie ortodoxă (Jassy) 10 (2005) 113–148. – On souligne la valeur des Herminies byzantines pour ces représentations en Moldavie et Valachie médiévale. – Teoteoi. [3218

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D. ARCHITEKTUR

a. Allgemeine Darstellungen

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Eslami A. N., *Architettura tra Bisanzio e l'Islam, dagli Omayyadi ai Comneni: incroci e interazioni.* – **Quintavalle A. C.** (a cura di), *Medioevo mediterraneo: l'Occidente, Bisanzio e l'Islam* (Nr. 3754) 477–488. 19 Abb. – Dennert. [3227

Guidobaldi F., *Da Roma a Costantinopoli: trasmissione e tramiti di una cultura architettonica.* – **Harreither R./Pergola Ph./Pillinger R./Pülz A.** (Hrsg.), *Akten des XIV. Internationalen Kongresses für christliche Archäologie. Wien 19.–26. 9. 1999. Frühes Christentum zwischen Rom und Konstantinopel* (Nr. 3740) 145–157. – Berger. [3228

Guiglia Guidobaldi A., *Chiesa e palazzo nella città bizantina.* – **Quintavalle A. C.** (a cura di), *Medioevo: la Chiesa e il Palazzo* (Nr. 3755) 193–205. 26 Abb. – Dennert. [3229

McKenzie J., *The architecture of Alexandria and Egypt c. 300 BC to AD 700.* New Haven/London, Yale University Press 2007. 458 S. 624 Abb. ISBN 0-300-11555-5. – S. 229 ff. gibt einen Überblick zur spätantiken Architektur in Ägypten, das S. 328 ff. folgende Kapitel „Influence of Byzantine Architecutre Outside Egypt" führt allerdings vieles auf den Einfluss von Alexandria zurück, was eher umgekehrt als byzantinischer Einfluss in Ägypten zu bezeichnen ist. – Dennert. [3230

Paribeni A., *Chiesa e Palazzo: i destini paralleli della chiesa e del palazzo delle Blacherne a Costantinopoli.* – **Quintavalle A. C.** (a cura di), *Medioevo: la Chiesa e il Palazzo* (Nr. 3755) 357–368. 15 fig. – Ricostruzione tutta condotta sulle fonti, mancando emergenze architettoniche (la chiesa fu devastata da un incendio nel 1434, il palazzo fu distrutto con la caduta del 1453). – D'Aiuto. [3231

Pasi S., *Ravenna e Bisanzio.* – **Rizzardi C.** (Hrsg.), *Venezia e Bisanzio. Aspetti della cultura artistica bizantina da Ravenna a Venezia (V–XIV secolo)* (Nr. 3756) 45–87. – Ein architektur- und denkmalgeschichtlicher Vergleich. – Schreiner. [3232

Russo E., *L'architettura di Ravenna paleocristiana.* – **Rizzardi C.** (Hrsg.), *Venezia e Bisanzio. Aspetti della cultura artistica bizantina da Ravenna a Venezia (V–XIV secolo)* (Nr. 3756) 89–229. – Ein umfassender Überblick, der die Forschungen von De Angelis d'Ossat (1962) und Deichmann (1964–76) bis heute fortführt. / Vgl. auch BZ 97 (2004) Nr. 1509. – Schreiner/Berger. [3233

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b. Kirchliche Architektur

Angar M., *Stiftermodelle in Byzanz und bei christlich-orthodoxen Nachbarkulturen.* – **Kratzke Ch./Albrecht U.** (Hrsg.), *Mikroarchitektur im Mittelalter. Ein gattungsübergreifendes Phänomen zwischen Realität und Imagination* (Nr. 3746) 433–453. – Berger. [3235

Bacci M., *Spazi sacri e rappresentazione del potere nella Cipro dei Lusignano.* – **Quintavalle A. C.** (a cura di), *Medioevo: la Chiesa e il Palazzo* (Nr. 3755) 183–192. 15 fig. – D'Aiuto. [3236

Brandt O., *The Lateran Baptistery and the diffusion of octagonal baptisteries from Rome to Constantinople.* – **Harreither R./Pergola Ph./Pillinger R./Pülz A.** (Hrsg.), *Akten des XIV. Internationalen Kongresses für christliche Archäologie. Wien 19.–26. 9. 1999. Frühes Christentum zwischen Rom und Konstantinopel* (Nr. 3740) 221–227. – Berger. [3237

Descœudres G., *Die Diakonie – ein bisher unbekannter monastischer Bautypus.* – **Harreither R./Pergola Ph./Pillinger R./Pülz A.** (Hrsg.), *Akten des XIV. Internationalen Kongresses für christliche Archäologie. Wien 19.–26. 9. 1999. Frühes Christentum zwischen Rom und Konstantinopel* (Nr. 3740) 337–344. – Die zwei- bzw. dreijochigen Säle in einigen Zell-Komplexen in den Kellia werden als speziell im Dienst der Diaconia stehende Bauten angesehen zur Unterstützung der Armen – Laien und Mönche – und gelten in diesem Sinne als Speiseräume. Einige dieser Säle wurden später in liturgiefähige Kapellen umgewandelt. Ob sich diese Interpretation durchsetzen wird, wird sich zeigen. Wenig einleuchtend ist jedenfalls die Deutung der in der Regel drei in den Boden eingelassenen und von gemalten Teppichmustern umgebenen Steinplatten als Markierungen für die Position von Speisetischen. Die Malereien würden bald verwischt sein. Eher wahrscheinlich ist, dass von ihnen die drei Gebete für die bei den koptischen Mönchen sehr gepflegte allabendliche Zeremonie des Weihrauchopfers gesprochen wurden. – Grossmann. [3238

Dietrich A./Dietrich R., *A proposed identification for Zosima's Apolikaptii Monastery in Constantinople* (Nr. 2832). – Macé.

Effenberger A., *Zu den Gräbern in der Pammakaristoskirche.* Byz 77 (2007) 170–196. – The author examines the location of the tombs in the Pammakaristos Church in Constantinople, on the basis of the structural situation of the church itself, and of several written documents (a description of the tombs written by Ioannes Malaxos between 1572 and 1588, as well as traveller reports). – Macé. [3239

Egea J. M., *El ambón de Santa Sofía* (Nr. 2071). – Signes.

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Imperiale M. L./Limoncelli M./De Giorgi M., *Due chiese bizantine nel basso Salento: archeologia dell'architettura e decorazione pittorica* (Nr. 3145). – Bianchi.

Jäggi C., *Die Kirche als heiliger Raum: Zur Geschichte eines Paradoxons.* – **Hamm B./Herbers K./Stein-Kecks H.** (Hrsg.), *Sakralität zwischen Antike und Neuzeit* (Nr. 3773) 75–89. 9 Abb. – Dennert. [3241

Karadedos G./Nikonanos N., *Βασιλική Σωφρονίου στη Νικήτη. Κύριες οικοδομικές φάσεις* (Nr. 2995). – Kalopissi-Verti.

Kazarjan A., *Кафедральный собор Сурб Эчмиадзин и восточнохристианское зодчество IV–VII веков* (Nr. 3090). – Etinhof.

Khroushkova L., *Les monuments chrétiens de la côte orientale de la Mer Noire. Abkhazie (IVe–XIVe siècles).* Bibliothèque de l'Antiquité tardive, 9. Brepols, Turnhout 2007. 340 p. 120 p. of b/w. plates, 16 color plates. ISBN 978-2-5035-2387-3. – Macé. [3242

Marinković Č., *Founder's model – representation of a maquette or the church?* ZRVI 44 (2007) 145–153. Englisch mit serbischer Zusammenfassung. – Nach einer ausführlichen Analyse wird die Schlußfolgerung gezogen, daß die Kirchendarstellungen in den Händen der Stifter Darstellungen der schon gebauten, existierenden Stiftungen seien. – Maksimović. [3243

Marinković Č., *Слика подигнуте цркве. Представе архитектуре на ктиторским портретима у српској и византијској уметности* (Image of the completed church. Representations of architecture on founder's portraits in Serbian and Byzantine art). Beograd/Kragujevac, Принцип Бонарт прес – Центар за научна истраживања САНУ и Универзитета у Крагујевцу 2007. XXVIII, 340 S. Mit 201 überw. farbigen Abb. ISBN 978-86-85215-23-0. Mit englischer Zusammenfassung (und Liste der Abbildungen auf Englisch) auf S. 305–325. – Im ersten Teil dieses Buches, das aus einer in Umfang und Anspruch einer Dissertation entsprechenden Magisterarbeit hervorgegangen ist, werden in vier großen Kapiteln die visuellen Aspekte der Stifter und der Darstellungen der Kirchen untersucht (S. 13–32: Der Stifter mit der Kirche; S. 33–49: Die dargestellte Kirche; S. 50–78: Die Darstellungsweise der gestifteten Architektur; S. 79–90: Dargestellte Kirche oder Modell: Die Beziehung zwischen der dargestellten Kirche und dem architektorischen Modell, zusammen mit einer Schlussfolgerung). Ein umfangreicher Katalog mit Besprechung aller 89 untersuchten Kirchen (S. 91–196) und deren (auch Modell-)Abbildungen (S. 199–301) umfassen den zweiten Teil des Buches. Die Beispiele aus Byzanz, Italien, Bulgarien, Serbien, Zypern, Armenien, Russland wie auch vorbyzantinische Darstellungen von Kirchen auf Münzen werden untersucht. Die Verf. ist der Meinung, dass es sich um keine materiellen Modelle handelt, sondern dass die Darstellungen der Kirchen auf Stifterbildern nach wirklichen Kirchen entworfen worden seien. – V. Stanković. [3244

Mihajlovski R., *The basilica of the Dormition of the Holy Virgin in Velushina* (Nr. 2981). – Moffatt.

Pani Ermini L./Manconi F./Carrada F./Marchetti M. I./Olivieri D./Stasolla F. R., *Indagini archeologiche nel complesso di S. Gavino a Porto Torres. Scavi 1989–2003* (Nr. 3168). – Bianchi.

Pasquini L., *Il battistero della cattedrale cattolica.* – **Rizzardi C.** (Hrsg.), *Venezia e Bisanzio. Aspetti della cultura artistica bizantina da Ravenna a Venezia (V–XIV secolo)* (Nr. 3756) 327–349. – Schreiner. [3245

Ristow S., *Der frühchristliche Taufort zwischen Rom und Konstantinopel. Aussagemöglichkeiten zu Form und Datierung von Baptisterien und Piscinen.* – **Harreither R./ Pergola Ph./Pillinger R./Pülz A.** (Hrsg.), *Akten des XIV. Internationalen Kongresses für*

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Russo E., *Lettura del complesso eufrasiano di Parenzo (con particolare attenzione al suo episcopio)* (Nr. 2976). – Acconcia Longo.

Stevović I., *Каленић. Богородичина црква у архитектури позновизантијског света* (Nr. 2965). – V. Stanković.

Zanotto R., *La chiesa di Sant'Apollinare Nuovo a Ravenna.* – **Rizzardi C.** (Hrsg.), *Venezia e Bisanzio. Aspetti della cultura artistica bizantina da Ravenna a Venezia (V–XIV secolo)* (Nr. 3756) 351–361. – Schreiner. [3247

c. Profane Architektur

Dark K. R., *Roman architecture in the Great Palace of the Byzantine emperors at Constantinople during the sixth to ninth centuries.* Byz 77 (2007) 87–105. – Macé. [3248

Staffa A. R., *Il porto romano ed altomedievale di Pescara* (Nr. 3159). – Bianchi.

Staffa A. R., *Quindici anni di ricerche archeologiche a Pescara (1990–2005): un bilancio* (Nr. 3160). – Bianchi.

E. PLASTIK

a. Allgemeine Darstellungen

Farioli Campanati F., *Ravenna e i suoi rapporti con Costantinopoli: la scultura (sec. V–VI).* – **Rizzardi C.** (Hrsg.), *Venezia e Bisanzio. Aspetti della cultura artistica bizantina da Ravenna a Venezia (V–XIV secolo)* (Nr. 3756) 13–43. – «La scultura di Ravenna nelle varie classi di monumenti rispecchia gli stretti legami con la metropoli.» (S. 15) – Schreiner. [3249

Lazzarini L., *Poikiloi lithoi, versicvlores macvlae. I marmi colorati della Grecia antica. Storia, uso, diffusione, cave, geologia, caratterizzazione scientifica, archeometria, deterioramento.* Marmora Supplemento, 1. Pisa, Serra 2007. 285 S. Zahlr. Abb. ISBN 978-88-427-1465-1. – Dennert. [3250

Niewöhner Ph., *Aizanoi, Dokimion und Anatolien. Stadt und Land, Siedlungs- und Steinmetzwesen vom späteren 4. bis ins 6. Jahrhundert n. Chr.* (Nr. 3037). – Altripp.

Wirth J., *La datation de la sculpture médiévale* (Nr. 2925). – Bianchi.

b. Portraitplastik, Reliefplastik, bes. Sarkophagplastik

Baratta G., *La mandorla centrale dei sarcofagi strigilati. Un campo iconografico ed i suoi simboli.* – **Hölscher F./Hölscher T.** (Hrsg.), *Römische Bilderwelten. Von der Wirklichkeit zum Bild und zurück. Kolloquium der Gerda-Henkel-Stiftung am Deut-*

schen Archäologischen Institut Rom 15.–17. März 2004 (Nr. 3744) 191–215. 28 Abb. – Dennert. [3251

Bisconti F., *I sarcofagi «a porte di città»: prototipi antiche ed esiti paleocristiani.* – **Quintavalle A. C.** (a cura di), *Medioevo: la Chiesa e il Palazzo* (Nr. 3755) 456–467. 35 Abb. – Dennert. [3252

Bisconti F., *Sancta Imago. Frammenti di un sarcofago del museo cristiano di Pretestato.* Rivista d'Archeologia Cristiana 82 (2006) 13–34. – Altripp. [3253

D'Andria F., *Socrate a Hierapolis di Frigia.* – **Öztepe E./Kadıoğlu M.** (Hrsg.), *Patronvs. Coşkun Özgünel'e 65. Yaş Armağanı* (Nr. 3712) 133–140. 5 Abb. – Clipeusbüste des Sokrates, wohl aus einer aphrodisischen Werkstatt der 1. Hälfte des 5. J.h.s. – Dennert. [3254

Dresken-Weiland J., *Sarkophagbestattungen in Rom und Konstantinopel.* – **Harreither R./Pergola Ph./Pillinger R./Pülz A.** (Hrsg.), *Akten des XIV. Internationalen Kongresses für christliche Archäologie. Wien 19.–26. 9. 1999. Frühes Christentum zwischen Rom und Konstantinopel* (Nr. 3740) 345–351. Taf. 87–88. – Grünbart. [3255

Fumo A., *La madonna dalle mani forati della facciata nord.* Quaderni della Procuratoria 2 (2007) 59–63. – Verf.in rekonstruiert aus dem Archiv der Procuratoria die Anfertigung eines neuen Tabernakels (und den Transport des alten nach Sant'Apollonia), und die „Anpassung" der Madonna (wegen der zwar zugestopften, aber noch sichtbaren Perforierungen byzantinischer Provenienz) an die Nordfassade von S. Marco. – Schreiner. [3256

Gennacari C., *Novità dai manoscritti del settecento sui sarcofagi del Museo Pio Cristiano in Vaticano.* – **Harreither R./Pergola Ph./Pillinger R./Pülz A.** (Hrsg.), *Akten des XIV. Internationalen Kongresses für christliche Archäologie. Wien 19.–26. 9. 1999. Frühes Christentum zwischen Rom und Konstantinopel* (Nr. 3740) 387–410. Tav. 120–125. – Zur Beschäftigung mit Sarkophagen ab dem 17. Jh. – Grünbart. [3257

Guiglia Guidobaldi A., *Appunti sulla scultura bizantina in Liguria* (Nr. 3268). – Schreiner.

Mazzei B., *Frammenti di sarcofago dal museo di Pretestato. Ipotesi ricostruttiva di un sarcofago a Colonne.* Rivista d'Archeologia Cristiana 82 (2006) 35–54. – Altripp. [3258

Meischner J. , *Eine spätantike Porträtbüste im Louvre.* – **Öztepe E./Kadıoğlu M.** (Hrsg.), *Patronvs. Coşkun Özgünel'e 65. Yaş Armağanı* (Nr. 3712) 259–263. 5 Abb. – Angeblich tetrarchisches Männerportrait. – Dennert. [3259

Niero A., *La Madonna dalle mani forati in San Marco.* Quaderni della Procuratoria 2 (2007) 10–23. – Der Beitrag gibt zunächst einen Überblick über den ikonographischen Typ in Konstantinopel und behandelt dann die 7 Figuren, die an verschiedenen Bauteilen in San Marco angebracht sind. Die Restaurierung ließ noch kleine Wasserzuleitungen feststellen, die an den Händen Wassertropfen austreten ließen. Diese genaue technische Untersuchung beweist, dass alle Figuren in San Marco (vor 1261) aus Konstantinopel herbeigeschafft wurden. Die begleitenden Farbtafeln (1–21) zeigen nach der Restaurierung alle Einzelheiten. – Schreiner. [3260

c. Bauplastik (Basen, Kapitelle, Säulen, Schrankplastiken, Ambone, Altäre)

Ahrens S., *Arquitectura y decoración arquitectónica de época paleocristiana y visigoda en Itálica (Santiponce, prov. Sevilla)* (Nr. 3172). – Bianchi.

Alpaslan-Doğan S., *Relations between the architectural sculptures in Rome and Constantinople in the early Christian age.* – **Harreither R./Pergola Ph./Pillinger R./Pülz A.** (Hrsg.), *Akten des XIV. Internationalen Kongresses für christliche Archäologie. Wien 19.–26. 9. 1999. Frühes Christentum zwischen Rom und Konstantinopel* (Nr. 3740) 185–189. Tab. 3–5. – Grünbart. [3261

Angar M., *Stiftermodelle in Byzanz und bei christlich-orthodoxen Nachbarkulturen* (Nr. 3235). – Berger.

Barsanti C., *La scultura architettonica di epoca omayyade tra Bisanzio e la Persia sasanide: i capitelli di Qasr al-Muwaqqar in Giordania.* – **Quintavalle A. C.** (a cura di), *Medioevo mediterraneo: l'Occidente, Bisanzio e l'Islam* (Nr. 3754) 436–446. 27 Abb. – Dennert. [3262

Brüx R., *Faltkapitelle. Untersuchungen zur Bauskulptur Konstantinopels. Mit einem Anhang zur Polyeuktoskirche in Istanbul.* Schriften des Zentrums für Archäologie und Kulturgeschichte des Schwarzmeerraumes, 12. Beier & Beran, Langenweißbach 2008. 297, 72 S. 6 Beilagen, 32 Taf. ISBN 978-3-937517-86-5. – Enthält im Anhang (mit eigener Seitenzählung) auch die 1996 entstandene Magisterarbeit des Autors: Zur sasanidischen Ornamentik in der frühbyzantinischen Kunst. Sichtungen nach Motivrepertoire, historischem Umfeld und Vermittlungswegen unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Polyeuktoskirche in Konstantinopel. – Berger. [3263

Capitanio P., *Notizie storico-artistiche su un pluteo tardoantico conservato nella rocca di Lugo.* Studi romagnoli 56 (2005 [2007]) 11–22. 15 fig. f.t. – Il pluteo marmoreo, di alta qualità artistica, conservato attualmente presso la rocca di Lugo (in provincia di Ravenna), la cui «iconografia propone sul recto due arieti che si affrontano, al centro la croce monogrammata, sullo sfondo due querce», è da C. ascritto alla produzione ravennate del primo quarto del secolo VI, anche se la «provenienza del pluteo non può al momento essere determinata, per cui una sua localizzazione originaria nella chiesa di Sant'Agata Maggiore a Ravenna non va del tutto esclusa». – Luzzi. [3264

Coden F., *Scultura ad incrostazione di mastice nella basilica di San Marco a Venezia (secoli XI–XII)* (Nr. 3130). – Bianchi.

Coden F., *Scultura ad incrostazione di mastice: confronti fra la tecnica orientale e quella occidentale.* – **Quintavalle A. C.** (a cura di), *Medioevo mediterraneo: l'Occidente, Bisanzio e l'Islam* (Nr. 3754) 304–311. 17 Abb. – Dennert. [3265

Demetrakopulu-Skylogianne N., *Γλυπτά των «Σκοτεινών» Χρόνων στη νέα μόνιμη έκθεση του Βυζαντινού και Χριστιανικού Μουσείου.* Σύμμεικτα 17 (2005–2007) 23–48. 18 fig. – Byzantine sculpture from the collections of Byzantine and Christian Museum of Athens, dated to the 7th–8th centuries. – Leontsini. [3266

Drew-Bear Th. u. a., *Ben Anadolu'da Doğdum. I was born in Anatolia. Je suis né en Anatolie. TUGAY Anatolu Kültür-Sanat ve Arkeoloji Müzesi. Kütahya.* Kütahya, Hava Er Eğitim Tugayı Anadolu Kültur-Sanat ve Arkeoloji Müzesi 2007. 552 S. Dreisprachig türkisch-englisch-französisch. Zahlr. Abb. ISBN 975-409-354-7. – S. 353 "Kütahya in the Byzantine Time" von Drew-Bear Th., S. 354–361 "Early Byzantine (4th–7th centuries) and middle Byzantine (10th–11th centuries). Architectural Elements" von Sodini J.-P. Auswahlkatalog der byz. Steindenkmäler ehemals im Archäologischen Museum von Kütahya, jetzt in diesem Museum am Stadtrand von Kütahya. – Dennert. [3267

Guiglia Guidobaldi A., *Appunti sulla scultura bizantina in Liguria.* – **Calzona A./ Campari R./Mussini M.** (Hrsg.), *Immagine e Ideologia. Studi in onore di Arturo Carlo Quintavalle* (Nr. 3717) 33–46. – Schreiner. [3268

Mentzos A., *Ο γλυπτός διάκοσμος της Αγίας Σοφίας στη Θεσσαλονίκη* (Nr. 3006). – Troianos.

Ötüken S. Y., *Demre-Myra Aziz Nikolaos Kilisesi Buluntuları ve Duvar Resmi Çalışmalarından Örnekler (Delikli Levhalar).* – **Çoruhlu T.** (Hrsg.), *VIII. Ortaçağ ve Türk Dönemi Kazıları ve Sanat Tarihi Araştırmaları Sempozyumu 26–28 Nisan 2004, Sakarya* (Nr. 3734) 289–302. 7 + 4 Abb. – Durchbrochene Schrankenplatten aus der Nikolauskirche. – Dennert. [3269

Pani Ermini L./Manconi F./Carrada F./Marchetti M. I./Olivieri D./Stasolla F. R., *Indagini archeologiche nel complesso di S. Gavino a Porto Torres. Scavi 1989–2003* (Nr. 3168). – Bianchi.

Russo E., *La presenza degli artefici greco-costantinopolitani a Roma nel VI secolo.* Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes 75 (2006) 243–297. 98 Abb. – Dennert. [3270

Russo E., *La vera origine del capitello a cesto polilobato.* Bizantinistica s. II, 8 (2006) 61–84. 20 tav. 35 fig. f.t. – Continua, per lo più in polemica con altri studiosi, la discussione sulle novità architettoniche introdotte a S. Polieucto. – Acconcia Longo. [3271

Russo E., *Le maestranze greco-costantinopolitane a Roma nel VI secolo.* – **Quintavalle A. C.** (a cura di), *Medioevo mediterraneo: l'Occidente, Bisanzio e l'Islam* (Nr. 3754) 139–152. 35 Abb. – Gekürzte Fassung des Nr. 3270 angezeigten Aufsatzes ohne Anmerkungen. – Dennert. [3272

Sabbopulu-Katsike X., *Χρονολογημένα μεταβυζαντινά τέμπλα απο τη Δυτική Μακεδονία (16ος–18ος αι.)* (Nr. 3007). – Maksimović.

Vernia B., *L'arredo liturgico della Basilica di Sant'Apollinare Nuovo a Ravenna.* – **Rizzardi C.** (Hrsg.), *Venezia e Bisanzio. Aspetti della cultura artistica bizantina da Ravenna a Venezia (V–XIV secolo)* (Nr. 3756) 365–389. – Zu Altären, Ambonen und Ziborien. – Schreiner. [3273

Vio E., *Il restauro dei relievi marmorei.* Quaderni della Procuratoria 2 (2007) 68–75. – Restaurierungsbericht über die Arbeiten an den Marien-Reliefen, die sich ohne Ausnahme als byz. Originale erweisen. – Schreiner. [3274

Voegtle S., *Zwei korinthische Kapitelle aus spätantiker Zeit.* Archäologische Sammlung der Universität Zürich 33 (2007) 45–51. Taf. 7–8. – Zwei Kalksteinkapitelle mit Vollblättern aus Nordsyrien, frühes 5. Jh. n. Chr. – Dennert. [3275

F. MOSAIK UND MALEREI

a. Allgemeine Darstellungen

Arbeiter A./Korol D., *Wand- und Gewölbemosaiken von tetrarchischer Zeit bis zum frühen 8. Jahrhundert: Neue Funde und Forschungen.* – **Harreither R./Pergola Ph./Pillinger R./Pülz A.** (Hrsg.), *Akten des XIV. Internationalen Kongresses für christliche Archäologie. Wien 19.–26. 9. 1999. Frühes Christentum zwischen Rom und Konstantinopel* (Nr. 3740) 45–86. Taf. 6–18 und Farbtaf. 1–4. – Grünbart. [3276

Bisconti F., *Il giro delle esperienze figurative tra Roma e Costantinopoli nella pittura cristiana delle origini.* – **Harreither R./Pergola Ph./Pillinger R./Pülz A.** (Hrsg.), *Akten des XIV. Internationalen Kongresses für christliche Archäologie. Wien 19.–26. 9. 1999. Frühes Christentum zwischen Rom und Konstantinopel* (Nr. 3740) 87–98. Tav. 29–30 e tavv. in colori 5–11. – Grünbart. [3277

Charles-Murray M., *The emergence of Christian art* (Nr. 3185). – Altripp.

Cormack R., *Painter's guides, model-books, pattern-books and craftsmen: or memory and the artist?* – **Bacci M.** (ed.), *L'artista a Bisanzio e nel mondo cristiano-orientale* (Nr. 3727) 11–29. – Berger. [3278

Crivello F., *«… grecus costantinopoleos orfanos et peregrinos…». Artisti bizantini in ambito librario a nord delle Alpi nell'alto Medioevo.* – **Bacci M.** (ed.), *L'artista a Bisanzio e nel mondo cristiano-orientale* (Nr. 3727) 255–268. – Berger. [3279

Cutler A., *Visual memory, conceptual models and the question of 'artistic freedom' in Byzantium (with an appendix on computer-generated phylogenies).* – **Bacci M.** (ed.), *L'artista a Bisanzio e nel mondo cristiano-orientale* (Nr. 3727) 31–53. – Berger. [3280

Deckers J. G., *Constantine the Great and early Christian art* (Nr. 3187). – Altripp.

Jensen R. M., *Early Christian images and exegesis* (Nr. 3191). – Altripp.

Kalopissi-Verti S., *Painters' information on themselves in late Byzantine church inscriptions.* – **Bacci M.** (ed.), *L'artista a Bisanzio e nel mondo cristiano-orientale* (Nr. 3727) 55–70. – Berger. [3281

Karakatsane A., *Μιὰ τυχαία συνάντηση μὲ τὸν Διονύσιο ἐκ Φουρνᾶ ποὺ καταλήγει σὲ περιδιάβαση στὸν 13ο αἰώνα καὶ τὸν Μανουὴλ Πανσέληνο.* Athena, Agra 1008. 91 S. ISBN 978-960-325-727-1. – Berger. [3282

Kessler H. L., *Bright gardens of Paradise* (Nr. 3192). – Altripp.

Kordes G., *Ὁ χαρακτήρας καὶ ὁ λόγος τῶν ἀφαιρετικῶν τάσεων τῆς Βυζαντινῆς ζωγραφικῆς* Πανεπιστήμιον Ἀθηνῶν. Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρὶς τῆς Θεολογικῆς Σχολῆς 40 (2005 [2007]) 311–368. – Troianos. [3283

Marinković Č., *Слика подигнуте цркве. Представе архитектуре на ктиторским портретима у српској и византијској уметности* (Nr. 3244). – V. Stanković.

Spier J., *The earliest Christian art: from personal salvation to imperial* (Nr. 3196). – Altripp.

Vassilaki M., *The Portrait of the artist in Byzantium revisited.* – **Bacci M.** (ed.), *L'artista a Bisanzio e nel mondo cristiano-orientale* (Nr. 3727) 1–10. – Berger. [3284

b. Mosaik

Angelelli C./Paribeni A. (eds.), *Atti del XII colloquio dell'Associazione Italiana per lo Studio e la Conservazione del Mosaico (Padova, 14–15 e 17 febbraio – Brescia, 16 febbraio 2006).* Tivoli (Roma), Scripta Manent 2007. XIX, 705 S. Zahlr. Abb. ISBN 978-88-901693-1-1. – Daraus angezeigt Nr. 3134, 3135, 3152, 3157, 3158, 3200, 3214. – Dennert. [3285

Bristot A., *Tracce di cromica nelle lastre con Madonne.* Quaderni della Procuratoria 2 (2007) 64–67. – Untersuchungen zu Farben an den Reliefs (begleitet von hervorragendem Bildmaterial), die überwiegend aus venezianischer Zeit stammen und wohl mehrfach erneuert wurden, aber auch eine ursprüngliche byzantinische Farbgebung nicht ausschließen. – Schreiner. [3286

Charalampidis C. P., *The significance of the mosaic decoration of the Rotunda in Thessaloniki bridging Constantinople and Rome* (Nr. 2991). – Berger.

De Franceschi E., *I mosaici della cappella di Sant'Isidoro nella basilica di San Marco a Venezia* (Nr. 3136). – Bianchi.

Jobst W., *Il mosaico del Palazzo Imperiale di Costantinopoli. Restauro – Iconografia – Cronologia.* Bizantinistica s. II, 8 (2006) 1–18. 23 tav. 39 fig. f. t. – Una breve descrizione degli interventi di restauro, conservazione e presentazione del mosaico, introduce il discorso sull'interpretazione storico-artistica dell'opera. Lo scavo archeologico indica per il mosaico una data intorno al 530. Anche se, data l'esiguità dei reperti (15 % del totale), non se ne può valutare il programma iconografico nel suo complesso, iconografia e stile delle scene superstiti si rifanno alla pittura paesaggistica romana. – Acconcia Longo. [3287

Mauropulu-Tsiume Ch., *Το ψηφιδωτό του τρούλλου της Αγίας Σοφίας. Το ιστορικό της συντήρησής του.* – *Ἱστορία, λατρεία καὶ τέχνη τοῦ ἱεροῦ ναοῦ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ Σοφίας* (Nr. 3743) 131–147. 14 Abb. – Troianos. [3288

Piano N., *I mosaici della cattedrale di Torcello: l'interazione fra architettura e iconografia attraverso il tema della porta* (Nr. 3154). – Bianchi.

Polacco R., *Lo stile dei mosaici medievali di Venezia.* – **Rizzardi C.** (Hrsg.), *Venezia e Bisanzio. Aspetti della cultura artistica bizantina da Ravenna a Venezia (V–XIV secolo)* (Nr. 3756) 455–477. – Schreiner. [3289

Re M., *Postilla ad un articolo recente (sul perduto mosaico della chiesa di S. Giorgio de Balatis)* (Nr. 3504). – Acconcia Longo.

Rizzardi C., *I mosaici parietali di Ravenna da Galla Placidia a Giustiniano.* – **Rizzardi C.** (Hrsg.), *Venezia e Bisanzio. Aspetti della cultura artistica bizantina da Ravenna a Venezia (V–XIV secolo)* (Nr. 3756) 231–273. – Schreiner. [3290

Treadgold-Andreescu I. u. a., *Glass from the mosaics on the west wall of Torcello's basilica.* Arte medievale NS 6/2 (2006) 87–140. Zahlr. Abb. – Dennert. [3291

c. Wandmalerei

Berger M./Jacob A., *Des peintures pré-iconoclastes en Terre d'Otrante. Les fresques de l'église S. Pietro à Crepacore et leur dédicace.* Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome. Moyen Âge 119 (2007) 25–42. 13 fig. – Nella chiesa, già nota da tempo per la sua singolare architettura, sono presenti affreschi di età diversa: tra essi, quello della conca dell'abside e il pannello votivo della parete meridionale sono stati finora datati tra IX e XI secolo. Nell'abside è rappresentata un' Ascensione, con Cristo al centro tra due «angeli» (gli arcangeli Raffaele e Gabriele) e due gruppi di sei apostoli ciascuno. Oltre alle leggende superstiti relative alle figure rappresentate, si legge ancora alla base dell'affresco un'iscrizione di dedica mutila. Nel pannello votivo si vedono ancora le immagini di san Pietro e del donatore (in origine i personaggi raffigurati erano tre, probabilmente la terza figura era la moglie del donatore, il cui nome compare nell'iscrizione) e si leggono tracce di un'invocazione del donatore. Secondo l'esame stilistico delle pitture, l'iconografia delle composizioni, i caratteri linguistici e paleografici delle iscrizioni (qui edite), oltre alla morfologia delle parole, i due autori datano gli affreschi alla prima metà del VII secolo. – Acconcia Longo. [3292

Berger M., *L'église Mater Domini à Bagnolo del Salento. Essai de reconstitution du programme iconographique de l'abside et de ses annexes.* – **Martin J.-M./Martin-Hisard B./Paravicini Bagliani A.** (éd.), *Vaticana et medievalia. Études en l'honneur de Louis Duval-Arnould* (Nr. 3697) 15–26. 12 fig. f.t. – Sull'ormai solo frammentariamente leggibile programma iconografico, d'ispirazione bizantina (sec. XII–XIV), di questa chiesa salentina con iscrizioni dipinte greche. – D'Aiuto. [3293

Bolman E. S., *Depicting the kingdom of heaven: paintings and monastic practice in early Byzantine Egypt* (Nr. 3114). – Berger.

Casartelli Novelli S., *«Vedere l'invisibile»: il riemergere nell'Altomedioevo delle immagini 'ierofaniche' archetipe e solidali del sacro e lo speciale ruolo occidentale del 'piccolo libro' dell'Apocalisse/Rivelazione giovannea.* Arte Lombarda 146-147-148 (2006) 5–22. 32 fig. – Svariati riferimenti a codici miniati bizantini, con qualche immagine dei medesimi. – Bianchi. [3294

Gerasimenko N. V./Zaharova A. V./Sarabjanov V. D., *Изображения святых во фресках Софии Киевской. Часть I: Внутренние галереи* (Nr. 3083). – Etinhof.

Geymonat L. V., *Stile e contesto: gli affreschi di San Zen Degolà a Venezia.* – **Rizzardi C.** (Hrsg.), *Venezia e Bisanzio. Aspetti della cultura artistica bizantina da Ravenna a Venezia (V–XIV secolo)* (Nr. 3756) 513–579. – Die zwischen Mitte 13. und den ersten Dezennien des 14. Jh.s entstandenen, erst 1995 entdeckten Fresken zeigen padovanische und serbisch-makedonische Stilelemente. – Schreiner. [3295

Gligorijević-Maksimović M., *Classical elements in the Serbian painting of the fourteenth century.* ZRVI 44 (2007) 363–370. 12 Abb., 1 Zeichn. Englisch mit serbischer Zusammenfassung. – Im frühen 14. Jh. wurden in Serbien viele klassische Reminiszenzen aus Konstantinopel übernommen: Kompositionsinhalte, Landschaftsdarstellungen, menschliche Figuren, Szenen aus dem Alltagsleben, klassische Figuren, Personifikationen und allegorische Figuren. – Maksimović. [3296

Imperiale M. L./Limoncelli M./De Giorgi M., *Due chiese bizantine nel basso Salento: archeologia dell'architettura e decorazione pittorica* (Nr. 3145). – Bianchi.

Mihajlovski R., *The basilica of the Dormition of the Holy Virgin in Velushina* (Nr. 2981). – Moffatt.

Popova O. S., *Фрески Софии Киевской* (Nr. 3084). – Etinhof.

Strate A., *Ἡ ζωγραφικὴ στὴν Ἱερὰ Μονὴ Τιμίου Προδρόμου Σερρῶν, 14ος–19ος αἰ. Μελέτες καὶ ἄρθρα* (Nr. 3009). – Kalopissi-Verti.

Sucrow A., *Byzantinische und nachbyzantinische Wandmalerei auf Kreta* (Nr. 3021). – Schreiner.

Tomea Gavazzoli M. L., *Le Quattro Dimensioni (Ef 3, 18) nel battistero di Parma. Modelli bizantini ed élite intellettuale francescana intorno al 1250* (Nr. 3161). – Bianchi.

Valenzano G., *Le pitture della cripta di Aquileia.* – **Rizzardi C.** (Hrsg.), *Venezia e Bisanzio. Aspetti della cultura artistica bizantina da Ravenna a Venezia (V–XIV secolo)* (Nr. 3756) 479–511. – Zu den westlichen und östlichen Stilelementen. – Schreiner. [3297

d. Ikonen

Acheimastou-Potamianou M., *Comments on the bilateral icon from Mytilini.* ZRVI 44 (2007) 473–479. 4 Abb. Englisch mit serbischer Zusammenfassung. – Maksimović. [3298

Ene d-Vasilescu E., *A gaze from the fourth century: the Theotokos Egyptian icon of the Temple gallery.* Byzantinoslavica 65 (2007) 83–90. – Koptische Ikone in der Temple Gallery London, entdeckt 2004 in Frankreich. – Tinnefeld. [3299

Gerdmar L., *Ansikte mot ansikte: om de heliga ikonerna* (Antlitz zu Antlitz: über die heiligen Ikonen). Lund, Sekel 2007. 311 S. Zahlr. farbige Abb. ISBN 978-91-9765-294-0. – Rosenqvist. [3300

Haustein-Bartsch E., *Die kretische Ikonenmalerei.* – **Haustein-Bartsch E.** (Hrsg.), *Kreta. Kunst und Kultur im Mittelalter. Beiträge der Tagung am 15. Oktober 2006 in Recklinghausen* (Nr. 3741) 61–77. – Schreiner. [3301

Hunt P., *Confronting the end. The interpretation of the Last Judgment in a Novgorod Wisdom icon.* Byzantinoslavica 65 (2007) 275–325. – Ikone, datiert auf das 15. Jh. – Tinnefeld. [3302

Karagianne U., *Εικόνες πίνακες και έργα μικροτεχνίας σε καταγραφές κινητής περιουσίας Ελλήνων της Βενετίας (β΄ μισό 16ου – 17ος αι.).* Θησαυρίσματα 36 (2006) 287–308. – Gasparis. [3303

Loverdou-Tsigarida K., *Revêtement de l'icône de la Vierge Vimatarissa datant de l'époque des Paléologues, Monastère de Vatopédi.* ZRVI 44 (2007) 423–434. 2 Zeichn., 11 Abb. Französisch mit serbischer Zusammenfassung. – Es geht um ein mögliches Geschenk Stefan Dušans. – Maksimović. [3304

Nelson R. S., *Byzantine icons in Genoa before the Mandylion* (Nr. 3411). – Dennert.

Pace V., *Una scultura di maniera greca nel Mediterraneo dei Franchi: l'icona della Madre de Dio con il Figlio nel monastero della Visitazione di Treviso.* ZRVI 44 (2007) 325–331. 4 Abb. Italienisch mit serbischer Zusammenfassung. – Die Datierungsprobleme werden analysiert, mit dem Schluß, die Ikone sei im 13. Jh. gemalt worden. – Maksimović. [3305

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e. Buchmalerei/Buchkunst

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8. NUMISMATIK UND SIGILLOGRAPHIE

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Oberländer-Târnoveanu E., *La monnaie dans l'espace rural byzantin des Balkans orientaux – un essai de synthèse au commencement du XXIe siècle.* Peuce (Tulcea) 1 (14) (2003) 341–412. – Teoteoi. [3439

Perassi C., *«Le medaglie fedeli historie, e veridici documenti di bronzo». Considerazioni numismatiche nella Descrittione di Malta … di Francesco Giovanni Abela (1647).* Numismatica e Antichità Classiche. Quaderni Ticinesi 36 (2007) 367–402. – Cet

ouvrage du XVIIe siècle consacré à Malte fait état d'un trésor de monnaies d'or de Valentinien II (?) Théodose I et Honorius, ainsi que d'un solidus de Constantin IV trouvés dans l'île. – Morrisson. [3440

Ponomarev A., *Денежный рынок на Балканах в XIV–XV вв.: перпер и ставрат* (Money market on the Balkans in the 14th–15th centuries: perperon and stauraton). VV 66 (2007) 60–92. – The name "stauraton" was applied not to the silver coin issued by John V but to gigliato minted earlier in Dalmatia, which cirulated throughout the Balkans. – Ivanov. [3441

Travaini L./Bolis A. (éds.), *Conii e scene di coniazione.* Monete, 2. Roma, Quasar 2007. 482 p. Ill. ISBN 978-88-7140-355-7. – Daraus angezeigt Nr. 3433, 3436, 3443. – Morrisson. [3442

Vermeule C., *Some notes on ancient dies and coining methods.* – **Travaini L./Bolis A.** (éds.), *Conii e scene di coniazione* (Nr. 3442) 373–423. ill. – Réimpression bienvenue d'une étude classique parue en 1953–1954 dans le Numismatic Circular. – Morrisson. [3443

Yannopoulos P. A., *Le keration byzantin: poids, monnaie, valeur ou unité de compte?* – **Moucharte Gh.** et al. (éds.), *Liber amicorum Tony Hackens* (Nr. 3699) 138–142. – Étude des différents sens de kération à l'époque byzantine: poids d'une silique (1/24e de sou), nom d'une monnaie d'argent de ce poids aux VIe–VIIe siècles, valeur correspondant à 1/24e de la monnaie d'or. – Morrisson. [3444

c. Münzfunde

Ahipaz N., *A hoard of Byzantine solidi from the Deir 'Aziz Synagogue.* Israel Numismatic Research 2 (2007) 157–65. – A hoard of 14 solidi. The author discusses other Israeli hoards of similar date, and from a number of different contexts. The new hoard is remarkable in that it contains exclusively issues of Justinian. – Baker. [3445

Baker J., *Two thirteenth-century hoards and some site finds from Argos.* Numismatic Chronicle 167 (2007) 211–35. – Previously unpublished finds allow the author to make some suggestions on the typology and historical significance of counterfeit tetartera, and to make a contribution to the development of Argos in the 13th and 14th centuries. – Baker. [3446

Bendall S., *A hoard of coins of Andronicus I Gidon of Trebizond (?).* Numismatic Circular 115/1 (2007) 8–16. – The article pieces together a hoard of early 13th century silver trachea which appeared on the market. The author postulates a Trapezuntine production on geographical and typological grounds. – Baker. [3447

Bendall S., *A recent forgery of a Palaeologan anonymous billon tornese.* Numismatic Circular 116/1 (2008) 9. 5 fig. – Two Palaiologan tornese specimens (politikon with castle, DOC 1209–14) which have recently appeared are quite clearly modern forgeries, on account of style and letter construction, and the fact that they were struck from the same pair of dies. – Baker. [3448

Bendall S., *Andronicus I Gidon of Trebizond again.* Numismatic Circular 115/2 (2007) 75–80. – Follows on from the previous item on account of additional coins from the same hoard. – Baker. [3449

Couhade-Beineix C., *Un solidus byzantin de Maurice Tibère de poids léger trouvé à Mirepeisset (Aude).* Bulletin de la Société française de numismatique 62/8 (2007) 196–198. 1 fig. – Solidus de 23 siliques (BNC type 3b = MIB 11) 4, 20 g car usée et autrefois montée. Le commentaire a le tort de mêler monnaies impériales byzantines et monnaies mérovingiennes de Marseille au nom de Maurice. – Morrisson. [3450

Custurea G., *Date noi privind circulaţia monedei bizantine în Dobrogea (sec. VI–VII p. Chr.)* (Neue Angaben den Umlauf der byzantinischen Münze in der Dobrudscha betreffend, 6.–7. Jh. n. Chr.). Pontica 37–38 (2004–05) 491–536. – Teoteoi. [3451

Custurea G., *Monede bizantine descoperite la Nufăru* (In Nufăru aufgefundene byzantinischen Münzen). Peuce (Tulcea) 1 (14) (2003) 427–430. – Teoteoi. [3452

Gàzdac C, *Zwei weitere Goldmedallions aus dem Schatz von Szilágsomlyó (Himlieu Silvianei, Rumänien).* Numismatische Zeitschrift (2007) 15–20. Ill. – 1 solidus de Constantin (Arles 313, RIC VII 4) et un multiple de $4\frac{1}{2}$ solidi de Constance II (Antioche 347–355, RIC VII 69?) dans la coll du Musee de Cluj-Napoca que l'auteur attribue au célèbre trésor en raison de la similitude de leur monture. Il est établi qu'en effet 2 monnaies avaient deja été vendues après la découverte quand la délégation officielle acheta le reste pour le Musée de Vienne. – Morrisson. [3453

Houhgtalin L./Mac Isaac J. D., *The coins.* Stevens S. T. et al. (eds.), Bir Ftouha: A pilgrimage church complex at Carthage (BZ 99, 2006, Nr. 1268), 181–208. Ill. – Publication et commentaire des 624 monnaies misses au jour dans les fouilles de cette église de pèlerinage au nord-ouest de Carthage. Répartition analogue à celle des trouvailles du complexe fouillé par l'Université du Michigan: majhorité de vandales (51 %) et de byzantines (38 %), peu de romaines (26 %) surtout du IVe et du début du Ve siècle. Les a. proposent de dater le nummus au palmier de 542–550 et discutent la chronologie des abondants demi-folles de Constant II, Carthage. – Morrisson. [3454

Köker H., *The Roman provincial, Roman imperial, Byzantine, medieval and Islamic coins from the 1952–3 excavations at Cyzicus.* Numismatic Chronicle 167 (2007) 305–314. – Publishes a few 6th century coins, and substantially more from the 9th to 11th century. The 12th is missing, whereupon follow successive issues of Venice, Frankish Greece, the beyliks, and the Ottoman Empire. – Baker. [3455

Leroy C., *Le trésor de Bruges (1877) et la circulation des florins d'or de Florence au nord des Alpes de 1250 à 1350.* Revue belge de numismatique 153 (2007) 87–134. – Ce trésor enfoui vers 1319 contenait initialement 73 monnaies d'or dont 65 florins de 1252 à 1319, 1 sequin de 1289–1311, 1 masse et 5 petits royaux de Philippe le Bel, un solidus très usé de Justinien Ier (MIB 7) muni d'une bélière, 93 monnaies d'argent et 6 paquets de feuilles d'or. – Morrisson. [3456

Mănucu-Adameşteanu Gh./Petac V., *Monede bizantine din secolul XI descoperite la Isaccea* (Monnaies byzantines du XIe siècle déouvertes à Isaccea). Peuce (Tulcea) 1 (14) (2003) 413–426. – Teoteoi. [3457

Moorhead T. S. N., *The ancient and early medieval coins from the Triconch Palace at Butrint, c. 2nd century BC – c. AD 600.* Numismatic Chronicle 167 (2007) 287–304. – As far as Byzantine and related pieces are concerned, the presence of Vandalic and Ostrogothic coins and the large number of 6th (?) century hoards of nummi are of particular interest. The second half of that century witnesses reduced coin loss rates. – Baker. [3458

Muçaj S./Hobdari E./Vitaliotis Y., *Kisha mesjetare e Peshkëpisë (Nivicë), Sarandë (Raport paraprak mbi Gërmimet 2003–2004).* Candavia 2 (2005) 273–309. Albanian with French abstract. – Presents, on p. 298, a hoard of 149 tournois of John Orsini. – Baker. [3459

Oberländer-Târnoveanu E., *The Coinage of the Genovese settlements of the western Black Sea shore and on the Danube.* Peuce (Tulcea) 2 (15) (2004) 285–296. – Teoteoi. [3460

Pennestrì S., *Monete greche, romane e bizantine dagli scavi a Iasos (1960–1979)* (Nr. 3068). – Bianchi.

Schulze W., *A hoard of seventh century Byzantine folles found near Aleppo.* Numismatic Chronicle 167 (2007) 272–276. – A typical Syrian copper hoard of c. 658, still dominated by issues of Constans II and containing merely a single pseudo-Byzantine coin. – Baker. [3461

Šeparović T., *Ad basilicas pictas – Split. Numismatische Funde.* – **Harreither R./Pergola Ph./Pillinger R./Pülz A.** (Hrsg.), *Akten des XIV. Internationalen Kongresses für christliche Archäologie. Wien 19.–26. 9. 1999. Frühes Christentum zwischen Rom und Konstantinopel* (Nr. 3740) 965. Taf. 252. – Grünbart. [3462

Il «tesoro» dell'agorà di Iasos. Un archivio d'argento dell'epoca di Plotino (Nr. 3069). – Bianchi.

d. Beiträge zu Einzelmünzen (chronologisch)

Lavenne S., *Iconographie et politique sur les nomismata des empereurs macédoniens (963–1041).* – **Moucharte Gh.** et al. (éds.), *Liber amicorum Tony Hackens* (Nr. 3699) 193–201. – Analyse l'évolution et la motivation de l'iconographie de la monnaie d'or de 963 à 1041. – Morrisson. [3463

López Sánchez F., *La serpiente androcéfala y la dependencia de Rávena con respecto a los Visigodos.* Numismatica e Antichità Classiche 36 (2007) 309–344. – Etude du thème iconographique de l'empereur foulant du pied le serpent androcéphale sur les solidi du Ve siècle. – Morrisson. [3464

Zervos O. H., *A late Byzantine copper overstruck on a coin of the Seljuqs of Syria.* Nomismatika Chronika 25 (2006) 25–29. English and Modern Greek. – An anonymous follis class I style (imitative?) type is found overstruck on a late 11th / early 12th century Syrian coin. – Baker. [3465

Zervos O. H., *Additional notes on the copper tetarteron issue of John II Komnenos.* Nomismatika Chronika 25 (2006) 17–24. Englisch und neugriechisch. – Adds subvarieties to the most common tetarteron issue of John. – Baker. [3466

B. SIGILLOGRAPHIE

a. Allgemeine Darstellungen

Cotsonis J., *Onomastics, gender, office and images on Byzantine lead seals: a means of investigating personal piety.* BMGS 32 (2008) 1–37. – Stathakopoulos. [3467

Jordanov I., *Christian symbols on early Byzantine coins and seals (4th–6th centuries)* (Nr. 3430). – Grünbart.

b. Kataloge und Beiträge zu Einzelfunden

Auktion Gorny & Mosch 165, 17. – 18. 3. 2008. 2447–2452 Bleisiegel. – 2447–2449 Kaisersiegel von Konstantin IX. Monomachos bzw. Alexios I. Komnenos; 2451 Ioannes Dukas Sebastos; vgl. W. Seibt, Byz. Bleisiegel in Österreich I, Nr. 39; 2452 Theophilos Spatharokandidatos. – Seibt. [3468

Auktion Lanz (München) 138. 26. 11. 2007. – 990. Kaisersiegel Alexios' I. – Seibt. [3469

Auktion Triton (New York) 11, 8.–9. 1. 2008. – 1106 Siegelzange (ungewöhnlich, vielleicht früh, kaum 11. Jh.), 1113, 1116–1215 Bleisiegel (letztere aus der Sammlung Hecht, New York). – 1113 zu Ioannes, Metropolit von Serrai vgl. DOSeals I 42.4; 1118 Stephanos, Kommerkiarier von Pamphylien (659–668); 1119 Georgios und Theophylaktos, Kommerkiarier von Isaurien und Lykaonien (692/693); 1125 Av. vielleicht Theotokos Subriton; 1126 Synetos und Niketas, Kommerkiarier von Pamphylien und Pisidien (713/14); 1135 Theognostos (?) Spatharios und Turmarches von Anatolikon; 1137 wohl Stephanos II., Patriarch von Konstantinopel (925–927); 1144 Stephanos T(i)marak(es) (?) Kubukleisios; 1145 Patriarch Nikolaos II. (979–991); 1148 Ioannes Marchapsabos, Protospathar des Chrysotriklinos; 1152 Christophoros Radenos, μάγιστρος, κριτὴς τοῦ βήλου, χαρτουλάριος τοῦ γενικοῦ καὶ τοῦ δρόμου τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν; 1154 Michael (?), Protospathar und Strategos von Kephallenia und Iericho (Wende 10./11. Jh.); 1155 Hl. Theopemptos und Hl. Euthymios (?); 1157 Ioannes Kastamonites, Bestes und Katepano von Mesopotamia; 1158 Michael Malleas (?), Patrikios und Archegetes; 1171 Maria Sebaste, sicher die Skleraina und nicht Maria von Alanien; 1172 Isaakios Komnenos, πρωτοπρόεδρος καὶ μέγας δομέστικος τῶν σχολῶν τῆς Ἀνατολῆς; 1177 Aaron Magistros und Dux von Edessa; 1180 Theodoros Marchapsabos, Strategos; 1186 Ioannes, Protospatharios und Strategos von Laodikeia; 1188 Michael, Bischof von Apameia; 1190 Theodosios, Bischof von Attaleia; Av. Theotokos Hagiosoritissa mit der Beischrift ἡ Αἰγυπτία; 1192 Theodoros als Drachentöter hoch zu Ross (11. Jh.); 1200 Konstantinos Arianites; 1203 Leon Choneiates; 1204 Balduin II. von Konstantinopel. – Seibt. [3470

Balabanov T., *Novi molivdovuli na vizantijski sanovnici, otkriti vŭv Veliki Preslav.* Numizmatika, sfragistika i epigrafika 3/2 (2007) 43–48. Taf. 4. – 1. Alanos Gregorios, Sohn des David (10./11. Jh.); 2. Michael Sakellarios (Parallelstück zu Laurent, Corpus II 776). – Seibt. [3471

Leontiades I. G., *Μολυβδόβουλλα του Μουσείου Βυζαντινού Πολιτισμού Θεσσαλονίκης* Βυζαντινά κείμενα και μελέται, 40. Thessalonike, Κέντρο Βυζαντινών Ερευνών 2006. S37 S. ISBN 960-7856-18-X. – Kotzabassi. [3472

Markov N., *Tri bronzovi prŭstena-pečati ot kŭsnata antičnost* (Three early Byzantine bronze signet-rings). Numizmatika, sfragistika i epigrafika 3/2 (2007) 1–5. Taf. 1. – Die positiv geschnittenen bronzenen Ringe, die für Fingerringe einen zu großen Durchmesser haben, weisen die Namen Petros, Kostis und Uriel auf; vielleicht stammen sie aus dem 7. Jh. – Seibt. [3473

Sokolova I., *Pečati vizantijskich imperatorov. Katalog kollekcii* (Byzantine imperial seals. The catalogue of the collection). St. Petersburg, Ermitage 2007 (2008). 120 S. 222 teilweise farb. Abb., 1 Farbtaf. – Auf vier anonyme frühe Stücke folgt als erster Typus, der den Kaisernamen bietet, der Zenons. Viel Material war schon publiziert oder zumindest dem Typus nach bekannt, es finden sich aber auch wichtige neue Siegeltypen. Am Ende (ab Nr. 211) einige problematische Stücke. – Seibt. [3474

c. Einzelsiegel

Feofano Muzalon – archontissa Rosii (k voprosy ob identifikacii). VV 66 (2007) 155–170. – Zu Theophano Muzalonissa, die auf einem viel diskutierten Siegeltypus als ἀρχόντισσα Ῥωσίας bezeichnet wird, sowie weiteren Siegeln, die damit in Zusammenhang stehen könnten. – Seibt. [3475

Cheynet J.-C., *La politique Byzantine de Léon IX.* (Nr. 2362). – Seibt.

Cheynet J.-C., *Les sceaux de la famille Sklèros de la collection Zacos à la Bibliothèque nationale de France.* – **Stavrakos Ch./Wassiliou A.-K./Krikorian M. K.** (Hrsg.), *Hypermachos. Studien zu Byzantinistik, Armenologie und Georgistik. Festschrift für Werner Seibt zum 65. Geburtstag* (Nr. 3718) 1–14. 3 Farbtaf. – 19 Siegel mit dem Familiennamen Skleros/Skleropulos aus der (letzten) Sammlung Zacos, soweit sie sich heute in Paris befindet. Neue Typen: 4 Leon Skleros, βεστάρχης κ. κριτὴς Ὀψικίου; 15 Andronikos Skleros Sebastos; 18 Georgios Skleros Protonobellisimos. – Seibt. [3476

Cosentino S., *A new evidence of the oikos tôn Marinês: The seal of Theophylaktos kouratôr.* – **Stavrakos Ch./Wassiliou A.-K./Krikorian M. K.** (Hrsg.), *Hypermachos. Studien zu Byzantinistik, Armenologie und Georgistik. Festschrift für Werner Seibt zum 65. Geburtstag* (Nr. 3718) 23–28. – Siegel eines Theophylaktos τῶν Μαρίνης aus Sardinien (2. Hälfte 6.–1. Hälfte 7. Jh.). – Seibt. [3477

Distefano S., *Ferla (SR). La fondazione del castrum longobardo di Ferulae e l'edificazione della turris lapidea* (Nr. 3167). – Bianchi.

Hahn W., *Felix est totus Justino principe mundus – Literarisch-numismatische Querverbindungen aus Corippus.* – **Stavrakos Ch./Wassiliou A.-K./Krikorian M. K.** (Hrsg.),

Hypermachos. Studien zu Byzantinistik, Armenologie und Georgistik. Festschrift für Werner Seibt zum 65. Geburtstag (Nr. 3718) 51–57. – Münzen und Siegel Justinos' II. in Korrelation mit ideologischen Positionen des Lobgedichtes auf diesen Kaiser von Cresconius Corippus. – Seibt. [3478

Jordanov I., *Byzantine seals from the Kale Fortress near present-day Dimitrovgrad.* – **Stavrakos Ch./Wassiliou A.-K./Krikorian M. K.** (Hrsg.), *Hypermachos. Studien zu Byzantinistik, Armenologie und Georgistik. Festschrift für Werner Seibt zum 65. Geburtstag* (Nr. 3718) 89–103. 4 Taf. – Ob diese byzantinische Festung an der Marica, nahe Dimitrovgrad, mit Blisnos identisch ist, bleibt fraglich. Von den 33 Siegeln waren die interessanteren bereits früher ediert. Wichtige Korrekturvorschläge der Redaktion: 2: Belikiotes statt Elikiotes; 6: Marulek statt Marules; 32: ἐπίσκοπος Καμπάνης; 24: dieses ikonographische Siegel könnte die hl. Eudokimos und Panteleimon darstellen. – Seibt. [3479

Jordanov I., *Srednovekovnijat Pernik (XI–XII v.), spored dannite na sfragistikata* (Mediaeval Pernik [the 11th–12th century] according to sphragistic data). Numizmatika, sfragistika i epigrafika 3/2 (2007) 11–37. Taf. 2 f. – Bei den interessanteren der 28 Siegel handelt es sich primär um eine (teilweise korrigierte) Neuedition von Stücken, die J. Jurukova in Pernik II (1983) publiziert hatte, aber immer noch mit gewissen Unsicherheiten. 1: Andronikos war nicht Bischof von Ainos, sondern ὁ τοῦ Αἴνου; 3 David Chaasanopulos; 9: Der Familienname Dukas ist sehr unwahrscheinlich; 12: Zu Michael Aristenos vgl. A.-K. Wassiliou/W. Seibt, Die byzantinsichen Bleisiegel in Österreich II, (BZ 98, 2005, Nr. 1385) Nr. 56; 14: Die Interpretation der Monogramme als Μονῆς Βλαχερνιτίσσης ist unsicher; 16: Das Ende der Legende fraglich; 23 am Ende vielleicht Chalepites? – Seibt. [3480

Karagiorgou O., *"ἀπὸ Λάμπης λαμπτῆρα φωσφόρον ἐπιδημῆσαι τοῖς βασιλείοις προεσήμανον" (Attaleiates XII 9–10, p. 175). On the way to the throne: the career of Nikephoros III Botaneiates before 1078* (Nr. 2669). – Seibt.

Koltsida-Makri I., *Η συλλογή μολυβδοβούλλων Δημητρίου Δούκα.* – **Stavrakos Ch./Wassiliou A.-K./Krikorian M. K.** (Hrsg.), *Hypermachos. Studien zu Byzantinistik, Armenologie und Georgistik. Festschrift für Werner Seibt zum 65. Geburtstag* (Nr. 3718) 139–152. 3 Farbtaf. – Von diesen 27 unpublizierten Siegeln waren bisher nur einige Typen durch Parallelstücke bekannt. Manche Exemplare sind mittelmäßig erhalten und konnten nicht ganz geklärt werden. Nr. 14 stammt als Parallelstück zu DOSeals I 18.16 von einem δοὺξ Θεσσαλονίκης – leider ist in beiden Fällen der Name verloren. – Seibt. [3481

Kumuse A./Mutzale A., *Παλαιοχριστιανική σφραγίδα ευχαριστιακού άρτου από την Πάτρα.* Σύμμεικτα 17 (2005–07) 9–21. 2 fig. – A unique find in situ (Patras Peloponnese) of an eucharistic bread-stamp. – Leontsini. [3482

Leontiades I. G., *Unpublished Byzantine seals with family names.* – **Stavrakos Ch./Wassiliou A.-K./Krikorian M. K.** (Hrsg.), *Hypermachos. Studien zu Byzantinistik, Armenologie und Georgistik. Festschrift für Werner Seibt zum 65. Geburtstag* (Nr. 3718) 199–209. 3 Taf. – Wichtige Edition von 18 späteren Siegeln (ab 2. Hälfte 12. Jh.) mit Familiennamen aus Dumbarton Oaks, z. B. Bastralites, Chleueres, Leontares, Progonos,

Saponopulos, Straboromanos, Taranes, Turditzes und eher Meizoommates als Zoomates. – Seibt. [3483

Michajlova T., *Pečat na "Marija vasilisa" ot Preslav.* Numizmatika, sfragistika i epigrafika 3/2 (2007) 39–42. Taf. 4/1. – Glaubwürdige Zuweisung an Maria († 962), die Gattin des Bulgarenzaren Petăr. – Seibt. [3484

Nesbitt J., *The seals of the Spondyles family.* – **Stavrakos Ch./Wassiliou A.-K./Krikorian M. K.** (Hrsg.), *Hypermachos. Studien zu Byzantinistik, Armenologie und Georgistik. Festschrift für Werner Seibt zum 65. Geburtstag* (Nr. 3718) 249–256. 2 Taf. – Die 14 Siegeltypen reichen vom 2. Viertel des 11. Jh.s bis zum frühen 12. Jh. Die meisten Familienmitglieder waren in der Zivilverwaltung tätig. Besonders interessant Leon Spondyles (Nr. 6), der κουράτωρ τοῦ Ἀρτζαχᾶ gewesen sein dürfte. – Seibt. [3485

Nikolova B., *Za "Isaija episkop na Bŭlgarija" ot edin pečat.* Numizmatika, sfragistika i epigrafika 3/2 (2007) 49–55. Taf. 4. – Das Siegel des Esaias, ἐπίσκοπος Βουργαρήας, ist mit „Wende 8./9. Jh." zu früh datiert. – Seibt. [3486

Penčev V., *Molivdovul na vizantijskija imperator Michail IV Paphlagon ot fonda na NIM-Sofija.* Numizmatika, sfragistika i epigrafika 3/2 (2007) 7–9. Taf. 2/1. – Kaisersiegel Michaels IV. aus Südwest-Bulgarien. – Seibt. [3487

9. EPIGRAPHIK

A. ALLGEMEINE DARSTELLUNGEN

Feissel D., *Les inscriptions latines dans l'Orient protobyzantin.* – **Harreither R./Pergola Ph./Pillinger R./Pülz A.** (Hrsg.), *Akten des XIV. Internationalen Kongresses für christliche Archäologie. Wien 19.–26. 9. 1999. Frühes Christentum zwischen Rom und Konstantinopel* (Nr. 3740) 99–130. Pl. 96–100. – Grünbart. [3488

Felle A., *Epigrafia e Sacra Scrittura fra Oriente e Occidente.* – **Harreither R./Pergola Ph./Pillinger R./Pülz A.** (Hrsg.), *Akten des XIV. Internationalen Kongresses für christliche Archäologie. Wien 19.–26. 9. 1999. Frühes Christentum zwischen Rom und Konstantinopel* (Nr. 3740) 353–360. Tav. 101–107. – Grünbart. [3489

Gáspár D., *Inschriften aus Pannonien: christlich oder nicht christlich?* Mitteilungen zur Christlichen Archäologie 13 (2007) 31–36. – Altripp. [3490

Kalopissi-Verti S., *Painters' information on themselves in late Byzantine church inscriptions* (Nr. 3281). – Berger.

Nuzzo D., *Orientali a Roma in età tardoantica nelle testimonianze dell'epigrafia sepolcrale.* – **Harreither R./Pergola Ph./Pillinger R./Pülz A.** (Hrsg.), *Akten des XIV. Internationalen Kongresses für christliche Archäologie. Wien 19.–26. 9. 1999. Frühes Christentum zwischen Rom und Konstantinopel* (Nr. 3740) 537–545. Tav. 190–191. – Grünbart. [3491

Panagiotidi M., *Le peintre en tant que scribe des inscriptions d'un monument et la question du niveau de sa connaissance grammaticale et orthographique.* – **Bacci M.** (ed.), *L'artista a Bisanzio e nel mondo cristiano-orientale* (Nr. 3727) 71–116. – Berger. [3492

Rhoby A., *Eine Inschrift auf einem Sarkophagdecksel aus Beroia in der Chronik des Georgios Sphrantzes.* Byz 77 (2007) 394–398. – The cover of a sarcophagus found in Beroia in 1855 contains fragments of an epigram (12 verses), in which Manuel Philes is often quoted. It contains also a sentence in prose which is also to be found in the Chronicle of Georgios Sphrantzes (15th c.). It is not unlikely that this sentence was copied from the sarcophagus by Sphrantzes himself. – Macé. [3493

Roueché Ch., *Interpreting the signs: anonymity and concealment in late antique inscriptions.* – **Amirav H./Ter Haar Romeny B.** (eds.), *From Rome to Constantinople: Studies in honour of Averil Cameron* (Nr. 3693) 221–234. – With an appendix by D. Feissel on p. 234. – Stathakopoulos. [3494

Sartori A., *«Eburnea verba»* (Nr. 3354). – Dennert.

Zorzi N., *Le iscrizioni greche di San Marco.* Quaderni della Procuratoria 2 (2007) 50–58. – Eine längst nötige Zusammenschau der griechischen Inschriften auf Mosaiken, den Türen, der Kleinkunst sowie Grafitti, die (abgesehen von der „originalen" Kleinkunst) zeigen, dass der Gebrauch voll ausgeschriebener Namen in griechischen Buchstaben selten ist, wie auch an anderen Orten Italiens, wo byzantinische Künstler tätig waren oder byzantinische Kunst nachgeahmt wurde. – Schreiner. [3495

B. SAMMLUNGEN UND EINZELDARSTELLUNGEN

(bb) Balkanhalbinsel

Kroatien (bes. Dalmatien, Istrien)

Gauthier N., *Salone entre Rome et Constantinople: l'apport de l'épigraphie chrétienne.* – **Harreither R./Pergola Ph./Pillinger R./Pülz A.** (Hrsg.), *Akten des XIV. Internationalen Kongresses für christliche Archäologie. Wien 19.–26. 9. 1999. Frühes Christentum zwischen Rom und Konstantinopel* (Nr. 3740) 375–386. Tab. 119. – Grünbart. [3496

(cc) Griechenland

Festland und nahegelegene Inseln

Belenes G., *Η επιγραφή του Θεοδώρου στο τετράπλευρο κιβώριο της βασιλικής του Αγίου Δημητρίου Θεσσαλονίκης* (Nr. 2988). – Kalopissi-Verti.

D'Aiuto F., *Dodecasillabi su un encolpio con cammeo d'ametista del Monastero di Vatopedi.* Νέα Ῥώμη 4 (2007) 413–439. 4 tav. f. t. – Ripubblica con correzioni e commento il testo dell'epigrafe metrica che si legge sulla montatura metallica tardo- o postbizantina di un'ametista incisa (una Vergine Hagiosoritissa) conservata a Vato-

pedi. In appendice (432–439), emenda e ristampa l'iscrizione in dodecasillabi del reliquiario della mano di s. Marina conservato al Museo Correr di Venezia. – D'Aiuto. [3497

Fiaccadori G., *Minima Byzantina.* Νέα Ῥώμη 4 (2007) 383–412. 4 tav. f.t. – Due note: nella prima («1. Manuele Paleologo in due iscrizioni dei Santi Teodori di Mistrà») si ripubblicano con correzioni le due iscrizioni di un affresco della cappella funeraria annessa a N.E. alla chiesa dei SS. Teodori, rettificando la data di morte del personaggio effigiato, ottobre 1433: dunque non Manuele II, ma presumibilmente il fratellastro Manuele «Nothos», figlio illegittimo di Giovanni V (en passant, F. nega che a Manuele Nothos si possa attribuire il cd. «vessillo navale di Urbino»); nella seconda («2. Bessarione, Venezia e le reliquie della Croce»), F. nega che si possa riconnettere al Bessarione il reliquiario bizantino della Vera Croce conservato all'eremo di Fonte Avellana, proveniente da S. Michele di Murano (dove era conservato fino al 1821), si sofferma inoltre su storia e contesto di sistemazione del reliquiario in S. Michele, e tratta infine della storia dell'altra celebre reliquia veneziana della Croce donata nel 1369 da Philippe de Mézière alla Scuola grande di S. Giovanni Evangelista. – D'Aiuto. [3498

Ägäis

Kasdagli A.-M., *Hospitaller Rhodes: the epigraphic evidence.* – **Borchardt K./Jaspert N./Nicholson H. J.** (eds.), *The Hospitallers, the Mediterranean and Europe: Festschrift for Anthony Luttrell* (Nr. 3707) 109–129. – Includes some Greek inscriptions. – Stathakopoulos. [3499

(dd) Asiatische Türkei

Kappadokien

Baz F., *Die Inschriften von Komana (Hierapolis) in Kappadokien.* Istanbul, Arı Matbaacılık 2007. 359 S. 5 Karten. [ohne ISBN.] – S. 34–40 Zeugnisse zum Christentum in der Stadt; Nr. 316–330 christliche Inschriften. – Dennert. [3500

Lykien und Pamphylien

Onur F., *Some late Roman inscriptions from Side.* Gephyra 3 (2006) 193–200. 6 Abb. – 1) Bauinschrift des Arkadius-Forums in Side. 2–3) Bauinschriften eines Georgios von der Kolonnadenstraße, 5.–6. Jh. 4) Ehreninschrift für Helena, Mutter Konstantins. 5) Stiftungsinschrift zweier Lektores. – Dennert. [3501

(ff) Vorderer Orient, Afrika

Äthiopien und Sudan

Fiaccadori G., *Un epigrafe greca aksumita (RIÉth 274).* – **Ruggieri V./Pieralli L.** (Hrsg.), *ΕΥΚΟΣΜΙΑ. Studi miscellanei per il 75° di Vincenzo Poggi S.J.* (Nr. 3716) 243–255. – Tinnefeld. [3502

(gg) Italien

Berger M./Jacob A., *Des peintures pré-iconoclastes en Terre d'Otrante. Les fresques de l'église S. Pietro à Crepacore et leur dédicace* (Nr. 3292). – Acconcia Longo.

D'Aiuto F., *Dodecasillabi su un encolpio con cammeo d'ametista del Monastero di Vatopedi* (Nr. 3497). – D'Aiuto.

Jacob A., *Le topotérète de la flotte Constantin et la revolte de Georges Maniakès en 1042 dans une inscription inédite de Terre d'Otrante.* Νέα Ῥώμη 4 (2007) 163–176. 4 tav f.t. – Editio princeps di un'iscrizione scoperta mezzo secolo fa nei dintorni di Otranto, ora in possesso di privati. Mutila, in dodecasillabi bizantini, celebra la costruzione di una torre d'avvistamento da parte del topotereta Costantino, evidentemente membro (πρεσβευτής, secondo l'iscrizione) dell'ambasceria imperiale inviata a Otranto nel settembre 1042, per dissuadere Maniace dall'usurpazione. – D'Aiuto. [3503

Re M., *Postilla ad un articolo recente (sul perduto mosaico della chiesa di S. Giorgio de Balatis). – Ricordo di Lidia Perria, II* (Nr. 3714) 165–175. 2 tav. f.t. – Da trascrizioni indipendenti tra loro, eseguite da due eruditi siciliani del XVIII secolo, ricostruisce il testo di due iscrizioni greche in versi, che accompagnavano un mosaico con l'immagine di Giovanni il Battista nella chiesa palermitana di S. Giorgio de Balatis (su cui si veda l'articolo dello stesso autore nel I volume del Ricordo di Lidia Perria: BZ 100, 2007, Nr. 2479). In una delle iscrizioni è conservato il nome del committente, omonimo del Battista. Utile il raffronto con un'icona del Sinai di età comnena e con icone più tarde, contenenti epigrammi affini a quelli qui editi. – Acconcia Longo. [3504

Zorzi N., *L'epigrafe bizantina dalla «Trulla» della cattedrale di Bari.* Νέα Ῥώμη 4 (2007) 37–61. 1 fig. – Ripubblica e analizza dal punto di vista testuale, grafico e ornamentale un'iscrizione greca dalla «Trulla» di Bari, edificio a pianta circolare di incerta datazione, addossato alla cattedrale: si tratta di un collage di passi biblici (Gen. 3,19; Iob 30,23; 3,23), legato a un contesto funerario non meglio definibile. La paleografia spingerebbe a una datazione precoce (sec. VI?), ma la presenza di motivi pseudo-cufici, difficilmente attribuibili ad epoca anteriore al X secolo, induce alla prudenza. – D'Aiuto. [3505

(hh) Westlicher Mittelmeerraum

Spanien und Portugal

Perea Yébenes S., *La mención a Judas Iscariota en epitafios latinos cristianos de la Hispania visigoda y bizantina: el delito sepulcral y la condena mágica.* Myrtia. Revista de Filología Clásica 21 (2006) 235–276. – Eine Grabinschrift aus Cartagena (Museo arqueológico municipal inv. 2924) enthält eine Verfluchung gegen Grabschänder mit dem Wunsch, dass sie das Schicksal des Judas erfahren sollten. Verf. findet Parallelen in anderen Inschriften aus Córdoba, Cárchel (Jaén) und Mérida, sowie Sardinien und Italien, die alle ins 7. Jh. zu datieren sind, und erwägt einen gemeinsamen byzantinischen Einfluss auf die Formel, die erst im 4. Konzil von Toledo (633) erscheint und möglicherweise in Verbindung mit den Feldzügen des Heraklios im Osten entstanden wäre. – Signes. [3506

10. BYZANTINISCHES RECHT

A. ALLGEMEINE DARSTELLUNGEN ÜBERGREIFENDEN CHARAKTERS

Aimilianides A. K., *Πέντε μελέτες Ιστορίας του Ιδιωτικού Δικαίου.* Nicosia, Δικαιονομία 2007. 78 S. ISBN 978-9963-676-03-3. – Das byzantinische bzw. das postbyzantinische Recht betreffen folgende Aufsätze: 1. Η φύση του κληροδοτήματος στο Ρωμαϊκό Δίκαιο: Από τον Γάιο στον Ιουστινιανό (S. 23–42). 2. «Πείρα 25,37»: Σχολιασμός απόφασης συναινετικού διαζυγίου στο Βυζαντινό Δίκαιο (S. 43–52). Hinsichtlich der einverständlichen Scheidung darf aber nicht verschwiegen werden, daß die Dokumentation sehr mangelhaft ist. 3. Η εξ αδιαθέτου διαδοχή μητρικής περιουσίας στο ελληνικό Μεταβυζαντινό Δίκαιο (S. 53–65). – Troianos. [3507

Guizzi F., *Costantino, la Chiesa e il clero* (Nr. 2329). – Goria.

Liebs D., *Verfassungs-, rechts- und sozialgeschichtliche Eigenheiten der Spätantike.* – **Cascione C./Masi Doria C.** (eds.), *Fides Humanitas Ius. Studii in onore di Luigi Labruna* (Nr. 3706) V 2857–2877. – Goria. [3508

Miquel J., *«Deo auctore»: legittimità e legittimazione del potere nell'Europa dell'Alto Medioevo* (Nr. 2739). – Goria.

Papakonstantinu K. K., *Η γενική ρήτρα των χρηστών ηθών. Μία ιστορικοδικαιική προσέγγιση.* Επετηρίς του Κέντρου Ερεύνης της Ιστορίας του Ελληνικού Δικαίου της Ακαδημίας Αθηνών 40 (2007) 307–328, Mit englischer Zusammenfassung. – Die Gestaltung des Begriffs „gute Sitten“ im Recht des oströmischen Reichs behandelt Verf.in auf S. 316 ff. – Troianos. [3509

Pitsakis C. G., *Studierea şi predarea dreptului roman: cazul Greciei moderne sau de la dreptul “byzantin” la dreptul roman* (Lehre und Forschung des römischen Rechts: Der Fall des neueren Griechenlands, oder: vom byzantinischen zum römischen Recht). – **Năstase A.** (ed.), *Ad honorem Ion Dogaru. Studii juridice alese* (Nr. 3696) 563–610. – Rumänische Übersetzung einer auf Band aufgenommenen – daher die zahlreichen Fehler bei der Wiedergabe von Eigennamen – Vorlesung in Novi Sad im Rahmen eines Seminars über das Studium des römischen Rechts in der akademischen Tradition Osteuropas. – Troianos. [3510

Troianos S. N., *Βιβλιογραφική επισκόπηση βυζαντινού δικαίου (2006/7).* Βυζαντιακά 26 (2007) 381–394. – Zusammenstellung der griechischen Rechtsliteratur von den Jahren 2006 und 2007. – Troianos. [3511

B. WELTLICHES RECHT

a. Allgemeine Darstellungen

Andrés Santos F. J., *La literatura jurídica bizantina: un epigonismo creativo.* – **Sánchez-Ostiz Á./Torres Guerra J. B./Martínez R.** (Hrsg.), *De Grecia a Roma y de Roma a Grecia. Un camino de ida y vuelta* (Nr. 2616) 393–405. – Das spätantike Erbe im byzantinischen Recht. – Signes. [3512

Arcaria F., *Per la storia dei testamenti pubblici romani: il «testamentum apud acta conditum» ed il «testamentum principi oblatum».* – *Studi per Giovanni Nicosia* (Nr. 3710) 163–239. – Il diritto postcostantiniano è trattato alle pp. 192 ss. – Goria. [3513

Atzeri L., *Alcuni problemi relativi ai «constitutionarii».* – **Crifò G./Giglio S.** (eds.), *Atti dell'Accademia Romanistica Costantiniana. XVI Convegno internazionale, in onore di Manuel J. García Garrido* (Nr. 3735) 259–304. – Goria. [3514

Cuneo P. O., *Alcune problematiche di codificazione in tema di eredità.* – **Crifò G./Giglio S.** (eds.), *Atti dell'Accademia Romanistica Costantiniana. XVI Convegno internazionale, in onore di Manuel J. García Garrido* (Nr. 3735) 551–582. – Tratta del venir meno delle formalità del diritto testamentario ed anche delle deroghe al principio secondo cui i patrimoni ereditari vacanti venivano incamerati nella «res privata». – Goria. [3515

Dareggi G., *Sulle sedi delle scuole di diritto nella «Pars Orientis» nella tarda antichità.* – **Crifò G./Giglio S.** (eds.), *Atti dell'Accademia Romanistica Costantiniana. XVI Convegno internazionale, in onore di Manuel J. García Garrido* (Nr. 3735) 103–115. – Tratta solo delle scuole di Berito e di Costantinopoli. – Goria. [3516

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Dennis G. T., *Byzantine attitudes about capital punishment.* – **Ruggieri V./Pieralli L.** (Hrsg.), *ΕΥΚΟΣΜΙΑ. Studi miscellanei per il 75° di Vincenzo Poggi S.J.* (Nr. 3716) 201–210. – Tinnefeld. [3519

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Osaba E., *LV 5.4.17 antiqua: ¿una huella del asilo en las estatuas del Emperador en la Hispania visigoda? – Studi per Giovanni Nicosia* (Nr. 3710) VI 3903–3922. – L'a. tratta anche della storia del diritto di asilo. – Goria. [3528

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Papadatu D., *Φιλοτιμίαι επιτελεύτιοι και η περιουσιακή θέση του επιζώντος συζύγου στο βυζαντινό δίκαιο.* Πηγές και μελέτες ιστορίας ελληνικού και ρωμαϊκού δικαίου, 2. Thessalonike, University Studio Press 2008. 237 S. ISBN 978-960-12-1666-9. – Mit überzeugenden Argumenten behandelt Verf.in das angebliche Erbrecht des überlebenden Ehegatten nach byzantinischem Recht. Die Monographie umfaßt folgende Kapitel: 1. Der überlebende Ehegatte im System der Intestaterbfolge nach römischem

und byzantinischem Recht. 2. Die durch die eheliche Bindung und die Kinderzeugung geschaffenen Vermögensgruppen. 3. Fälle, in denen die Sondererbfolge des überlebenden Ehegatten anerkannt wird. Die Rechtsstellung des überlebenden Ehegatten vom Zwölftafelgesetz bis zu den Leon-Novellen wird in fünf Übersichtstabellen schematisch dargestellt. – Troianos. [3530

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Van Bochove Th. E., *Χρονολογῶντας καὶ ἐξακριβώνοντας* Βιβλιοθήκη βυζαντινού και μεταβυζαντινού δικαίου, 3. Athen/Thessalonike (Εκδόσεις Σάκκουλα) 2007. XII, 353 S. ISBN 978-960-445-216-3. – Wissenschaftliche Übersetzung von I. Nikolopulos †. Vgl. zur englischsprachigen Originalausgabe BZ 90 (1997) Nr. 1626. – Troianos. [3540

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b. Texte und Literatur zu Quellen

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Kolias T./Chrone-Bakalopulu M., *Τὸ ἐπάγγελμα καὶ ἡ ὀνομασία τῶν „βόθρων" στὸ Ἐπαρχικὸν Βιβλίον τοῦ Λέοντος ΣΤ΄.* ΕΕΒΣ 52 (2004–06) 379–390. Mit deutscher Zusammenfassung. – Mit stichhaltigen Argumenten beweisen die Verf., daß im Eparchenbuch durch den Ausdruck Bothroi solche Leute bezeichnet werden, welche beim An- bzw. Verkauf von Tieren als Tierbeschauer bzw. Tierschätzer fungierten. Mit Hilfe der human- und veterinärmedizinischen Literatur stellten Verf. nämlich fest, daß man unter Bothros und Bothrion Vertiefungen an verschiedenen Körperstellen verstanden hat, was für die Einschätzung des Gesundheitszustands sowie des Alters lebender Tiere von Belang war. So hat man durch Metonymie auf die Personen die Bezeichnung ihres Berufsobjekts übertragen. – Troianos. [3603

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Spätbyzantinisches Recht

Apostolopulos D. G., *Ένας Αρμενόπουλος στο εικονοστάσι. Άγνωστο χειρόγραφο του 16ου αιώνα με την περίφημη «Εξάβιβλο» στη δημώδη γλώσσα, σε απόδοση του Θεοδοσίου Ζυγομαλά.* Η Καθημερινή, 17. Februar 2008, S. 9. – Verf. stellt eine bis jetzt unbekannte, die Hexabiblos des Konstantinos Armenopulos und die Synopsis minor in einer von Theodosios Zygomalas (16. Jh.) angefertigten volkssprachlichen Paraphrase enthaltende Handschrift vor, die als Grundlage für die Edition der paraphrasierten Hexabiblos (die Paraphrase der Synopsis minor ist bereits ediert; vgl. BZ 86/87, 1993/94, Nr. 3097) dienen soll. – Troianos. [3606

Chatzakes G., *Η διαφορετική λειτουργία των αντικειμένων. Το ενέχυρο στη νοταριακή πρακτική της βενετοκρατούμενης Κρήτης.* Επετηρίς του Κέντρου Ερεύνης της Ιστορίας του Ελληνικού Δικαίου της Ακαδημίας Αθηνών 40 (2007) 147–236. Mit italienischer Zusammenfassung. – Verf. befaßt sich mit folgenden Fragen: a. der das Pfandrecht betreffenden Terminologie der Notariatsurkunden; b. den einschlägigen Rechtsgeschäften; c. dem für die Verpfändung vorgeschriebenen Verfahren; d. den als Pfand gegebenen Sachen; e. den Personen der Schuldner und der Gläubiger; f. den Leihäusern (monti di pietà). Im Anhang eine systematisch geordnete Liste der bereits

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Gagen S., *Императорский суд и судьи палеологовской Византии: 1261–1453. Автореферат диссертации на соискание ученой степени кандидата юридических наук* (The emperor's court and judges in Palaeologan Byzantium, 1261–1453. Dissertation in Law, 1st Degree). Kazan', Kazanskii Gosudarstvennyi Universitet 2007. 292 p. – The Emperor's Court within the judicial system of Byzantium; The court reform under Palaeologi; the Oecumenical court of the Romans in 1398–1453; Russian translation of the Hypotyposis of the oecumenical judges. – Ivanov. [3608

Gkala-Georgila E., *Ο θεσμός της «εμφύτευσης» στην οικοδομική δραστηριότητα και την αγορά ακινήτων της βυζαντινής Θεσσαλονίκης* Θεσσαλονικέων πόλις 21 (2007) 142–153. – How emphyteusis influenced the building and land market in byzantine Thessaloniki. – Gasparis. [3609

C. KIRCHENRECHT

a. Allgemeine Darstellungen

Aimilianides A. K., *Το κυπριακό δίκαιο του γάμου και του διαζυγίου στη διελκυστίνδα Εκκλησίας και Πολιτείας* Δίκαιο και Θεσμοί, 7. Thessalonike, Σάκκουλας 2006. 406 S. Mit englischer Zusammenfassung. ISBN 960-445-086-7. – Hier angezeigt wegen der byzantinischen Herkunft der eherechtlichen Institutionen der heutigen zypriotischen Rechtsordnung, die Verf. in der Einleitung hervorhebt. – Troianos. [3610

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Menebisoglu P., *Δύο πολύτιμα χειρόγραφα ἱερῶν κανόνων (Πάτμου 172–Ἀθηνῶν 1372)* (Nr. 2188). – Troianos.

Pitsakis C. G., *De la fin des temps à la continuité impériale: constructions idéologiques post-byzantines au sein du patriarcat de Constantinople* (Nr. 2751). – Troianos.

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Boumis P. J., *The Canons of the Church concerning the Canon of the Holy Scripture.* Θεολογία 78 (2007) 545–602. – Englische Übersetzung der erweiterten Fassung des BZ 101, 2008, Nr. 1599 angezeigten Aufsatzes. – Troianos. [3616

Chatziantoniu E., *Η μητρόπολη Θεσσαλονίκης από τα μέσα του 8ου αι. έως το 1430. Ιεραρχική τάξη–Εκκλησιαστική περιφέρεια–Διοικητική οργάνωση* (Nr. 2314). – Troianos.

Chatziantoniu E., *Οφφικιάλιοι των σεκρέτων της μητρόπολης και του μητροπολιτικού ναού της Θεσσαλονίκης* (Nr. 2328). – Troianos.

Humfress C., *Orthodoxy and the courts in late antiquity* (Nr. 3557). – Berger.

Kuntures G. P., *Οἱ κανόνες τῆς συνόδου τῆς Γάγγρας καὶ ἡ ἀντιμετώπιση τῆς αἱρέσεως τῶν Εὐσταθιανῶν* (Nr. 2338). – Troianos.

Spagnuolo Vigorita T., *Legislazione antidonatista e cronologia agostiniana.* – **Cascione C./Masi Doria C.** (eds.), *Fides Humanitas Ius. Studii in onore di Luigi Labruna* (Nr. 3706) VIII 5351–5370. – Goria. [3617

Viscuso P., *An Orthodox perspective on marriage: Demetrios J. Constantelos.* – **Liacopoulos G. P.** (ed.), *Church and society: Orthodox Christian perspectives, past experiences and modern challenges. Studies in honor of Demetrios J. Constantelos* (Nr. 3694) 303–326. – Talbot. [3618

11. FACHWISSENSCHAFTEN

A. MATHEMATIK, PHYSIK, ASTRONOMIE, ASTROLOGIE

Chalku M., *Η μαθηματική παιδεία και η ορολογία της στο Βυζάντιο κατά τον Βιενναίο Ελλ. Φιλ. Κώδ. 65 (φ. 11r–126r).* (Mathematical education and terminology in Byzantium according to cod. Vind. Phil. Gr. 65, 15th c.). Εώα και Εσπέρια 5 (2001–03) 51–62. – Gasparis. [3619

Chalku M. D., *Το μαθηματικό περιεχόμενο του Codex Vindobonensis phil. graecus 65 (φφ. 11–126). Εισαγωγή, έκδοση και σχόλια.* Βυζαντινά κείμενα και μελέται, 41. Thessalonike, Κέντρο Βυζαντινών Ερευνών 2006. 511 S., 1 Taf. ISBN 960-7856-19-8. – Kotzabassi. [3620

Katsiampura G., *Η χρήση των επιστημών ως μοχλού διπλωματίας στις αυτοκρατορίες του Μεσαίωνα.* Δοκιμές 13–14 (2005) 309–313. – Highly-educated diplomats sent in the West (Ostrogoths) and in the East (Persian empire) and later on to the court of the Umayyads in Spain and Baghdad bearing with them scientific manuscripts as presents of honor. – Leontsini. [3621

Popović M., *Reading the human body. Physiognomics and astrology in the Dead Sea scrolls and hellenistic-early Roman period Judaism* (Nr. 3640). – Touwaide.

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B. NATURWISSENSCHAFTEN (ZOOLOGIE, BOTANIK, MINERALOGIE, ALCHEMIE)

Carusi P., *Lo zafferano e il geco. Le scienze della vita nella società islamica del Medioevo.* Frecce, 48. Roma, Carocci 2007. 259 p. ISBN 978-88-430-4162-6. – Touwaide. [3623

Musselman Lytton J., *Figs, dates, laurel, and myrrh. Plants of the Bible and the Quran.* Portland/OR, Timber Press 2007. 336 p. ISBN 978-0-88192-855-6. – Touwaide. [3624

Newman W. R., *Promethean ambitions. Alchemy and the quest to perfect nature.* Chicago/London, The University of Chicago Press 2004. 352 p. ISBN 978-0-226-57712-8. – Particularly relevant here, the first chapter (11–33): “Imitating, Challenging and Perfecting Nature. The Arts and Alchemy in European Antiquity …”. – Touwaide. [3625

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C. MEDIZIN, PHARMAZIE

Leiser G./Al-Khaledy N. (transl., ed.), *Abd Al-Aziz al-Sulami, Questions and answers for physicians. A medieval Arabic study manual.* Sir Henry Wellcome Asian Series, 3. Leiden, Brill 2004. xii, 133 p. ISBN 90-04-13671-1. – Translation and edition of the medieval Arabic medical work Imtihan al-alibba li-kaffat al-atibba ("The experts' examination for all physicians") by 'Abd al 'Aziz al-Sulami, chief of medicine to the Ayyubid sultan in Cairo between 596/1200 and 604/1208, an epitome of the medical knowledge of the time. – Touwaide. [3627

Aroua A., *La santé et ses facteurs d'environnement d'après le Canon de la médecine d'Ibnou Sina.* Tarikh ettib 0 (2004) 21–24. – Touwaide. [3628

Boudon V. (éd. et trad.), *Galien, Tome II. Exhortation à l'étude de la médecine. Art médical.* Collection des Universités de France, série grecque, 402. Paris, Les Belles Lettres 2007. 454 p. ISBN 2-251-00483-1. – Critical edition of Galen's Protreptic, including the following: the Greek and Latin history of the text, characterized by the total lack of Greek manuscripts (43–62); the translations into Syriac, Arabic and Hebrew (62–71); the printed editions (71–77). – Critical edition of Galen's Ars: the Greek manuscript tradition (196–229); translations into Syriac, Arabic, Latin and Hebrew (229–254); citations in early Byzantine authors as Oribasius, Aetius, Paul of Egina (254–256); printed editions and translations (257–266). – Touwaide. [3629

Collard F./Samama E. (ed.), *Pharmacopoles et apothicaires. Les «pharmacien» de l'Antiquité au Grand Siècle.* Paris, L'Harmattan 2006. 196 p. ISBN 2-296-01061-X. – Touwaide. [3630

Eftychiadis A. C., *Church and Byzantine social, medical and bioethical perspectives.* – **Liacopoulos G. P.** (ed.), *Church and society: Orthodox Christian perspectives, past experiences and modern challenges. Studies in honor of Demetrios J. Constantelos* (Nr. 3694) 285–299. – Talbot. [3631

Jungersen K., *The relation between text and colours in Medieval urine wheels.* – **Musajo-Somma A.** (ed.), *39th International Congress on the History of Medicine, Proceedings* (Nr. 3750) 222–226. – Touwaide. [3632

Karaberopoulos D./Oeconomopoulou A., *Greek medical manuscripts of the period of the 16th – middle 19th centuries.* – **Musajo-Somma A.** (ed.), *39th International Congress on the History of Medicine, Proceedings* (Nr. 3750) 140–145. – Touwaide. [3633

Karamperopulos D., *«Περί γάλακτος» στο έργο του Γαληνού, Περί τροφών δυνάμεως* – **Mperki M.** (ed.), *Η Ιστορία του ελληνικού γάλακτος και των προϊόντων του, 10ο Τριήμερο Εργασίας Ξάνθη, 7–9 Οκτωβρίου 2005* (Nr. 3658) 149–152. – Galen's information about milk and its products in his work "About properties of foods" influenced Oribasios, Rufus of Ephesos and Aetios. – Leontsini. [3634

Martin J.-P., *Histoire de la Gériatrie. De l'Antiquité à nos jours.* Paris, Pétrarque 2007. 213 p. ISBN 2-9524-4509-5. – Summary history of geriatry from Antiquity to present day, including a chapter on Egypt (23–32), the Jewish world (33–36), Greece (37–43),

Rome (44–50), the middle ages (53–650), Arabic medicine (65–69), Salerno (69–79) and the Renaissance (79–84). – Touwaide. [3635

Maurudes A. D., *Μια βυζαντινή ιατρική επιστολή για τη θεραπεία της ποδάγρας* Ελληνικά 57 (2007) 271–317. – Edition und Kommentar eines medizinischen Textes von Ioannes Kaloeidas über die Podagra in Briefform aus den Kodizes Athous, Laura M 38, Vind. med. gr. 47 und Par. gr. 2287. Der Verfasser des Briefes, der den Text in einfacherem Wortlaut wiedergibt, wird mit dem Kopisten des Athous, Laura M 38, dem Priester Theodoros Skynelles, identifiziert. – Kotzabassi. [3636

Mayhew R., *The female in Aristotle's Biology. Reason or rationalization.* Chicago/London, The University of Chicago Press 2004. 128 p. ISBN 0-226-51200-2. – Touwaide. [3637

Mudry Ph., *Medicina, soror philosophiae. Regards sur la littérature et les textes médicaux antiques (1975–2005).* Réunis et édités par B. Maire. Préface de J. Pigeaud. Lausanne, Editions BHMS 2006. 542 p. ISBN-13 978-2-9700536-0-6. – Includes themes of Roman and late-antique medicine as cosmetics (essay no. 3); mirabilia and magica (4); pediatrics (5); medicinal plants (cabbage [6]; hellebore [14]); medical ethics (20; 41; 42); diseases and pathology (including urban morbidity [21]; 28; 34; 47); therapy (including helio-therapy [8]); Caelius Aurelianus (15; 18); Aelius Aristides (39); medical education (40); and the Hippocratic tradition in Rome, particularly in Celsus (48) – Touwaide. [3638

Oser-Grote C. M., *Aristoteles und das Corpus Hippocraticum. Die Anatomie und Physiologie des Menschen.* Philosophie der Antike, 7. Stuttgart, Steiner 2004. 349 S. ISBN 3-515-06823-6. – Detailed comparison of Hippocratic and Aristotelian anatomy and physiology. Will be fundamental for any research on the history of human anatomy and physiology in Greek medicine, be it ancient, late-antique, Byzantine or even Renaissance. – Touwaide. [3639

Popović M., *Reading the human body. Physiognomics and astrology in the Dead Sea scrolls and hellenistic-early Roman period Judaism.* Studies on the Texts of the Deseart of Judah, 67. Leiden/Boston, Brill 2007. xx, 346 p. ISBN 978-90-04-15717-0. – Touwaide. [3640

Prioreschi P., *A History of Medicine, Vol. V. Medieval Medicine.* Omaha, Horatius Press 2003. lv, 804 p. ISBN 1-888456-05-1. – Touwaide. [3641

Riaud X., *Les dentistes, détectives de l'histoire.* Paris, L'Harmattan 2007. 178 p. ISBN 978-2-296-02528-8. – Short history of dentistry related events involving historical, artistic and other personages, in chronological order, starting in the Roman empire with Lollia Paulina, whose post-mortem identification was made on the basis of her teeth (p. 13). – Touwaide. [3642

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Schiano C., *Sulla tradizione del De febribus dello pseudo-Alessandro di Afrodisia (con appunti sulla lista di Lascaris).* Bollettino dei Classici s. III, 26 (2005) 39–67. – L'analisi

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Sheppard A., *Music therapy in Neoplatonism* (Nr. 2054). – Touwaide.

Sneader W., *Drug discovery. A history.* Chichester (UK), Wiley 2005. viii, 468 p. ISBN 0-471-89980-1. – This volume includes 8 discursive historical chapters on the prehistoric period (8–11), the Pre-Hellenic civilisations (12–17), Greece and Rome (18–23), the Arab World (24–31), the Herbals (32–40), chemical medicines (41–73) and systematic medicine (74–87). – Touwaide. [3645

Tchikou M., *Le larynx et ses affections en médecine arabo-musulmane.* Tarikh ettib 1 (2004) 37–40. – Analysis of the knowledge on pharynx in Arabic medicine, including anatomy, function, diseases, and therapy. Includes a list of Arabic authors who dealt with this organ, together with their contribution. – Touwaide. [3646

Tecusan M., *The fragments of the Methodists. Methodism outside Soranus. Vol. 1: text and translation.* Studies in Ancient Medicine, 24/1. Leiden, Brill 2004. ix, 813 p. ISBN 90-04-12451-9. – Touwaide. [3647

Tibi S., *The medicinal use of opium in ninth-century Baghdad.* Sir Henry Wellcome Asian Series, 5. Leiden/Boston, Brill 2006. xiv, 314 p. ISBN 978-90-041-4696-9. – The study opens with a brief look at early Islamic knowledge of the Graeco-Roman use of opium, while examining in detail entries on opium and poppy in the Arabic version of Dioscorides's influential and fundamental Materia medica. – Touwaide. [3648

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with references to Kühn's edition pages in the margins). – Part two (161–204): Quod animi mores. Contents: contents of the treatise (163–164); structure (165–168); bibliography (p. 168); Spanish translation (169–204). – Touwaide. [3652

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D. METROLOGIE

Lempire J., *Le calcul de la date de Pâques dans les traités de S. Maxime le Confesseur et de Georges, moine et prêtre.* Byz 77 (2007) 267–304. – Macé. [3654

E. AGRARWISSENSCHAFT

Conan M. (ed.), *Sacred gardens and landscapes: ritual and agency.* Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium on the History of Landscape Architecture XXVI held at Dumbarton Oaks May 10–12, 2002. Washington DC, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2007. 314 p. ISBN 978-0-88402-305-0. – Among the several contributions of this volume containing the proceedings of a symposium on garden history, the following two are more of interest here: P. Bonnechere, The place of the sacred grove (Alsos) in the mantic rituals of Greece: the example of the Alsos of Trophonios at Lebadeia (Boeotia) (p. 17–41); C. Calame, Gardens of love and meadows of the beyond: ritual encounters with the gods and poetical performances in ancient greece (p. 43–54). – Touwaide. [3655

Decker M., *The authorship and context of early Byzantine farming manuals.* Byz 77 (2007) 106–115. – Vindanius Anatolius (4e s.) et Cassianus Bassus (6e s.) sont deux sources importantes des Geoponica. L'activité du second peut être localisée dans le centre-nord de la Syrie et non en Asie Mineure, comme on le pensait auparavant. – Macé. [3656

Lube A., *Συμπεράσματα.* – **Mperki M.** (ed.), *Η Ιστορία του ελληνικού γάλακτος και των προϊόντων του, 10ο Τριήμερο Εργασίας Ξάνθη, 7–9 Οκτωβρίου 2005* (Nr. 3658) 533–536. – Conclusions of the conference, a number of them consecrated to Byzantine pasturage and the origins of the nomination of its products as well as their symbolism in lay and religious activities. – Leontsini. [3657

Mperki M. (ed.), *Η Ιστορία του ελληνικού γάλακτος και των προϊόντων του, 10ο Τριήμερο Εργασίας Ξάνθη, 7–9 Οκτωβρίου 2005.* Athena, Πολιτιστικό Ίδρυμα Ομίλου Πειραιώς – Ίδρυμα Αριστείδης Δασκαλόπουλος 2008. 593 p. ISBN 978-960-244-110-7. – Proceedings of the 10th Conference on "The History of milk and dairy products in Greece", Piraeus Bank Group Cultural Foundation, Athens 2008. The articles are listed as nos. 2343, 2631, 2713, 2722, 2729, 3634, 3658, 3675. – Leontsini. [3658

Williams M., *Deforesting the earth. From Prehistory to global crisis* (Nr. 2825). – Touwaide.

Zangheri L./Lorenzi B./Rahmati N. M., *Il giardino islamico.* Giardini e paesaggio, 15. Firenze, Olschki 2006. vi, 482 p. ISBN 88-222-5521-6. – Touwaide. [3659

F. KRIEGSWISSENSCHAFT UND NAUTIK

Aussaresses F., *Византийская армия в конце VI в. по «Стратегикону» императора Маврикия* (L'armée byzantine à la fin du VIe siècle d'après le Strategicon de l'empereur Maurice). St. Petersburg, Izdatel'stvo S.-Peterburgasogo Universiteta/Akra 2007. 141 p. ISBN 978-5-288-04381-9. – Russian translation of the book of 1909. – Ivanov. [3660

Barbero A., *The day of the Barbarians. The battle that led to the fall of the Roman Empire* (Nr. 2639). – Talbot.

Breccia G., *Grandi imperi e piccole guerre. Roma, Bisanzio e la guerriglia. I.* Medioevo greco 7 (2007) 13–68. 6 fig. – Prima parte di uno studio sulla pratica della guerriglia da parte di eserciti regolari in età romana e bizantina. Esamina il modo in cui gli eserciti romani, in età repubblicana e imperiale, si adattarono alle circostanze e affrontarono con successo questo tipo di guerra (spesso causa di gravi disastri per le grandi potenze), che non corrispondeva all'ideologia del bellum iustum, senza però teorizzarne la condotta, cosa che invece avvenne a Bisanzio, che adottò ufficialmente alcuni caratteri fondamentali della guerriglia. La seconda parte dello studio, annunciata per il 2008, tratterà appunto della guerriglia a Bisanzio. – Acconcia Longo. [3661

Charles M. B., *Vegetius in context. Establishing the date of the Epitoma Rei Militaris* (Nr. 2624). – Tinnefeld.

D'Agostino M./Medas S., *La navigazione nella laguna di Venezia in epoca romana: nuove evidenze dall'archeologia subacquea* (Nr. 3133). – Bianchi.

Dawson T., *Byzantine Infantryman: Eastern Roman Empire, c. 900–1204.* Warrior Series. Oxford, Osprey 2007. 64 p. ISBN 978-1-84603-105-2. – Berger. [3662

Dawson T., *Klivanion revisited: an evolutionary typology and catalogue of Middle Byzantine lamellar styles.* Journal of Roman Military Equipment Studies 12/13 (2001/02) 89–95. 13 Abb. – Dennert. [3663

Destro M., *Costruzioni di navi e approvvigionamento di legname nelle Variae di Cassiodoro.* Journal of Ancient Topography/Rivista di topografia antica 15 (2005 [2007]) 107–118. – Riferimenti ad alcuni episodi della guerra greco-gotica. – Bianchi. [3664

Dimitroukas J., *The merchant, transporting and fishing ships in Byzantium.* – **Al-Hijji Y. Y./Christides V.** (eds.), *Cultural relations between Byzantium and the Arabs* (Nr. 2712) 55–64. With Arabic and Greek summary. – The evolution in technique of building different kinds of ships along with the hierarchy of their crews are examined on the basis of Byzantine sources. – Leontsini. [3665

Karaple K., *Βυζαντινό Χελάνδιον – Αραβικό Shalandi.* — **Al-Hijji Y. Y./Christides V.** (eds.), *Cultural relations between Byzantium and the Arabs* (Nr. 2712) 79–84. With Arabic and Greek summary. The mentions on Chelandion by Theophanes and the Patria of Constantinople were the primal indications of the existence of the Arab shalandi, a warship further developed in 11th c. – Leontsini. [3666

Kolias T., *Zur Gerichtsbarkeit im byzantinischen Heer* (Nr. 3522). – Grünbart.

Krsmanović B., *О проблему акумулативне војне власти стратега, моностратега и стратега автократора* (Zum Problem der akkumulativen Militärgewalt des strategos, monostrategos und strategos autokrator). ZRVI 44 (2007) 87–117. – Zwei Themen werden im Aufsatz behandelt: die Bedeutung der genannten Termini und der Charakter ihres Amtes. Da hier Strategos allein einen terminus technicus darstellt, ist nach den Quellen unsicher, ob diese Funktionäre spezielle oder übliche Vollmachten hatten. – Maksimović. [3667

Kučma V., *Методика боевой подготовки по «Тактике Льва»: господство принципов традиционализма* (The method of military training in "Leo's Taktika": the dominance of traditionalism). – **Malachov S./Barabanov N.**, *Власть, общество и церковь в Византии* (Nr. 3781) 89–116. – Russian translation of the 7th chapter of the treatise with a short preface. – Ivanov. [3668

Lee A. D., *War in late antiquity: a social history* (Nr. 2778). – Kaegi.

Lee A. D., *Warfare and the state* (Nr. 2737). – Kaegi.

Palme B., *The imperial presence: government and army* (Nr. 2740). – Berger.

Preiser-Kapeller J., *Die byzantinische Armee im 9. und 10. Jahrhundert.* Karfunkel Combat 4 (2008) 34–41. – Populäre, aber kenntnisreiche Darstellung. – Altripp. [3669

Preiser-Kapeller J., *Untreue Diener ihrer Herren. Die Geschichte der katalanischen Kompanie im 14. Jahrhundert.* Karkunkel Combat 4 (2008) 44–46. – Altripp. [3670

Rance P., *Battle.* – **Sabin P./Van Wees H./Whitby M.** (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Greek and Roman Warfare, vol. II* (Nr. 3672) 342–378. – Kaegi. [3671

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13. SAMMELBÄNDE

A. KONGRESS-SCHRIFTEN UND KATALOGE HISTORISCHER AUSSTELLUNGEN

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Lampakis S./Leontsini M./Lounghis T./Vlysidou V. (eds.), *Byzantine diplomacy. A seminar.* Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Diplomatic Academy/National Hellenic Research Foundation. Institute for Byzantine Research, Athens, National Printed House 2007. 203 S. ISBN 978-960-89755-0-7 / 978-960-371-034-9. – Englischsprachige Ausgabe des oben Nr. 3765 angezeigten Bandes (in Übersetzung von N. Russell), dessen Beiträge angeführt werden als Nr. 2368, 2373, 2612, 2698. – Troianos. [3780

Malachov S./Barabanov N., *Власть, общество и церковь в Византии* (Power, Society and Church in Byzantium). Armavir, Armavirskii Gosudarstvennyi Pedagogicheskii Universitet 2007. 267 p. ISNB 878-5-89571-112-5. – The contributions are listed as nos. 2090, 2333, 2344, 2442, 2497, 2517, 2535, 2601, 2676, 2691, 2770, 2783, 2819, 3612, 3668, 3679. – Ivanov. [3781

Marincola J. (ed.), *A companion to Greek and Roman historiography.* Oxford/Malden MA, Blackwell 2007. 656 p. ISBN 978-1-4051-0216-2. – One contribution is listed as no. 2061. – Kaegi. [3782

Piccirilli L. (ed.), *La retorica della diplomazia nella Grecia antica e a Bisanzio.* Rapporti interstatali nell'antichità, 2. Roma, «L'Erma» di Bretschneider 2002. 167 p. ISBN 88-8265-205-X. – Un contributo d'interesse bizantinistico è segnalato come no. 2059. – D'Aiuto. [3783

Sabin P./Van Wees H./Whitby M. (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Greek and Roman Warfare, vol. II* (Nr. 3672). – Kaegi.

Sharples R. W. (ed.), *Philosophy and the sciences in Antiquity.* Ashgate Keeling series in ancient philosophy. Aldershot, Ashgate, 2005. 168 p. ISBN 0-7546-5171-1. – Two relevant contributions are listed as nos. 2053, 2054. – Touwaide. [3784

Shepard J. (ed.), *The Expansion of Orthodox Europe: Byzantium, the Balkans and Russia.* The Expansion of Latin Europe, 1000–1500. Aldershot, Ashgate 2007. xxiii, 532 p. 3 maps. ISBN 978-0-7546-5920-4. – This is a very useful collection of mainly already published articles and book chapters on various aspects of Byzantium's interaction with the Eastern European world and Russia. The new contributions are listed as nos. 2675, 2822, 3804, 3813. – Stathakopoulos. [3785

Stone D. L./Stirling L. M. (eds.), *Mortuary landscapes of North Africa.* Phoenix, Supplementary volume 43. Toronto, Univeristy of Toronto Press 2007. ix, 249 p. ISBN 978-0-8020-9083-6. – Relevant articles are listed as no. 2544, 2547, 2548, 3182. – Talbot. [3786

Teoteoi T. (ed.), *Ştefan cel Mare şi epoca sa* (Étienne le Grand et son temps). Bucarest, Éditions de l'Université 2007. 216 p. ISBN 978-973-737-390-8. – Les contributions sont signalées comme no. 2842, 2854, 2855, 3438. – Teoteoi. [3787

Il «tesoro» dell'agorà di Iasos. Un archivio d'argento dell'epoca di Plotino (Nr. 3069). – Bianchi.

C. LEXIKA

Brednich R. M. (Hrsg.), *Enzyklopädie des Märchens 12 (2007).* (Schinden – Sublimierung). – Byzanz wird in diesem Band, soweit ich sehe, nicht ausdrücklich berücksichtigt, auch nicht in Artikeln, die wie „Sindbad der Seefahrer" oder „Speculum principum" in Byzanz bekannte literarische Themen behandeln. Wegen seiner Nähe zu Byzanz wäre noch der Artikel „Serben" zu erwähnen. – Tinnefeld. [3788

Cancik H./Schneider H. (eds.), *Brill's New Pauly. Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World. Antiquity, vol. 11 (Phi–Prok).* Leiden/Boston, Brill 2007. lvi, 476 p. ISBN 978-90-04-14216-9. – Touwaide. [3789

Cancik H./Schneider H. (eds.), *Brill's New Pauly. Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World. Antiquity, vol. 12 (Prol–Sar).* – Leiden/Boston, Brill 2008. lvi, 496 p. ISBN 978-90-04-14217-6. – Touwaide. [3790

Православная Энциклопедия XV (The Encyclopedia of Orthodoxy XV). Moscow, Pravoslavnaja Entsiklopedija 2007. 751 p. Ill. ISBN 978-5-89572-026-4. – Димитрий, митрополит Кизический; Димитрий II Хоматиан; Димитрий Докиан; Димитрий Лампский; Димитрий Солунский (Почитание в Византии); Димитрий Хрисолор; Св. Димитрия базилика в Фессалонике; Димофил; Диногеция; Диодор из Тарса; Диоклетиан; Дионисий Афонский; Дионисий I Константинопольский; Дионисий I Антиохийский; Дионисий II Антиохийский; Дионисий Ареопагит; Дионисия монастырь на Афоне; Диоскор Александрийский; Диоскор, Папа; Диоскор Гермопольский; Диоскор II Александрийский; Дмитриевский А. А.; Доместик; Дометиан Мелитинский; Дометиан Анкирский; Дометий Афонский; Дометий мученик; Дометий Кипрский; Дометий Персиянин; Домника; Домнина (Demetrios of Kyzikos; Demetrios II Chomatenos; Demetrios Dokeianos; Demetrios Lampes; Demetrios of Thessaloniki [His cult in Byzantium]; Demetrios Chrysoloras; St. Demetrios' Basilica in Thessaloniki; Demophilos of Beroia; Dinogetia; Diodoros of Tarsos; Diocletian; Dionysios of Athos; Dionysios I of Constantinople; Dionysios I of Antioch; Dionysios II of Antioch; Dionysios Areopagites; Dionysiou Monastery on Mt. Athos; Dioskoros of Alexandria; Dioscorus the Pope; Dioskoros of Hermoupolis; Dioskoros II of Alexandria; Dmitrievskii A. A.; Domestikos; Dometianos of Melitena; Dometianos of Ankyra; Dometios of Athos; Dometios the Martyr; Dometios of Cyprus; Dometios the Persian; Domnika; Domnina of Syria). – Ivanov. [3791

Sabbides A. G. C. (ed.), *Εγκυκλοπαιδικό προσωπογραφικό λεξικό Βυζαντινής ιστορίας και πολιτισμού.* 6 vols. Athena, Metron 1996–2006. ISBN 960-426-029-4. – Wird besprochen. – Berger. [3792

Savvides A. G. C., *An ongoing project: the Greek Encyclopaedic Prosopographical Lexicon of Byzantine History and Civilization and its forthcoming English edition.* Byzantinoslavica 65 (2007) 361–365. – Tinnefeld. [3793

Ueding G. (Hrsg.), *Historisches Wörterbuch der Rhetorik 8 (2007) (Rhet–St).* – Byzanz spielt in diesem Band so gut wie keine Rolle, auch nicht in Artikeln wie „Roman" und „Satire". – Tinnefeld. [3794

14. BYZANZ UND DIE SLAVISCHE WELT (BIS ENDE 16. JAHRHUNDERT)

A. HOCHSPRACHLICHE UND VOLKSSPRACHLICHE LITERATUR

Toločko P., *Летописные известия о походах Святослава на Дунай и их источники* (Nr. 3807). – Ivanov.

B. PALÄOGRAPHIE, KODIKOLOGIE, DIPLOMATIK

Mihaljčić R. (ed.), *Spomenica profesora Miloša Blagojevića* (En hommage au professeur Miloš Blagojević). Stari srpski arhiv, 4. Grafomark, Laktaši 2005. 264 S. 16 Tafeln, 3 Karten. – Die Festschrift enthält – nach einem einleitenden Artikel über Leben und Werk des serbischen Diplomatikers – Editionen von 13 serbischen Urkunden aus den Jahren 1317–1463, besorgt von verschiedenen Herausgebern, darunter eine Urkunde von Stefan Uroš II. Milutin und fünf von Stefan Uroš IV. Dušan, sowie einen Aufsatz über eine der hier edierten Urkunden des Stefan Dušan (Schenkung an das Athoskloster Chilandar). – Tinnefeld. [3795

Mitric O., *Tezaurul de manuscrise din timpul domniei lui Ieremia Movilă* (Le tresor de manuscrits datant de la période du règne de Jérémie Movilă). – **Gorovei Ş. S./Szekely M. M.** (eds.), *Istorie şi spiritualitate românească, vol. II (Ieremia Movilă. Domnul. Familia. Epoca)* (Nr. 3772) 61–78. – Il s'agit de 26 manuscrits, rédigé en langue slave de contenu religieux dans leur érasante majorité. Bien connus par les spécialistes, il contiennent de très précieuses notices rédigées en roumain, slave ou grec. Parmi eux, on peut mentionner le Syntagma de Mathieu Blastares, en traduction slave de rédaction médio-bulgare, et le Carstvennik ou la Vie des rois et archevêques serbes de Danilo, copié en 1567 par le moine Azarie. – Teoteoi. [3796

Zahariuc P./Marinescu F., *Documentele de la Ieremia Movilă voievod din arhiva mănăstirii Vatoped de la Muntele Athos* (Documents du voïévode Jérémie Movilă, trouvés dans les archives du monastère athonite de Vatopedi). – **Gorovei Ş. S./Szekely M. M.** (eds.), *Istorie şi spiritualitate românească, vol. II (Ieremia Movilă. Domnul. Familia. Epoca)* (Nr. 3772) 303–314. – On publié les résumés des 27 documents (21 slaves, 1 grec et 5 traductions selon les originaux slaves). – Teoteoi. [3797

C. SPRACHE, METRIK, MUSIK

Efimova V., *О старославянском калькировании как специфическом способе словообразования* (Die altslavische Lehnübersetzung als spezifische Weise der Wortbildung). Byzantinoslavica 65 (2007) 117–128. – Tinnefeld. [3798

Petrović D., *Church chant in the Serbian Orthodox church through the centuries* (Nr. 2302). – Rosenqvist.

Ševčenko I., *О западных источниках старославянских понятий мощи и причащение* (On the Western roots of the Old Slavonic terms moshchi and prichashchenie).VV 66 (2007) 223–228. – Old Church Slavonic terms for relics and communion come from the West. – Ivanov. [3799

D. KIRCHE UND THEOLOGIE

Curta F. (ed.), *East central and eastern Europe in the early Middle Ages* (Nr. 3808). – Tinnefeld.

Döpmann H.-D., *Kirche in Bulgarien von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart.* Bulgarische Bibliothek, N.F., 11. München, Biblion 2006. 153 S. ISBN 3-932331-90-7. – Tinnefeld. [3800

Helland T. J., *The pre-metaphrastic Byzantine reading menologion for July in the Slavonic tradition* (Nr. 2595). – Berger.

Krivko R., *Rekonstruktion der griechischen Akrostichis im Kanon auf das Hl. Mandylion: Zur Bedeutung altkirchenslavischer Übersetzungen für die byzantinische Überlieferung.* Wiener Slavistisches Jahrbuch 52 (2006) 63–84. – Grünbart. [3801

Lindstedt J./Spasov Lj./Nuorloto J., *The Konikovo Gospel. Кониковско евангелие. Bibl. Patr. Alex. 268* (Nr. 2589). – Berger.

Ložkina N., *Роль основателя Троицко-Сергиева монастыря Сергия Радонежского как духовного посредника в диалоге культур Древней Руси и Византии* (The role of Sergij of Radonezh, the founder of Troitsko-Sergiev monastery, as an intermediary of the cultural dialogue between Byzantium and Old Rus'). Izvestiia Rossijskogo Gosudarstvennogo pedagogičeskogo Universiteta im. Gertsena 4 (2007) 107–113. – Ivanov. [3802

Romanchuk R., *Byzantine hermeneutics and pedagogy in the Russian North: monks and masters at the Kirillo-Belozerski Monastery, 1397–1501* (Nr. 2418). – Talbot.

Šaur V., *Jaká písmena našel Konstantin v Chersonu?* (Nr. 2312). – Tinnefeld.

E. GESCHICHTE

a. Politische Geschichte

Ferjančić B./Ćirković S., *Стефан Душан, краљ и цар (1341–1355)* (Stefan Dušan, King and Emperor, 1331–1355). Beograd, Завод за уџбенике и наставна средства 2005. 367 p. ISBN 86-17-13143-8. – Originally imagined by the authors as the first exhaustive monograph on Stefan Dušan, which seemed to be brought to its halt with the death of B. Ferjančić back in 1998, this book offers a detailed account of the life, and reign of the Serbian king (1331–1346) and first emperor (1346–1355) Stefan Dušan, as well as an overview of the Serbian state and society during his rule. It presents up to date

account of Dušan's path toward the creation of a new Empire, and analyses the ideological and political presuppositions which enabled his imperial crowning, together with the changes of perception of Stefan Dušan in the modern Serbian history (the latter written by S. Ćirković). Dušan's relations with Byzantium are at the core of the authors' interest, as well as his appropriation of the prerogatives of the Byzantine emperors, such as the right and obligation of the emperor to issue laws. – V. Stanković. [3803

Ivanov S. A., *Mission impossible: ups and downs in Byzantine missionary activity from the eleventh to the fifteenth century.* – **Shepard J.** (ed.), *The Expansion of Orthodox Europe: Byzantium, the Balkans and Russia* (Nr. 3785) 251–265. – Stathakopoulos. [3804

Marti R., *Konstantin der Große in der orthodoxen slavischen Welt.* – **Girardet K. M.** (Hrsg.), *Kaiser Konstantin der Große. Historische Leistung und Rezeption in Europa* (Nr. 3771) 133–147. – Berger. [3805

Panaitescu P. P., *Petru Movilă şi românii* (Pierre Movilă et les Roumains). – **Gorovei Ş. S./Székely M. M.** (eds.), *Movileştii. Istorie şi spiritualitate românească, I. «Casa noastră movilească»* (Nr. 2844) 143–158. – Ré-édition de l'étude parue pour prèmiere fois dans Biserica Ortodoxă Română 60 (1942) 403–420. – Teoteoi. [3806

Toločko P., *Летописные известия о походах Святослава на Дунай и их источники* (The evidence of the chronicles on Sviatoslav's Danube expeditions and their source). VV 66 (2007) 146–54. – The Old Russian chronicler did not rely on any Byzantine sources concerning the events of 969–971, with the sole exception of his remark that there are 80 towns along the Danube. – Ivanov. [3807

b. Kultur- und Geistesgeschichte

Curta F. (ed.), *East central and eastern Europe in the early Middle Ages.* Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press 2005. viii, 331 p. ISBN 978-0-472-11498-6. – Das von einem Autorenteam verfasste Buch ist vor allem den Slaven im genannten Raum gewidmet. Es werden aber auch andere Völker (Uiguren als Herrscher Bulgariens, Kap. 6, und Chazaren, Kap. 9) berücksichtigt. Gliederung: I, Economic and Social Structures, Kap. 1–4; II, The Rise of the State, Kap. 5–7; III, Conversion (sc. zum Christentum), Kap. 8–11. – Tinnefeld. [3808

Dumitran A, *«Cazanii la oamenii morti», Bălgrad, 1689. Încercare de reconstituire* („Totenpredigten", Bălgrad 1689. Versuch einer Rekonstruktion). Apulum (Alba Iulia) 40 (2003) 279–296. – Teoteoi. [3809

Dură I., *Patriarhul Dositei al Ierusalimului (1669–1707) şi ierarhii Râmnicului, Ilarion şi Antim Ivireanul* (Le patriarche Dosithée de Jérusalem [1669–1707] et les hiérarques Ilarion et Anthime d'Ibérie). Biserica Ortodoxă Română 124/1–3 (2006) 474–490. – Teoteoi. [3810

Gorovei Ş. S., *Doamna Elisabeta Movilă. Contribuţii pentru o biografie nescrisă* (La princesse Elisabeta Movilă. Contribution à une biographie pas encore écrite). – **Gorovei Ş. S./Székely M. M.** (eds.), *Movileştii. Istorie şi spiritualitate românească, I. «Casa*

noastră movilească» (Nr. 2844) 273–302. – En faveur de la confession orthodoxe de la «doamna Elisabeta Movilă, l'épouse de Jérémie Movilă, plaide aussi sa parenté avec le métropolite Théophane II de Moldavie, mort en 1597/98, dans le monastère athonite de Docheiariou et dont elle a fait déposer la prierre tombale dans ce monastère. – Teoteoi. [3811

Nikolov A., *Empire of the Romans or Tsardom of the Greeks? The image of Byzantium in the earliest Slavonic translations from Greek.* Byzantinoslavica 65 (2007) 31–39. – Tinnefeld. [3812

Shepard J., *Introduction. Tides of Byzantium: the many forms of expansion and contraction.* – **Shepard J.** (ed.), *The Expansion of Orthodox Europe: Byzantium, the Balkans and Russia* (Nr. 3785) xxv–lv. – Stathakopoulos. [3813

G. ARCHÄOLOGE UND KUNSTGESCHICHTE

a. Ostslavischer Bereich

Curta F., *The archaeology of identities in old Russia (ca. 500 – ca. 600).* Russian History (2007) 31–62. – Kaegi. [3814

Marinković Č., *Слика подигнуте цркве. Представе архитектуре на ктиторским портретима у српској и византијској уметности* (Nr. 3244). – V. Stanković.

Smirnova E., *Иконография жития св. Димитрия Солунского: её обновление в русской иконописи конца XVII – начала XVIII века.* ZRVI 44 (2007) 613–625. 9 Abb. Russisch mit serbischer Zusammenfassung. – Es geht um die Ikonographie, die seit 1689 den Hl. Demetrius in seinem Kindesalter darstellte. – Maksimović. [3815

b. Südslavischer Bereich

Stevović I., *Каленић. Богородичина црква у архитектури позновизантијског света* (Nr. 2965). – V. Stanković.

H. NUMISMATIK, SIGILLOGRAPHIE, ETHNOGRAPHIE

Feofano Muzalon – archontissa Rosii (k voprosy ob identifikacii) (Nr. 3475). – Seibt.

I. RECHT

Blagojević M., *Закон господина Константина и царице Јевдокије* (La loi du seigneur Konstantin et de l'impératrice Jevdokija). ZRVI 44 (2007) 447–458. Serbisch mit französischer Zusammenfassung. – Das Landes- oder Regionalgesetz über die Ver-

pflichtungen der Bauer in Arhiljevica (Südostserbien), das um 1379 erlassen wurde. – Maksimović. [3816

Franklin S., *On meanings, functions and paradigms of law in Early Rus'.* Russian History (2007) 63–82. – Kaegi. [3817

Maksimovich K., *Byzantine law in old Slavonic translations and the Nomocanon of Methodius.* Byzantinoslavica 65 (2007) 9–18. – Tinnefeld. [3818

15. REZENSIONEN (IN AUSWAHL)

Adrados F. R., *A history of the Greek language: from its origins to the present* (BZ 100, 2007, Nr. 2508) – Journal of Hellenic Studies 27 (2007) 239 (Clackson J.). [3819

Agosti G. (ed.), *Nonno di Panopoli, Parafrasi del Vangelo di San Giovanni. Canto Quinto. Introduzione, edizione critica e commento* (BZ 97, 2004, Nr. 540) – Gnomon 80 (2008) 6–15 (Accorinti D.). [3820

Amerise M., *Il battesimo di Costantino il Grande. Storia di una scomoda eredità* (BZ 99, 2006, Nr. 2593) – Sandalion 26–28 (2003–05) 292–293 (De Gaetano M.). [3821

Aulisa I./Schiano C. (eds.), *Dialogo di Papisco e Filone giudei con un monaco* (BZ 100, 2007, Nr. 678) – BZ 101 (2008) 787–802 (Andrist P.). [3822

Balard M., *La Méditerranée médiévale. Espaces, itinéraires, comptoirs* (BZ 100, 2007, Nr. 3061) – BZ 101 (2008) 803–806 (Saradi H.). [3823

Bednaříková J./Homola A./Měřinský Z. (eds.), *Stěhování národů a Východ Evropy. Byzanc – Slované – Arabové* (BZ 101, 2008, Nr. 2640) – Byzantinoslavica 65 (2007) 400–402 (Čajka F./Drbal V.). [3824

Bernabò M., *Ossessioni bizantine e cultura artistica in Italia. Tra D' Annunzio, fascismo e dopoguerra* (BZ 95, 2002, Nr. 2628) – Critica d'arte 67/22 (2004) 20–21 (Moretti S.). [3825

Bianconi D., *Tessalonica nell'età dei Paleologi. Le pratiche intelletuali nel riflesso della cultura scritta* (BZ 99, 2006, Nr. 2815) – Medioevo greco 7 (2007) 263–269 (Tessier A.). [3826

Bitton-Ashkelony B./Kofsky A., *The Monasticism of Gaza in the Byzantine period* (BZ 98, 2005, Nr. 2501) – JECS 15 (2007) 437–439 (Horn C.). [3827

Blaudeau Ph., *Alexandrie et Constantinople (451–491). De l'Histoire à la Gèo-Ecclésiologie* (BZ 100, 2007, Nr. 361) – AHC 38 (2006) 216–218 (Bruckmann F.). [3828

Borrelli D. (ed.), *Teodoreto di Cirro. Commento a Daniele* (BZ 101, 2008, Nr. 2527) – Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni n. s. 31/2 (2007) 411–412 (Zincone S.). [3829

Braun W. (ed.), *Rhetoric and reality in Early Christianities* (BZ 101, 2008, Nr. 2420) – Studies in Religion/Sciences religieuses 36 (2007) 603–604 (Muir S.). [3830

Bruni A. M., *Θεολόγος Древнеславянские кодексы Слов Григория Назианзина и их византийские прототипы* (BZ 98, 2005, Nr. 1656) – Byzantinoslavica 65 (2007) 387–389 (Čermák V.). [3831

Bulgakova V., *Byzantinische Bleisiegel in Osteuropa. Die Funde auf dem Territorium Altrußlands* (BZ 98, 2005, Nr. 1363) – JÖB 57 (2007) 400–403 (Seibt W.). [3832

Burton J. B., *A Byzantine novel: Drosilla and Charikles* (BZ 98, 2005, Nr. 2190) – Journal of Hellenic Studies 27 (2007) 253 (Jeffreys E.). [3833

Börm H., *Prokop und die Perser. Untersuchungen zu den römisch-sasanidischen Kontakten in der ausgehenden Spätantike* (BZ 101, 2008, Nr. 108) – BZ 101 (2008) 806–811 (Kaldellis A.). [3834

Cavallo G., *Lire à Byzance* (BZ 100, 2007, Nr. 934) – Classical World 101 (2007) 114–115 (Wilson N. G.). [3835

Cavazzana Romanelli F./Grivaud G., *Cyprus 1542. The great map of the island by Leonida Attar* (BZ 100, 2007, Nr. 3365) – BMGS 32 (2008) 124 (Bryer A.). [3836

Christides V., *The image of Cyprus in the Arabic sources* (BZ 100, 2007, Nr. 865) – Byzantinoslavica 65 (2007) 410–413 (Vavřínek V.). [3837

Christie N., *From Constantine to Charlemagne: an archaeology of Italy AD 300–800* (BZ 101, 2008, Nr. 969) – Archeologia medievale 33 (2006) 551–553 (Cirelli E.). [3838

Christie N./Yazigi M. (eds.), *Noble ideals and bloody realities. Warfare in the middle ages* (BZ 100, 2007, Nr. 4057) – Mamluk Studies Review 11 (2007) 197–199 (Kaegi W.). [3839

Chrysostomides J./Dendrinos Ch./Harris J. (eds.), *The Greek Islands and the Sea. Proceedings of the First International Colloquium held at The Hellenic Institute, Royal Holloway, University of London, 21–22 September 2001* (BZ 99, 2006, Nr. 1081) – Journal of Hellenic Studies 27 (2007) 208 (Berg I.). [3840

Cortés Arrese M. (Hrsg.), *Caminos de Bizancio* (BZ 101, 2008, Nr. 2830) – Erytheia 29 (2008) 287–291 (Gijón Jiménez V.). [3841

Curta F. (ed.), *East central and eastern Europe in the early Middle Ages* (BZ 101, 2008, Nr. 3808) – Slavic and East European Journal 51 (2007) 424–426 (Drozd M.). [3842

Curta F., *Southeastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 500–1250* (BZ 100, 2007, Nr. 3342) – Canadian Journal of History (2007) 281–282 (Raffensperger C.). [3843

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